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I 79.

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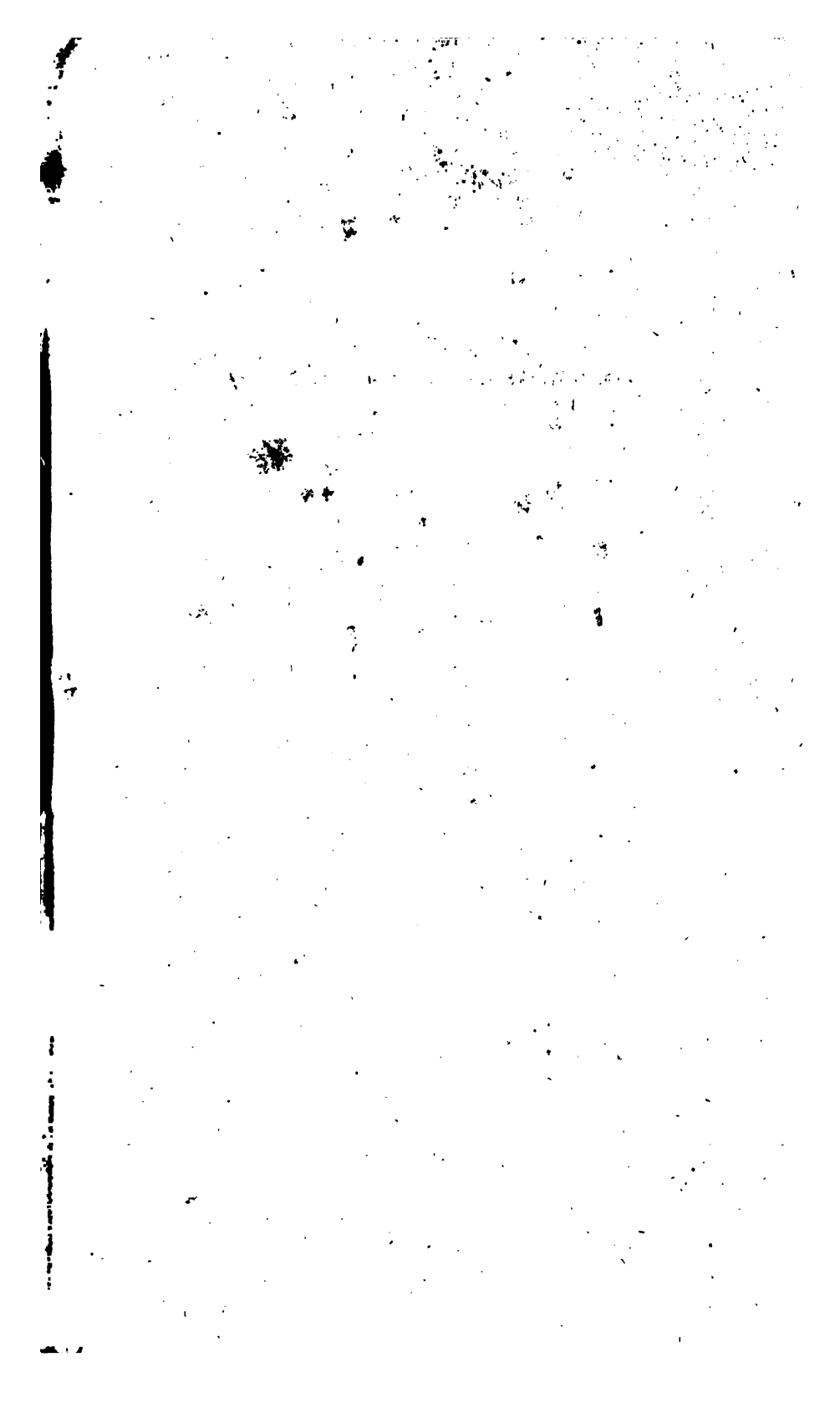
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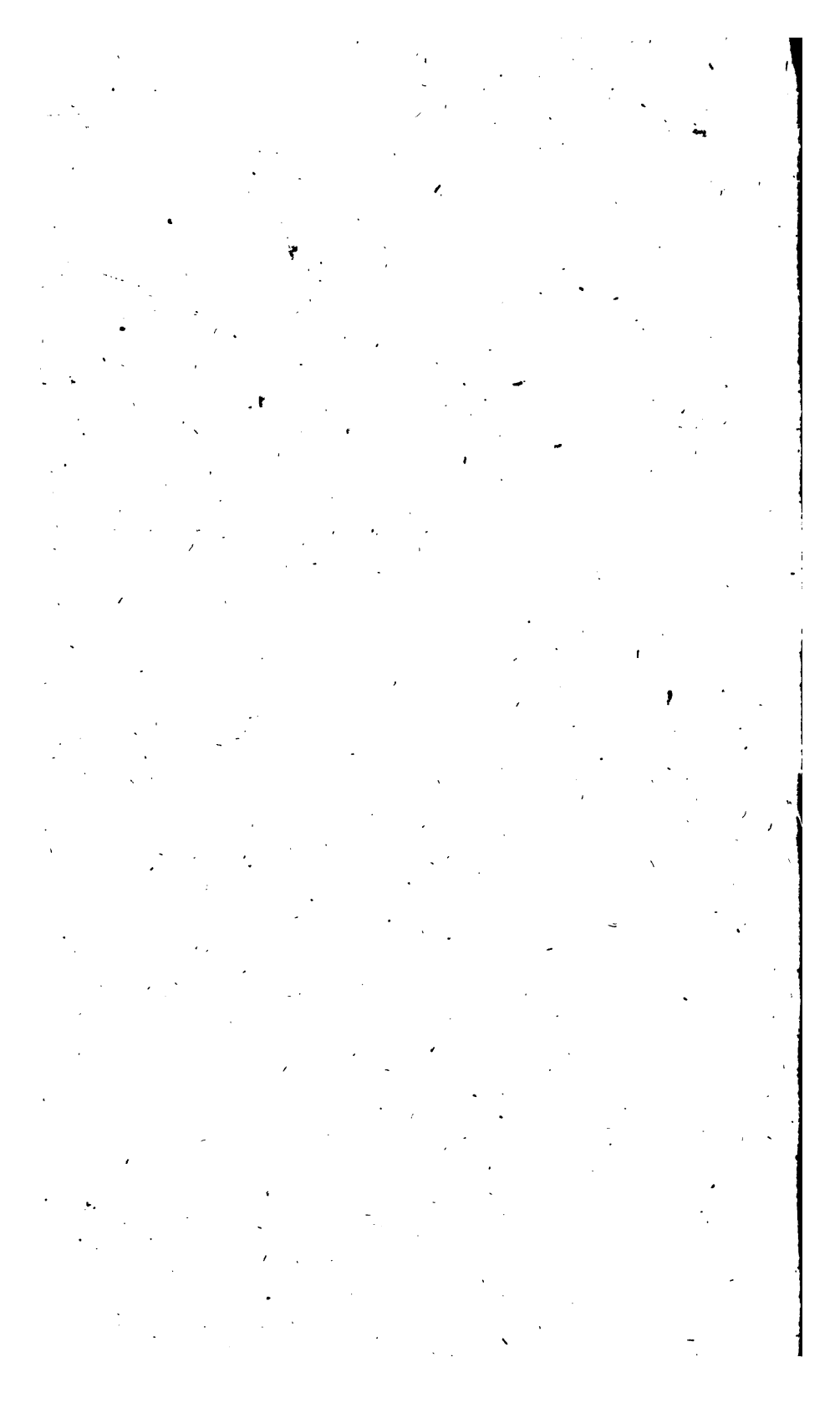
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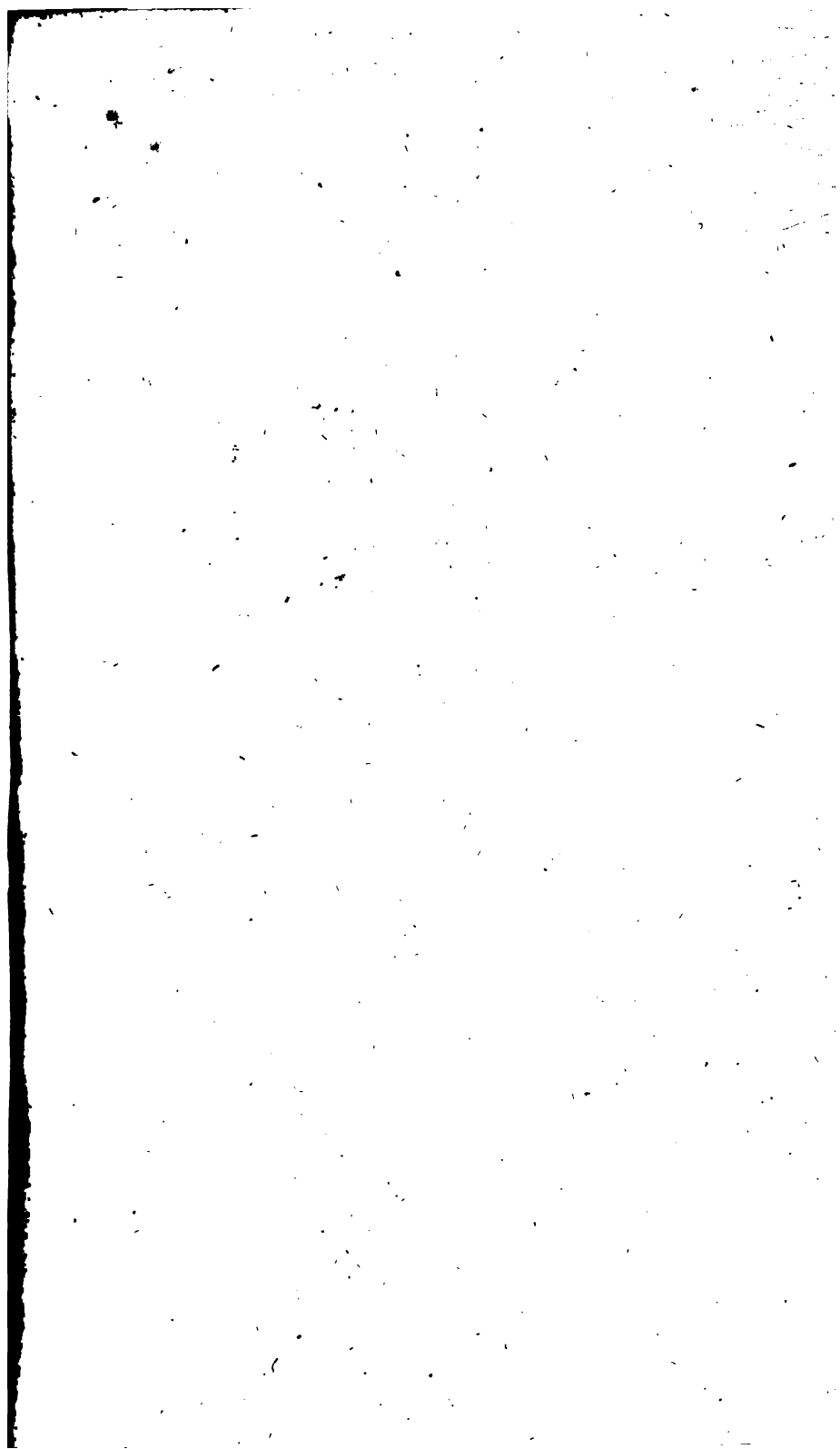
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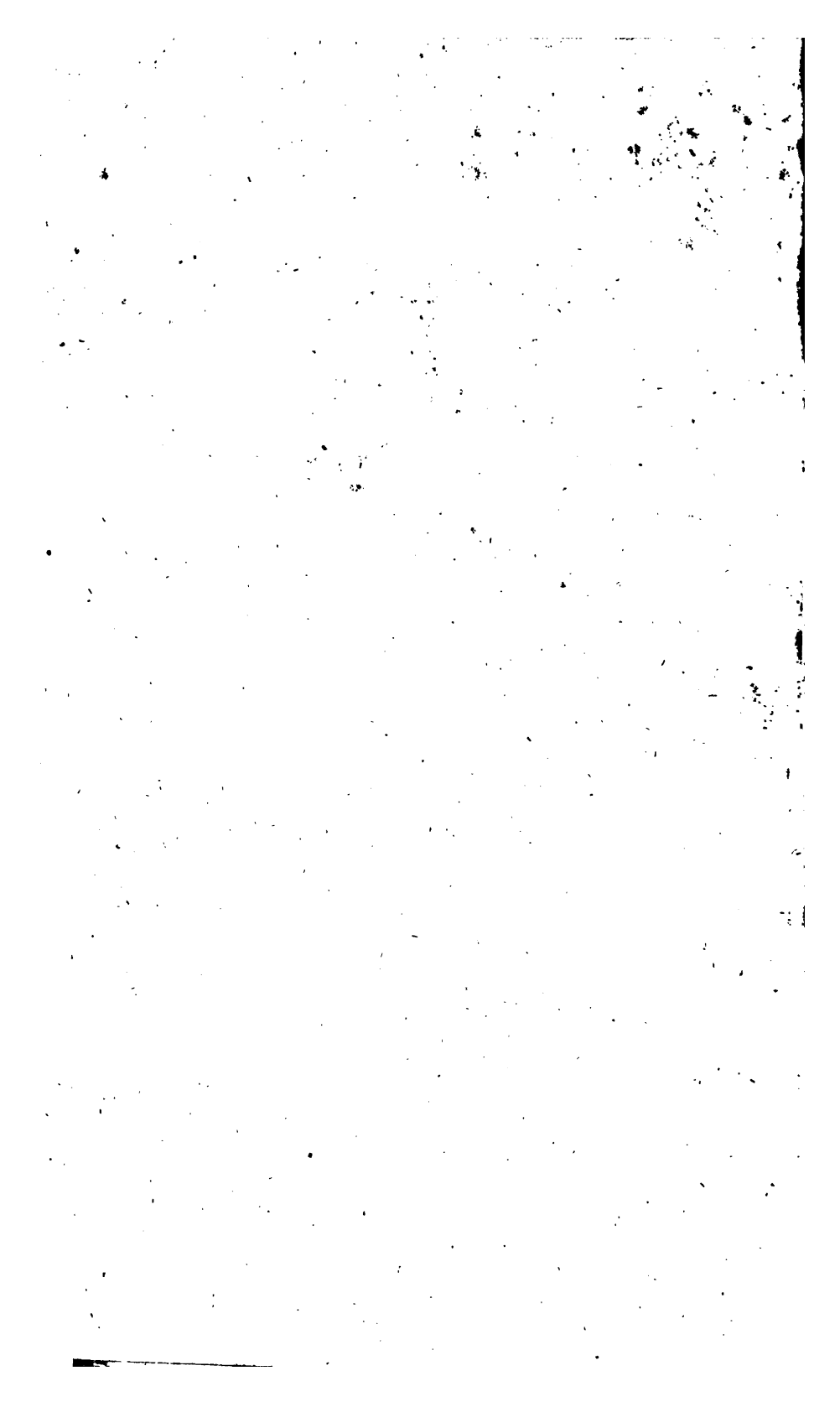
OF BALLIOL COLLEGE.

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A N
Universal History,

FROM THE
Earliest Accounts to the Present Time.

Compiled from
ORIGINAL AUTHORS.

Illustrated with
CHARTS, MAPS, NOTES, &c.

A N D
A GENERAL INDEX to the Whole.

*ἱστορίας ἀρχαίας ἐξίχθησθαι μὴ κατὰ δύναμιν ἐν αὐταῖς γὰρ ἐυρήσεις ἀκόπως
ἀλλ' ἱστορίας συνθεῖν ἔγνωσας.* Basil. Imp. ad Leon. fil.

V O L. XII.



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C O N T E N T S

OF THE

T W E L F T H V O L U M E.

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A N

Universal History,

FROM THE

Earliest Accounts to the Present Time.

C H A P. XLIX.

*The History of Rome, from the Death of Cæsar
to the first Consulate of Octavianus.*

WHÉN Cæsar was dispatched, Brutus advancing to the middle of the senate-house, offered to give an account to the fathers of the motives of their undertaking; in hopes they would approve an action which had restored liberty to their country; but they fled in the utmost consternation, and carried terror and confusion into all quarters of the city. So great was the throng at the door of the hall, and in the porch, that some of the senators were stifled in the crowd, and others dangerously wounded by running blindly in that general distraction against the drawn daggers of the conspirators. The news of Cæsar's death being spread all over the city, the friends of the deceased retired precipitately to their houses, and shut themselves up, without knowing what they had to hope or fear from so tragical an event. The artificers and other inhabitants quitting their shops and houses, ran up and down the streets in distraction; some hastening to see the body of the deceased; some eagerly enquiring into the particulars of the assassination. In the mean time Brutus and the other conspirators marched in a body from the senate-house all over the city, with their daggers still bloody in their hands, not like persons who thought of escaping, but with an air of confidence

*Rome in
great con-
sternation
upon Cæ-
sar's death.*

confidence and assurance. Some persons of distinction, who had not been privy to the conspiracy, joined them with their drawn swords, desirous to share in the honour of the action: of this number were C. Octavius, P. Lentulus Spinther, Favonius Patiscus, and L. Statius Murcus, who had served under Cæsar in quality of lieutenant against the sons of Pompey in Spain. They proclaimed in the streets that they had killed the king of Rome, and the tyrant of their country. They were preceded by a herald, who carried on the point of a lance, a cap, the symbol of liberty among the Romans. They exhorted the people to resume their ancient liberty, and complimented such persons of rank as came in their way. When they arrived at the comitium, Brutus, holding up his bloody dagger, cried out, "Cicero, we have revenged the republic."

The conspirators invite the people to resume their ancient liberty. His death attended with great disturbances in the city.

Finding, however, that the people did not enter into their views, but rather seemed inclined to revenge the murder of their beloved dictator, they thought it adviseable to retire to the Capitol, whither they were attended by a body of gladiators belonging to Decimus Brutus Albinus. Next day, as no citizen was injured by the conspirators either in his goods or person, the senators, and many of the people, went up to the conspirators in the Capitol, where they were harangued by Brutus. When he had done speaking, they applauded his oration, and invited him with one voice to come into the city. Thus encouraged, the conspirators descended with confidence into the forum, Brutus being attended and guarded by many persons of the most eminent quality in Rome, while the other conspirators went promiscuously mingled with the crowd. Brutus, perceiving the people disposed to hear him with attention, mounted the rostra, and addressed them in a very affecting speech, explaining the motives which had prompted him and his confederates to put Cæsar to death; and solemnly protesting they had nothing else in view but to deliver Rome from tyranny, and restore the liberty of the commonwealth. Notwithstanding all his elocution, and these specious protestations, the people continued silent, sullen, and dejected; and the conspirators dreading the consequence, retired once more to the Capitol ^a.

Brutus harangues the people.

Cæsar, determined to set out in a few days on his intended expedition against the Parthians, had resigned his consulship to P. Cornelius Dolabella, a young man of twenty-five years of age, who had married Tullia the daughter of Cicero. The new consul, out of respect to Cæsar, waited for his de-

^a Plut. Dio Cass. Appian, *ibid*.

parture to enter upon his office; but he no sooner heard the news of his death, than he appeared with his lictors and fasces, without the consent either of the senate or people. It was generally supposed he would join the dictator's friends against Brutus and the other conspirators; but he, to the great surprize of all, immediately went up to the Capitol with all the pomp of a consul; and there congratulating Brutus and his followers on the success of their glorious undertaking, declared, that he would support them to the utmost of his power. From the Capitol he returned to the forum, where he harangued the multitude, exhorting them to join the deliverers of their country; and, after having uttered many bitter reflections on Cæsar, and bestowed the highest elogiums on Brutus, he boldly proposed a law, enacting, that for the future the ides of March should be celebrated with the same solemnity as the day on which Rome was built. The people, however, were so far from applauding his proposal, that they would have torn him in pieces, had he not saved himself by a timely retreat to the Capitol.

Dolabella takes upon him the consular dignity, and declares for Brutus.

Is obliged to save himself in the Capitol.

The menaces which the multitude threw out on this occasion against the dictator's enemies, did not deter L. Cornelius Cinna from renouncing his party. Cæsar had married to his first wife Cornelia the sister of Cinna, and on that account had always favoured him in a particular manner. He had raised him this year to the prætorship, and promised him the consulate: but Cinna was in his heart a republican, and an enemy to the dictator; therefore, upon Cæsar's death, he not only openly joined with the conspirators, but going into the forum with all the ensigns of his dignity, pronounced an invective against his brother-in-law, styling him tyrant, usurper, and oppressor of his country. When he had closed his oration, he stripped himself, in presence of the people, of all the ornaments of his dignity, crying out, "These I received of Cæsar, against the known laws of Rome; and now I resign them to the Roman people, who alone have a right to dispose of them." The people took notice of nothing but his ingratitude, which they resented so highly, that he was obliged to abscond for fear of feeling its effects ^b.

The Angular behaviour of L. Cornelius Cinna.

Antony and Lepidus, who were entirely attached to Cæsar, and had concealed themselves through fear of being involved in his ruin, hearing how the people stood affected, appeared again in public. When the conspirators first consulted about the execution of their design, they were all, ex-

^b Appian. Bell. Civil. lib. ii. Vell. Patercul. lib. ii. cap. 58.

*Antony
saved by
Brutus.*

cept Brutus, of opinion, that Antony should be cut off with Cæsar; for they considered him as a dangerous person, on account of his unbounded ambition, and the powerful interest he had among the soldiery; but Brutus would by no means listen to their advice, saying, that an action undertaken in defence of the laws ought to be free even from all appearance of injustice. Besides, he gave them hopes, that a great change might be wrought in Antony. This Roman appeared again with all the majesty and splendor of a consul, being Cæsar's colleague in that dignity, and managed his affairs with such address, that he paved the way for that triumvirate, which gave the finishing blow to the republic, and established monarchy at Rome.

*Lepidus is
ordered by
Antony to
march a
legion into
the city.*

The first step he took was to order Lepidus to march into the city with a legion, which he commanded in the neighbourhood, and to encamp in the field of Mars. This motion alarmed the conspirators in the Capitol, who sent deputies to Antony and Lepidus, desiring them to consider the dangerous consequences of a division in so critical a conjuncture, and remonstrating, that no hatred to Cæsar's person had armed them against him, but only the love which every good citizen ought to have for his country. As Decimus Brutus had already left Rome to put himself at the head of an army of veterans in Cisalpine Gaul, which province had been allotted him by Cæsar, Anthony and Lepidus dissembled even their design of revenging the dictator's death, and, to gain time, returned the following answer: "That they were ready to sacrifice their private regards to the public good, and suffer the senate to be assembled, that they might govern themselves by the advice of so many illustrious and discerning persons as composed that venerable body."

*Antony
assembles
the senate.*

Accordingly Antony, as consul, appointed the senate to meet early next morning in the temple of Tellus, near his own house, and in the mean time placed guards all over the city, to keep the unruly multitude from raising disturbances. He likewise ordered all Cæsar's money and papers to be conveyed to his house. Next morning by break of day, the conscript fathers assembled; and as none of the conspirators appeared in the senate, the debates were carried on with more calmness and temper than could have been expected on such an occasion. Most of the senators were inclined to favour the conspirators; but nevertheless were divided among themselves in opinion. Some were for declaring them the deliverers, the saviours of their country, and allotting them, as such, ample rewards. Others were for approving the action, without appointing any rewards to the authors

*Different
opinions of
the con-
script fa-
thers.*

of

of it, since no person demanded them. Some thought it was sufficient to bury in oblivion what was past, without bestowing either praises or rewards on the authors of Cæsar's death. Some of Cæsar's friends declared boldly, that the action was odious and detestable; but that they were nevertheless ready to concur in such measures as should be judged necessary for the safety of those who had committed it, from a due regard to so many illustrious families. After several different overtures, it was at length concluded by a great majority, that before the conspirators were declared guilty or innocent, this question should be put, "Whether Cæsar was a tyrant, or a lawful magistrate?" since on the decision of this depended that of all other questions relating to the conspirators.

Antony made such plausible objections to this question, that the motion was dropped; and Cicero, in a very eloquent harangue, proposed that every thing which had passed should be buried in oblivion. Accordingly a general amnesty was proclaimed, and at the same time it was decreed, contrary to the opinion of Cicero, and the most zealous patriots, that not the least tittle should be altered of what Cæsar had enacted during his government. This was, in a manner, declaring him at the same time both innocent and guilty, since it was inconsistent to confirm what he had done during his dictatorship, and at the same time to decree, that those who had put him to death should not be prosecuted. Cicero, in one of his letters to Atticus, says, "the tyrant is no more; but the tyranny still subsists. We express great joy at his death, and at the same time confirm all his ordinances."

An act of oblivion past, and Cæsar's acts confirmed.

Antony and Lepidus were still resolved to pursue their revenge on the conspirators; but as they distrusted each other, and both were afraid of Decimus Brutus, governor of Cisalpine Gaul, they artfully concealed their design, and caused the act of oblivion to be published in all the quarters of the city. As the conspirators still remained in their asylum for fear of some sudden tumult, Antony and Lepidus sent their children to the Capitol as hostages for their security; and then Brutus, Cassius, and their followers, came into the city. The same night, in token of a perfect reconciliation, Antony invited Cassius to supper, and Brutus was entertained by Lepidus (A). It was now believed that the

^c Cic. Phil. i. Vel. Pat. lib. ii. cap. 58. Plut. in Cic. Brut. & Cæs. Appian. lib. ii. Dio, lib. xlv.

(A) Antony asked Cassius, concealed under his robes?" "Whether he had a dagger" "Yes answered Cassius, who

the republic would soon be restored to her former tranquillity: but tranquillity no way suited Antony's ambitious views.

Cæsar, on the ides of September of the preceding year, had made his will, and appointed his father-in-law, Calpurnius Piso, to see it executed: to him Marc Antony applied, and pressed him to produce the will, that it might be publicly read, being convinced that this step would produce new disturbances, and have a great effect on the multitude. The dictator's enemies endeavoured to persuade Piso to suppress it; but he, being supported by Antony, declared, that nothing should prevent him from discharging the trust Cæsar had reposed in him. The affair was brought before the senate, where it occasioned fresh disputes. Antony and Piso insisted on having the will read, and the body of the deceased dictator honourably interred. "Those (said Piso), who boast of having killed a tyrant, treat us themselves in a most tyrannical manner: they are willing that whatever Cæsar has done in their behalf should be ratified, and at the same time demand, that his last dispositions shall be suppressed. As to Cæsar's funeral, you may order what you think proper; but as to his will, which he has deposited in my hands, I am resolved to read it before the people." The affair was debated by both parties with great warmth; Cassius violently opposing the proposal of Antony and Piso, which, if complied with, he foresaw, would revive the affections of the people, and cause fresh troubles; but Brutus at length yielded, and it was decreed, that Cæsar's will should be opened and read; that his funeral rites should be performed at the expence of the public, and divine honours decreed to his memory.

*Piso and
Antony are
for having
Cæsar's
will read.*

*Brutus
yields them
their re-
quest.*

*Cæsar's
will.*

The will being produced, and read in the presence of the people, it appeared, that he had appointed his three great-nephews his heirs, C. Octavius, Lucius Pinarius, and Quintus Pedius. To Octavius, the grandson of his sister Julia, he left three-fourths of his estate, and the remaining part to the other two: he also ordained, that young Octavius, his principal heir, should take his name, and be adopted into the Julian family; and that if any of his great-nephews should die, or renounce his inheritance, Decimus Brutus and M. Antony should be substituted in their room. Several of the conspirators were appointed guardians to his children, in case he should leave any; and Decimus Brutus, for whom he had a particular affection, was named to the sovereign power." This answer put a stop to any farther jests.

succeed

succeed Octavius, should he die without issue male, and to be adopted into the Julian family. By the same will he bequeathed to the Roman people his fine gardens beyond the Tiber, and to each individual citizen the sum of seventy-five Attic drachmas, or three hundred sesterces. These last tokens of Cæsar's beneficence revived the affection of the people for him, and provoked them once more against Brutus and his followers, on whom they bestowed the name of assassins, threatening them with the same death they had inflicted on their common benefactor.

Disturbances occasioned by the reading of it.

Brutus, perceiving how much they were exasperated, mounted the rostra in quality of prætor, and endeavoured to appease them, by demonstrating that Cæsar was a tyrant, who had destroyed the constitution and liberties of his country. He likewise addressed himself to the veterans who had served under Cæsar, promising, in the name of the republic, that they should be no losers by the dictator's death; that those who had already received lands, should be confirmed in the possession of them; and that those who were not yet rewarded, should be satisfied out of the first money which should come into the public treasury.

On a stage, erected in the forum, they produced the body of Cæsar, laid upon a bed of ivory richly adorned with curtains made of cloth of gold and purple; and near it was hung the bloody robe which he wore at his death. All Rome crowded to see the mangled body of their deceased hero, whose loss they bewailed with sighs, tears, and lamentations. Those chiefly, who had served under him in his wars, were inconsolable, and with loud cries demanded vengeance. Then Antony ascended the rostra, and expatiated with great eloquence upon every circumstance in the life and death of Cæsar which could tend to excite their compassion and revenge.

The body of Cæsar brought forth.

Antony inflames the populace.

He had scarce finished his oration, when one of the spectators, in a transport of enthusiasm, mounting the stage, seized Cæsar's robe, and displaying it to the multitude, "Behold (cried he) the spoils of an hero, beloved of the gods, and revered by the world even to adoration!" These words, interrupted with frequent sighs, uttered with a mournful tone, and accompanied with outcries, and attitudes of sorrow, occasioned a general commotion. At the same time there suddenly appeared an image of Cæsar in wax, which moved by springs, and shewed the twenty-three wounds which he had received on his face and different parts of his body. This sight transported the populace to madness: the forum resounded with sighs mixed with menaces and curses against the authors of his death, whom they

Various artifices used to stir up the multitude.

*Cæsar's
body burnt.*

they styled assassins and parricides, deserving the most cruel punishments. Their fury was so great, that they would desert no longer the solemnities of the funeral; but tearing to pieces the benches and chairs of the magistrates, who held their courts in that place, and carrying away the counters and tables from the adjoining shops, raised with them a funeral pile, and placing Cæsar's body upon it, set it on fire; so that the body and the bed were consumed at once. The veterans, who had served under the deceased, threw into the flames all the military rewards he had bestowed on them. Many women of distinction, to testify their grief, and honour his memory, committed to the fire their jewels, their ornaments, and robes. The incensed multitude snatched the flaming brands out of the fire, and ran to burn the houses of the conspirators; but they were prevented by the friends and domestics who had been armed to protect them from violence (B).

*Brutus
and his
followers
retire from
Rome.*

Brutus and his party were so alarmed, that they thought it advisable to retire from the city; and accordingly they privately withdrew to Antium. All the strangers in Rome mourned after the custom of their respective countries, especially the Jews, who watched several nights at the place where Cæsar's body had been burnt. At last divine honours were paid him, and an altar was built by the populace in the same place, which was ever after looked upon as sacred. His great nephew Octavius caused a temple to be erected on the spot, and a pillar of jasper twenty feet high, inscribed, "To the father of his country^d."

*Antony en-
deavours
to gain the
senate.*

Antony, knowing that it was in the power of the senate to cross his designs, resolved to regain their favour, by inflicting such punishments on the authors of the disturbances, as struck the unruly multitude with terror, and for a while restored the city to its former tranquility. Having assembled the senate, he assured the fathers, that henceforth his whole attention should be how to quiet the people's minds, distracted on this fatal occasion, and to prevent the calamities of a civil war.

*Proposes
the recall-
ing of Sex-
tus Pom-
peius.*

He proposed recalling Sextus Pompeius, son of Pompey the Great, who, ever since the battle of Munda, had concealed himself in Celiberia. He was even of opinion, that

^d Plut. Appian. Dio. Suet. *ibid.*

(B) As they were returning from the conspirators' houses, they met one Cinna, who had been always greatly attached to Cæsar's party; but mistaking

him for another of the same name, who was concerned in the conspiracy, fell upon him, and tore him to pieces on the spot.

the

the loss of his paternal estate, which had been confiscated by Cæsar, should be restored at the expence of the public; and that the supreme command of all the naval forces of the republic should be conferred upon him, in the same unlimited manner as it had been enjoyed by his father. This proposal was heard with surprize, and received with general applause (C).

The senators were highly pleased with such a conduct in a consul and a friend of Cæsar; but the populace reproached him with ingratitude to the memory of his benefactor. Antony failed not to make a merit with the senate of this aversion: he even pretended to be afraid, lest the enraged multitude should make some attempt upon his life; and demanded a guard of the senate to secure himself against the rabble, who, he said, threatened him with destruction. The fathers could not reject his request, since he had incurred the hatred of the people for the interest of the senate: they allowed him therefore a guard for the security of his person; but Antony, under this pretence, chose six thousand old legionaries, who had served with him under Cæsar, and passionately longed to revenge the death of their general. The senate was alarmed at seeing the consul walk the streets of Rome, always attended with such a number of armed men: even his friends remonstrated to him, that such an extraordinary attendance rendered him suspected and odious in a free state. Antony promised to disband them as soon as he thought himself out of danger; and, in the mean time, to remove the suspicion they might entertain of his aspiring to succeed Cæsar in the dictatorship, he proposed a law abrogating that dignity for ever, and it was passed in the assembly of the people.

Demands a guard;

which is granted.

This calmed for a while the fears of the fathers: but Antony soon gave them fresh motives of jealousy; for having gained over to his interest Cæsar's secretary Faberius, and by his means made himself master of all his papers, he appointed officers, brought new members into the senate, recalled some from exile, and freed others out of prison;

His falsehood and double-dealing.

(C) Some ascribed this change in Antony to his fear of the conspirators; others suspected, that he was desirous of engaging the senate in his favour against young Octavius, the dictator's heir, who was on his journey from Greece to Rome. All the senators, however, bestowed on him the greatest commendations, Cicero, deceived by this false appearance of zeal, highly commended Antony's conduct, first in the senate, and afterwards in a letter he wrote to him, which the consul kept, and in due time made public by way of answer to the orator's bitter invectives.

and

*Governs
Rome with
an absolute
sway.*

and all these regulations as having been prescribed by Cæsar. Having by this artifice introduced many of his own creatures into the senate, he began to act with great independency, knowing he had nothing to dread either from the fathers or the populace, since he had now a strong party in the senate, and was guarded by a numerous body of chosen troops against the insults and attempts of the multitude. Besides, the whole authority of the government was lodged in his hands. He was himself consul, one of his brothers, Lucius Antonius, was tribune of the people, and the other, C. Antonius, prætor; so that, without taking upon him the title either of king or dictator, he governed Rome with an absolute sway*. Antony attached Lepidus to his interest, by procuring for him the dignity of pontifex maximus, vacant by the death of Cæsar, and betrothing his daughter Antonia to his son.

*Magnificent sport
exhibited
by Brutus.*

Some of the conspirators returned to Rome, while others continued at Antium; among the latter was M. Brutus, who, upon intelligence that many of the old soldiers who had served under Cæsar, of whom they had received lands, lay in wait for him, and by small parties had stolen into the city, would not expose himself to unnecessary dangers; however, in his absence, magnificent shews were exhibited to the people at his expence, he being then prætor. Cæsar had, before his death, allotted provinces to the chief men among the conspirators; to wit, Macedon to M. Brutus, Syria to Cassius, Asia to Trebonius, Bithynia to Cimbber, and Cisalpine Gaul to Decimus Brutus. They still continued in or near the capital, to watch Antony's steps, who aspired, notwithstanding all his former protestations, to the sovereign power.

*Octavius's
origin.*

Such was the posture of affairs, when news was brought, that young Octavius, Cæsar's great-nephew and adopted son, was coming to take possession of his inheritance. He was the son of Caius Octavius, of the senatorial order, who had been prætor of Macedon, and of Aecia, daughter to Julia, Cæsar's sister. The Octavian family was divided into two branches, the Cneii and the Caii: the former were early distinguished at Rome by the first honours of the republic; the latter, from whom Cæsar's adopted son was descended, were simple knights at the time of the second Punic war. Octavius's great-grandfather served in Sicily in quality of legionary tribune, and his grandfather bore the first employments in Velitræ, his native city. His

* Appian. lib. iii. & viii. Dio, lib. xlii. Plut. in Bruto. Cic. in Epist. passim, & in Philippicis.

mother Accia, or Atia, was the daughter of Julia and M. Accius Balbus, whose family, as appears from several ancient inscriptions, had been, long before the birth of Octavius, one of the most conspicuous of Aricia, an ancient city of Latium. Octavius was born in the consulate of Cicero and Caius Antonius. His father Caius Octavius dying when he was four years old, his mother Accia married again, and took to her second husband Lucius Marcius Philippus, descended from those Philippi who signalized themselves in the Macedonian wars. From his infancy he bore the surname of Thurinus, assumed, as Suetonius conjectures, by his father, who drove the remains of Catiline's army from the neighbourhood of Thurium, a city of Great Greece, and thence styled Thurinus.

Accia his mother, and Philippus his father-in-law, took care to have him educated and instructed by the best masters then in Rome; and he is said to have so profited by their instructions, that at nine years old he harangued the people with wonderful confidence, and pronounced the funeral oration of his grandmother Julia when he was not quite twelve. His extraordinary parts, joined to the majesty of his engaging mien and comely person, influenced in his favour all who knew or only beheld him. Julius Cæsar, his great-uncle, was so pleased with his genius and discretion, that he cherished him with all the fondness of a father, and very early formed the design of adopting him, in case he should leave no children of his own. He intended to carry Octavius to the Parthian war, and with this view had sent him before to Apollonia, on the other side the Adriatic, to wait for him there, and in the mean time improve his talent for eloquence under the famous rhetorician Apollodorus of Pergamus.

His education.

The regard Cæsar had for him.

He had been six months in Apollonia, when he received the news of his uncle's tragical death. At first he knew not whether the whole senate was privy to his murder, or whether he had fallen by a conspiracy of his private enemies; but he was soon informed, that sixty senators of the most illustrious families in Rome had been in the plot; that even those who had no share in it, did, however, secretly favour the conspirators, whom they looked upon as the deliverers of their country; that this party was very powerful; that Antony, Lepidus, and the other friends of his great-uncle, under pretence of avenging his death, aimed at nothing else but to establish their own power; and that the city was filled with troubles and commotions, occasioned by the animosity of different parties. At the same time, he received letters from his mother and father-in-law, and other

Is informed at Apollonia of his uncle's death.

other friends, advising him to forbear for the present declaring either his pretensions or resentment, since there could be no safety for him, but in an obscure and private life.

*Rejects the
advice of
his friends,
and sets out
for Italy.*

Octavius, rejecting these timorous counsels, resolved to pass over into Italy without delay, to inform himself of the situation of affairs. He went on board a small vessel, and passing the Adriatic sea, landed at Lupia, now La Rocca, between Brundisium and Hydruntum. The former was the usual place of landing, for those who came from the East; but Octavius thought it advisable not to shew himself there, the place being full of soldiers, till he had, by means of some emissaries, sounded the disposition of the inhabitants and garrison. The latter no sooner heard of his arrival, than they went out, and introduced him by a kind of triumph into the city. Octavius thanked them for their attachment and respect; and, after having offered a solemn

*Declares
himself Cæ-
sar's heir.*

sacrifice to the gods, declared himself Cæsar's heir, and son by adoption, calling himself no longer Caius Octavius, but Caius Julius Cæsar Octavianus (D). The garrison of Brundisium, which was very numerous, and consisted of veterans, whom Cæsar intended to lead against the Parthians, not only offered their services to Octavianus, but put him in possession of all the military stores and provisions which Cæsar had prepared for his Parthian expedition, and conveyed to Brundisium, in order to be transported from thence into the East. Octavianus had also the good fortune to intercept the tributes, which were sent annually to Rome from the provinces on the other side the sea, and likewise the provisions and money designed for the support and payment of the troops of the republic in Macædon. These Octavianus seized for his own use, giving out that he intended to revenge his uncle's death. Thus supplied at once with men, money, arms, and provisions, he set out for Brundisium, and took his route through Campania to Rome.

*How sup-
plied with
arms, mo-
ney, &c.*

*Visits Ci-
cero.*

On the fourteenth of the calends of May he arrived at Naples, and next day went to visit Cicero at his country-

(D) Adopted persons assumed all the three names of him who adopted them; but, as a mark of their proper descent, added at the end either their former nomen or cognomen; the first exactly the same as before, for instance, Q. Servilius Cæpio Agalo Brutus, the name of M. Junius Brutus, when adopt-

ed by Q. Servilius Cæpio Agalo. The other was added with some slight alteration, as in the case before us, Octavianus calling himself, after his adopted father, C. Julius Cæsar, and changing the cognomen Octavius into Octavianus, declaring himself thereby to be of the Octavian family.

house,

house, in the neighbourhood of Cumæ, whither the orator had retired for fear of Antony, who now governed Rome with an absolute sway.

From Cumæ, Octavianus pursued his journey to Rome, and was joined, as he passed through Campania, by the most considerable of his uncle's friends, relations, freedmen, and even his slaves. The veterans likewise, to whom Cæsar, after the civil wars, had given lands in Italy, hastened from all parts, to offer their service to his adopted son. As he approached Rome, most of the magistrates, the officers of the army, and the people, came out in crouds to meet him. Antony alone neglected to shew him the least respect; he did not even deign to send any of his servants or attendants to compliment him in his name: but of this neglect, young Octavianus took no notice, being unwilling, on so trifling an account, to disoblige one with whom he had affairs of much greater moment to transact. His friends could not forbear publicly condemning the pride and ingratitude of Antony; but Octavianus, with an appearance of good humour, excused him on account of his greater age, and the prerogatives of the consular dignity. "It behoves me, who am a young man, and in a private station (said he), to wait on one who is my senior, and in the highest post of the republic" Accordingly, he resolved to make him a visit next morning; but, as he designed to have his adoption first ratified by the prætor, according to the Roman custom, he desired his friends to meet him early in the forum, with as many attendants as they could conveniently assemble; in order to assist at that ceremony. His friends and relations, with crouds of clients and attendants, accompanied him early in the morning, pursuant to his request, into the forum, where he proved before Caius, the brother of Antony, at that time prætor urbanus or city prætor, his adoption, declared his acceptance, and caused it to be registered by the public scribes or notaries.

From the forum Octavianus went to Pompey's gardens, where Antony then resided. The consul suffered him to wait a considerable time at the gate, intimating, by that affected disregard, how much he was above him, and what degree of authority he designed to maintain over him. At length he admitted him into his apartment, and received him with great politeness and civility. Octavianus spoke first: he began with returning thanks to Antony, for his attachment to the memory of his father, and the panegyric he made at his funeral; then he modestly complained of his having suffered a pardon to pass in favour of the conspirators. He reminded him of Cæsar's friendship to him, and

Arrives at Rome.

Has his adoption ratified.

His speech to Antony at their first interview.

and of the many good offices he had done him : he conjured him, by the memory of his friend and benefactor, to assist him in revenging his death, at least not to oppose him in so laudable an undertaking. In the close of his speech, he gave Antony to understand, that he was resolved to pay immediately the legacies which his father had left to the people and soldiery ; and therefore desired to have delivered to him, as Cæsar's chief heir, the money which he had caused to be conveyed from Cæsar's house to his own : " But as that (said he), will hardly be sufficient to discharge all my obligations, I shall be obliged to you, if you will either lend me some of your own, or procure me some at interest from the quæstors, that I may pay off what shall remain due to those whom my father has remembered in his will. As for his moveables, I am willing you should keep them, as marks of his affection ; but for the ready money I have present occasion, and therefore hope you will order it to be delivered to me without delay."

*Antony's
reply.*

Antony, amazed at the young man's boldness, and piqued at what he said in the close of his speech, relating to his father's money, which, according to Plutarch, amounted to no less than four thousand talents, told him, with an air of authority, that he was very much mistaken, if he fancied, that Cæsar had left him heir of the Roman empire, as well as of his name and fortune ; that his death ought to have taught his adopted son, that the constitution of the commonwealth allowed neither of hereditary nor elective sovereigns ; and that therefore he ought not to demand reasons of a Roman consul, for what he had done in the government of the commonwealth. As for the obligations, which he pretended to owe him, on account of the honours he had procured for his father's memory, he willingly acquitted him of them all, since what he had done was only designed for the good of his country. " However (added he), to me alone you are indebted for his name and estate ; for had Cæsar been treated like an usurper, a disgrace which I alone prevented, there had been neither will, inheritance, nor adoption ; but I secured to him the honours due to his memory, and by these means his name and estate to you, even at the hazard of my own life. It is true, I have suffered some decrees to pass in the senate, favourable to the conspirators ; but I have been prompted thereto by reasons, which one of your age is not capable of discerning. As to Cæsar's money, which you demand, it does not amount to so great a sum as you imagine ; besides, as it belonged to the commonwealth, from which your father took it, it has been, in great part, shared among the magistrates since his death,

who

who are to dispose of it according to the exigencies of the state. As for what remains, I am ready to put it into your hands; but give me leave to advise you, young man, not to squander it in largesses and gratifications: employ it rather, in sending back to their respective colonies that shoal of followers, who attended you hither. The populace is a monster, that will never be satisfied, and will always requite the good offices of their fellow-citizens with the basest ingratitude. As you are conversant in the Grecian history, you must know, that the favourites of the people are, generally speaking, short-lived, and that popular affection is more inconstant than the waves of the ocean^f."

Octavianus, offended at this speech, took his leave of Antony abruptly, repeating several times, as he went out of the door, the name of Cæsar. He was well apprised, that the consul kept his father's money and estate from him, with a view to disable him from purchasing the favour of the people. He therefore resolved to expose to public sale all the houses and lands that belonged to the dictator, declaring, that he would not have accepted his inheritance, had it not been to prevent Antony from depriving so many families of the effects of Cæsar's bounty towards them: but the consul, to prevent the sale, prevailed upon some private citizens to claim the lands, as the estates of their ancestors, which the dictator had appropriated to himself during the civil war. At the same time, the quaestors and other officers of the revenue, at the instigation of the consul, claimed part of those lands, as having been confiscated for the use of the public. Octavianus, foreseeing the affair would be drawn out to a great length, put up to sale his own patrimony, with the estates of his mother and father-in-law, who parted with them to promote his designs and assist him in purchasing the favour of the people. With the money accruing from these sales, he paid part of his Cæsar's legacies; which affected generosity so charmed the populace, that they all declared in his behalf, and broke out into bitter invectives against Antony, for withholding his father's estate. A few days after this transaction, a dispute arose between Antony and Octavianus, on occasion of the public shews, which Crotonius exhibited during his ædileship. The senate had decreed in Cæsar's life-time, that at all public shews, a gilt chair, and a crown of gold should be placed for him, even after his death, to make the memory of that great man immortal. Pursuant to this decree, Octavianus

Antony's artifice.

Octavianus gains the favour of the people.

^f Liv. lib. cxvii. Appian. lib. iii. p. 531, 533. Dio. lib. xlv. Vell. Patercul. lib. ii. cap. 60. Suet. in Octavio. Cic. Epist. ad Attic. 10, & 13. lib. xiv. Oros. lib. vi. cap. 10.

sent the chair and crown ; but the ædile, influenced by Antony, refused to admit them. The affair being carried before the consul, Antony answered coldly, that he would refer it to the senate : “ And I, answered Octavianus haughtily, will place my father’s chair where it ought to stand, while you are consulting the conscript fathers.”

*Quarrels
with An-
tony.*

Antony, provoked at the young man’s boldness, threatened to send him to prison, if he attempted to bring forth his father’s chair and crown, either at the games of Crotonius, or at those which he himself was to exhibit in honour of the dictator, before the temple of Venus. Octavianus, perceiving that this prohibition was ill received by the people, resolved to convert it to his own advantage ; and, accordingly, going into the forum, complained to the multitude of the injury done to the memory of his father, addressing himself to Antony, as if he had been present (E). His discourse incensed the populace against Antony ; every one detested his ingratitude ; even his own guards, who had served under Cæsar, threatened to abandon him, if he continued to persecute the son of their general. Antony, finding it was his interest to dissemble, declared that he preserved a tender regard for the memory of Cæsar, and had also a great value for his son ; but as the young man, proud of the name of Cæsar, pretended to put himself upon the level with a consul, he thought himself obliged to make him sensible of the difference between a private citizen and the chief magistrate of the republic ; but that he was ready to forget all that was past, provided Octavianus would, for the future, pay him that respect and deference to which he was entitled by his age and office. This explanation was, at the request of the officers, followed by an interview, in which, after mutual protestations of friendship, they promised to assist each other in revenging Cæsar’s death.

*They are
reconciled.*

*Antony ob-
tains the
province of
Cisalpine
Gaul.*

In this pretended reconciliation with Octavianus, Antony had his private views. As the consular year was near ex-

Plut. Dio, Appian. *ibid.*

(E) “ Why should your hatred to me (said he) extend to Cæsar, who deserved so well of you ? Why do you endeavour to prevent me from paying those honours to the memory of my father, which you procured, and the senate decreed, for him ? Sacrifice me, if you please, to your revenge ; but do not thus revile the manes of a great

man, to whom you owe your present dignity. Suffice me, at least, Antony ! to discharge those legacies which he has left to his fellow-citizens ; I freely abandon to your insatiable avarice all the rest. I shall think myself rich enough, if I can do justice to his memory, by distributing among the people what he has left them by his will.”

piring,

piring, he hoped, by the interest of Octavianus, to procure the province of Cisalpine Gaul, which had been given to Decimus Brutus by the dictator, and confirmed to him after his death, by a decree of the senate. He knew the importance of that government, with respect to all Italy, and remonstrated to Octavianus, that since he was generously disposed to revenge the death of his father, he ought not to suffer one of his assassins to enjoy a command at the gates of Rome. Octavianus fell into the snare, and promised to assist him with all his interest. The affair was brought before the senate, where it met with opposition, a great number of the senators being attached to the persons and cause of the conspirators: besides, they could not turn Brutus out of the province which Cæsar had allotted him, without reversing the decree by which they had confirmed all his acts. The proposal was therefore rejected by a great majority: but Antony had recourse to the people, whose tribunes he had bribed; and the undiscerning multitude, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the senate, granted him the government he desired. On this occasion, Octavianus employed all his interest in favour of Antony, and it was chiefly by his intrigues that the consul carried his point. The fathers immediately dispatched a messenger to Brutus, acquainting him with what had passed, and advising him not to deliver up the province to Antony, but to fortify himself, and keep out the consul, if necessary, by force of arms^b.

The friends of Cæsar triumphed, on account of the reconciliation between Octavianus and Antony; but as the interests of the rivals were so opposite, each of them aspiring at the same power which Cæsar had enjoyed, it was impossible they should continue long united. Antony, thinking himself now master of Italy, began to thwart Octavianus's measures, and treat him with less regard; he even commanded him, under severe penalties, to forbear bribing the populace with his largesses: and because Octavianus, by the interest he had with the people, was likely to get Flaminius, one of his creatures, named to the tribunate, Antony employed all his credit and authority to postpone the election. Thus the aversion of the rivals was renewed. Antony never mentioned Octavianus but with the epithets of a rash, turbulent, and seditious young man; while Octavianus endeavoured to inflame the resentment of the people against Antony. The senate was overjoyed at this division; but Antony's guards, and the late dictator's friends, did not fail to remonstrate to him against the dangerous

*A new
breach be-
tween An-
tony and
Octavia-
nus.*

^b Plut. Dio, Appian. *ibid*.

consequences of their disagreement, and to exhort Antony to be reconciled again to the son of their general. Antony was no less desirous of destroying the conspirators than were his soldiers and officers; but he could not bear it should be owing to Octavianus. He was afraid, that, under pretence of revenging Cæsar's death, he might seize on the sovereign power, after having ruined the republican party. This was the secret motive that prompted him to oppose Octavianus, whom he beheld greatly beloved by the soldiery and people.

Antony endeavours to justify his conduct.

Is again reconciled to Octavianus.

The government of Syria conferred on Dolabella, and Macedon and Illyricum on C. Antonius.

However, as it would have been dangerous to disoblige the officers and legionaries, who had followed him since the dictator's death, he undertook to justify his conduct in an harangue, which is related at length by Appian¹, and unravels all the mysteries of his policy. The speech satisfied his officers; yet they insisted on his being reconciled to Octavianus, to whom, at their request, he had a second interview in the Capitol, which ended like the first, in mutual engagements and promises to assist each other; but notwithstanding their pretended reconciliation, they parted just as sincere friends as they were before.

Antony, to attach his colleague Cornelius Dolabella to his interest, and at the same time to weaken the party of the conspirators, persuaded him to demand the government of Syria, which had been allotted by Cæsar to Cassius, and the command of the army which the dictator had designed to lead against the Parthians. The fathers, offended at such an unreasonable demand, remonstrated to him, that it was an insult upon the memory of Cæsar, who had given that government to Cassius, and upon the senate, which had, by a special decree, confirmed all his ordinances. Dolabella, now wholly attached to Antony, answered, that Cassius had first transgressed the ordinances of Cæsar; and that a traitor, who had imbrued his hands in the blood of his friend and benefactor, ought not to have any share in his favours. As the senate continued inflexible, the dispute was brought before the people, who readily granted the government of Syria to Dolabella, in hopes of seeing a speedy vengeance taken of the dictator's enemies. Antony, taking advantage of the present disposition of the people, prevailed upon them, at the same time, to confer on his brother Caius Antonius the government of Macedon and Illyricum, which had been invested in M. Brutus. By these promotions, Brutus and Cassius were deprived of their governments; but the senate, who placed all their hopes in these

¹ Appian. lib. iii. cap. 9.

Patriots, and were equally jealous of Octavianus and Antony, procured other provinces for them, namely, Cyrene and Crete for Cassius, and Bithynia for Brutus^t.

As the reconciliation of Antony and Octavianus was forced, their pretended friendship was short-lived. A few days after they had mutually engaged, in the Capitol, to assist each other, Antony caused some of his guards to be put under arrest, pretending; that they had been corrupted by Octavianus to murder him. This was, perhaps, a mere pretence to raise forces. Accordingly Antony sent orders to his brother Caius, for whom he had procured the government of Macedon, to bring into Italy four of the legions that were quartered in that province. He flattered himself that Lepidus, who was now in Spain at the head of four legions, and Plancus, who commanded three more in Transalpine Gaul, would declare for him. Octavianus, fearing to be surprised and crushed by his enemy, hastened into Campania, where he collected ten thousand brave veterans, who had served under Cæsar, and had been rewarded by him for their service with lands in that part of Italy. He likewise found means to corrupt and gain over two of Antony's legions, the Martian and the fourth.

*A new
breach be-
tween An-
tony and
Octavia-
nus.*

*They both
arm.*

Having thus raised an army, without being invested with a military title, or any magistracy which gave him right to command the forces of the republic, especially against a consul, he marched immediately to Rome; but thought it advisable to halt at the temple of Mars, about two miles from the city, till he obtained the consent of the people for his entry. Canutius, a tribune of the people, in an harangue to the multitude, assured them, that young Octavianus had no other view in entering Rome with so numerous a guard, but to protect them and himself from the insults and dangerous attempts of the cruel and ambitious consul. The populace, ever giddy and short-sighted, believed their tribune, and suffered Octavianus to enter the city with all his forces. Antony was then at Brundisium, whither he had gone to appease a tumult, which some mutineers had raised among the Macedonian legions; but as he was hourly expected, both with his own guards and the other legions, which had remained faithful to him, nobody doubted that a civil war would soon be kindled within the walls of Rome. In this persuasion, some sided with Antony, others with Octavianus; but the most discerning among the senators declared for neither, affecting to stand neuter, and in the mean time privately inflaming the heads of the parties

*Octavia-
nus enters
Rome with
a numerous
body of
men.*

^t Dio, lib. xlv. Liv. lib. cxvii. Appian. lib. iii. p. 543—546.

against each other, not without hopes of seeing them both undone by their mutual hatred¹ (F).

Antony returns from Brundisium to Rome.

Antony having appeased the tumult, which had been raised among his troops at Brundisium by the emissaries of Octavianus, and discharged such of the officers as he distrusted, ordered his legions to march to Ariminum; while he repaired to Rome, and entered it at the head of a thousand well-armed legionaries. Next day he left the city, and went to Alba, in hopes of regaining the two legions which had revolted from him, and were quartered in that city; but they shutting the gates against him, he hastened from thence to Tibur, where he had large stores of ammunition and provisions, with a design to drive Decimus Brutus out of Cisalpine Gaul. At Tibur, he was joined by the tenth legion lately arrived from Macedon, by several senators, and a great number of Roman knights, who came to offer him their service. Many veterans likewise, who had formerly served under him, flocked to him from all parts of Italy; so that he began his march towards Ariminum, at the head of five legions, and a considerable body of Roman knights. Octavianus was, in the mean time, at Alba, with the two legions that had abandoned Antony, one of new-raised soldiers, and two of such veterans as had served under his father. From this place he wrote to the senate, complaining of the inconstancy of some members of that body, who, after the most solemn protestations of friendship to him, had abandoned his party, and joined that of his rival. At the same time, he offered to march with all his forces against Antony, as a common enemy. The senate commended the young general's zeal, but adjourned all deliberations on so weighty an affair, till the election of new consuls. The soldiers pressed him to assume the title of *proprætor*, without waiting till the senate or consuls conferred it upon him, and, in that quality,

Antony marches towards Ariminum.

¹ Appian. Dio. Vel. Paterc. *ibid.* Cic. in *Epist. ad Attic. & Famil. Pass.*

(F) Cicero, influenced by his hatred to Antony, sided with Octavianus, whom he had assisted with his advice ever since his first arrival in Italy, omitting no occasion to discredit his rival Antony, both with the senate and people. M. Brutus, who was still in the neighbourhood of Rome, wrote several letters to Cicero, wherein he

complained of his conduct in very sharp terms, telling him, that, notwithstanding his boasted love of liberty, he was sensible he could endure a tyrant; and that it was manifest, from his courting Octavianus, that he did not intend liberty for his country, but a bountiful master for himself.

to head them against Antony. Octavianus knew, that such a step would give great umbrage to the senate, whose favour he designed to court, till he had got rid of Antony; and therefore he refused the title which had been offered to him by the legionaries (G). *Octavianus's affected modesty and private views.*

In the mean time Antony, from his camp at Ariminum, dispatched a messenger to Decimus Brutus, acquainting him with the decree of the people, which deprived him of the government of Cisalpine Gaul. To the decree of the people, Brutus opposed that of the senate, confirming all the acts of Cæsar. After several messages and deputations, Antony threatened to have him declared an enemy to the republic, if, within a limited time, he did not resign the government of a province, which had been allotted to him (Antony) by the Roman people. Brutus replied, that he had been appointed governor of Cisalpine Gaul by a decree of the senate; and would not quit his province, till those who had placed him in it recalled him. In consequence of this refusal, the consul, breaking into the province at the head of a numerous army, made himself master of several cities, and laid siege to Mutina, now Modena, whether Brutus had retired with a troop of gladiators, and three legions, two of which he had formerly commanded under Cæsar. The siege of Mutina was looked upon by the senate as a declaration of war; but they postponed deliberating on so important a subject, till the new consuls entered upon their office. These were Caius Vibius Pansa, and Aulus Hirtius (H), who had both served under Cæsar, and were great friends to Cicero. *Decimus Brutus refuses to resign the province of Cisalpine Gaul.*

Immediately after this election, they assembled the senate; and having displayed, in a very pathetic speech, the evils with which the republic was threatened, they proposed the two following questions to the consideration of the conscript fathers, namely, what rewards the two legions deserved, that had abandoned Antony to side with *Antony invades it, and lays siege to Mutina.*

(G) The conscript fathers, deceived by his seeming modesty, conferred on him that very title which he had lately refused; at the motion of Cicero, desirous of having a powerful protector against Antony, they ordered a statue to be erected to him, gave him a

place in the senate, and enabled him to hold the consulate ten years sooner than was allowed by law (1).

(H) Hirtius was the author of that history of the Alexandrian and African wars, which is annexed to Cæsar's Commentaries.

(1) Appian. Dio, Plut. ibid. & Cic. passim. in Epist. & Philippic, i. & ii.

Octavianus? and what expedients they judged proper to be taken, in order to bring Antony to renounce his pretensions to the province of Cisalpine Gaul? It was unanimously resolved, that the two legions should be rewarded; and the consuls were impowered to confer on them what gratifications they should think proper. Some were of opinion, that a deputation should be sent to Antony, entreating him, in the name of the senate, to raise the siege of Mutina, and abandon that province: but Cicero, in a speech which has reached us, under the title of his fifth Philippic, shewed it was beneath the dignity of the Roman people, to treat with a revolted citizen; and that negotiations would only give him time to strengthen himself in the province he had usurped: he was therefore of opinion, that war should be proclaimed against him, as a common enemy (I). After warm debates, which lasted three days, Cicero, who bore great sway in the senate, prevailed upon the conscript fathers to pass a decree, commanding Antony to raise the siege of Mutina instantly, to quit the province of Cisalpine Gaul, and marching his troops over the Rubicon, which parted Gaul from Italy, to wait on the banks of that river for farther commands from the senate. All these injunctions he was commanded to fulfil, upon pain of being declared an enemy to his country. But Antony, who had a numerous army under his command, and could not persuade himself that Octavianus would employ his forces against him, in favour of one of the conspirators, paid no manner of respect either to the deputies of the senate, who were sent to acquaint him with the decree, or to the decree itself. For this contumacy Antony was, at the motion of Cicero, declared an enemy to his country; while the two consuls were ordered to raise troops, and march to the relief of Brutus, who was closely besieged in Mutina. At the same time, Octavianus was commanded by the senate to join his forces to those of the consuls, and to act in concert with them against the common enemy: he was invested with a power equal to that of the consuls; and it was decreed, that the veterans, who served under him, should be rewarded with

*Cicero is
for declar-
ing war
against
Antony.*

*Antony or-
dered to
raise the
siege of
Mutina.*

*Declared
an enemy to
his country.*

(I) His speech was filled with bitter invectives against Antony, and the highest commendations of Octavianus; which seem to confirm the opinion of Brutus, that Cicero

did not, in siding with young Cæsar, intend to deliver his country from tyranny, but to procure a bountiful master to himself.

lands,

lands, as soon as the war was ended, besides an exemption from all future service ^m.

While the two consuls were raising troops, news were brought to Rome of the death of C. Trebonius, who, by a decree of the senate, had been sent into Asia in quality of proconsul. The manner of his death is thus related by Cicero: Dolabella having obtained the government of Syria, repaired thither; but on his arrival found Trebonius in possession of several cities, which he had seized as lieutenant to Brutus, who had been first appointed governor of that province. As Dolabella was not in a condition to dispossess him by force of the places he held, he invited him to an interview, in which it was agreed that they should abstain from hostilities and live in amity and friendship; for Dolabella pretended now, as formerly, to be in his heart a friend and well-wisher to Brutus and his followers. Trebonius relying on the promises of Dolabella, continued quietly at Smyrna, as in the most peaceable times; but his treacherous rival surprised the city in the night, and having taken Trebonius prisoner, delivered him up to Samarius, a Roman exile; who, after having made him suffer the most exquisite torments which rage and cruelty could invent, caused his head to be cut off, and his body to be dragged through the streets of Smyrna, and then thrown into the sea. His head was carried on the point of a spear through the city, and afterwards placed opposite to the tribunal, where he used to administer justice. From thence it was taken down by the soldiers, who being incensed against Trebonius, as one of the assassins of Cæsar, treated his remains with "the greatest indignities" (K). Thus was Trebonius sacrificed to the manes of Cæsar. He was one of the dictator's chief favourites, and had been raised by him to the consulate for the three last months of the year 708. He had been, two years before, trusted with the government of Hither Spain, whither he had been sent to stop the progress of the sons of Pompey; and served the dictator with great fidelity, till he began openly to aspire at the sovereign power.

When the news of his death, and soon after the remains of his mangled body, were brought to Rome, the senate, highly provoked at the cruelty and treachery of Dolabella,

^m Cic. Philippic. v. & Epist. ad Brutum 15. Liv. lib. cxviii. Vell. Patercul. lib. ii. cap. 81. Suet. in Octavio. Plut. in Antonio. Appian. lib. lii. p. 359. 360. Dio, lib. xlv. p. 310. ⁿ Cic. Philippica xi.

(K) Appian, Dio Cassius, this affair in a different manner, and Velleius Paterculus, relate

Yr. of Fl.
2311.
Ante Chr.
37.
B. C. 711.

C. Trebonius murdered by Dolabella in Syria.

*Dolabella
declared an
enemy to
his country,*

declared him, at the motion of Cicero, a rebel, and enemy to his country. At the same time they decreed, that Brutus should have the government of Macedon and Illyricum, and the command of the forces in those provinces; that he might make use of the fleet which Apuleius had, by Cæsar's orders, prepared, together with all the provisions, military stores, and money, to the amount of seven thousand talents, which Cæsar had lodged in the city of Demetrias, and designed for his Parthian expedition; that Cassius should take upon him the government of Syria, and the charge of making war upon Dolabella, in order to revenge the death of Trebonius; and lastly, that all governors and commanders of forces belonging to the republic should receive orders from these two generals.

*Antony en-
deavours to
gain Hir-
tius and
Octavia-
nus,*

Antony, informed of the extraordinary step taken by the senate, seized this opportunity to raise suspicions and jealousies in the minds of the consul Hirtius and young Octavianus against the conscript fathers. He wrote a letter to them in common, reminding them of the favours they had received at the dictator's hands, upbraiding them with ingratitude, for basely betraying the cause of their benefactor to embrace that of his murderers, and disclosing the secret designs of the senate, which were to make them the instruments of each other's ruin. These remonstrances made a deep impression on Octavianus, and inclined him to a reconciliation with his rival; but as he apprehended, that if he joined Antony, that general would pretend to be the acknowledged head of the party, he still pursued his former measures, which were to court the favour of the senate till he should have effected the ruin of so powerful and formidable a rival. Pursuant to this scheme, he not only pretended to be unacquainted with the private views of the conscript fathers, but to give proof of his deference to the consuls, surrendered to Hirtius the legion of Mars, and the fourth, which had quitted Antony's party, and which, by a secret order from the senate, he was required to deliver to the consul.

*Hirtius and
Octavia-
nus march
to the relief
of D. Bru-
tus.*

He moreover joined the remainder of his forces to those of Hirtius, and marched with him into Cisalpine Gaul to the relief of Decimus Brutus, while Panfa, the other consul, continued in Italy to make fresh levies. Hirtius and Octavianus took Bononia and several other cities which Antony had seized, and then advancing to the neighbourhood of Mutina, encamped at a small distance from Antony's lines, with a design to cut off his communication with the neigh-

¶ Cic. ad Familiar. lib. xii. epist. 7. & Philippic. xi. Vell. Patercul. lib. ij. cap. 69. Appian. lib. iii. p. 542. & lib. iv. p. 624. Dio, lib. xlvii. p. 344.

bouring country, and force him, for want of provisions, to raise the siege. In the mean time P. Ventidius, a soldier of fortune, who had served under Cæsar, and was a particular friend to Antony, quitting Rome, where Cicero governed with an absolute sway, visited all the colonies which Cæsar had lately established in Italy: as he was well known for his valour, and greatly beloved by the soldiery, he raised in a short time two legions, consisting of veterans, with a design to join Antony. But first he directed some of them to enter Rome privately, and seize upon Cicero, who was daily inveighing against Antony, and employed in raising money, at the expence of Antony's friends, to pay the troops of Octavianus and the consuls. The orator, having timely notice of his design, abandoned the city with several other senators, and concealed himself in the country. Ventidius finding his design had taken air, marched hastily towards Mutina; but all the passes being seized by Hirtius and Octavianus, he was obliged to retire into Picenum, where he raised another legion, keeping his troops in readiness to march on the first opportunity that should offer of serving his friend and party.

Ventidius raises forces to assist Antony.

In the mean time Panfa, having raised four legions in Rome, left the city, and taking his route towards Cisalpine Gaul, arrived at Bononia. As the country between that city and Mutina was full of woods and marshes, Hirtius and Octavianus, upon the news of his approach, detached the legion of Mars, which consisted wholly of veterans, with their guards, or prætorian cohorts, under the command of Carfulcius, to cover his march. On the other hand Antony sent out, in the night-time, his two best legions, the second and thirty-third, with orders to conceal themselves among the rushes of a large morass, which lay on each side of the Æmilian way, through which the consul Panfa was to march. Carfulcius joined the consular army with his detachment before they reached the morass, and was marching in the van at the head of the legion of Mars, and the guards of Hirtius and Octavianus, when, upon entering the causeway, which led across the marsh, he observed some armed men lying among the rushes. Nevertheless he advanced boldly; but had not proceeded far before he saw himself invested by Antony's two legions, who, starting up from among the reeds and rushes, fell upon him with great fury. At the same time Antony appeared in person at the head of his cavalry in the neighbouring plain. The consul Panfa, heading two of his legions, hastened to the

Panfa sets out for Cisalpine Gaul.

Antony attacks the consul Panfa,

† Appian. Dio, Vell. Patercul. ibid. Cic. Philippic. xi.

assistance

assistance of the legion of Mars, which was engaged with two of Antony's legions; but these brave veterans refusing to admit the consul's raw and undisciplined levies into their ranks, for fear they should rather incumber than relieve them, the consul, passing the morass, marched in good order into the plain, to prevent Antony from assisting his legions and guards on the causeway, where both parties fought with uncommon fury.

*A sharp
engage-
ment.*

Antony's two legions were determined to revenge themselves on the Martian legion for having abandoned their party; and the Martian legion was resolved to maintain that honour and reputation which they had gained in many battles under Cæsar. Thus the engagement became a quarrel between the soldiers; and never did troops fight with more rage and emulation. As their numbers were pretty equal, Antony's two legions being supported by his guards, and the Martian legion by Hirtius and Octavianus, the battle lasted from morning to night, without any considerable advantage on either side. Octavianus's guards were almost cut in pieces, but those of Hirtius, after having made a dreadful slaughter of the enemy, obliged Antony's second legion to give ground; but they retreated in good order. The Martian legion and Antony's thirty-third fought the whole day, driving each other in their turns from the causeway into the morass, till Carfulcius drew off his men to relieve the consul Pansa, who was engaged with Antony in the plain, and hemmed in by his cavalry. But as these legionaries were much fatigued after so long and obstinate an engagement, before they reached the plain the consul was mortally wounded, and his troops were put to flight. Torquatus, quæstor of the consular army, had, during the battle, formed a kind of camp, to serve as an asylum for his party, in case of any misfortune. Thither the consul's legions retired, carrying with them their general, who was pierced through the body with a javelin. Antony pursued them, not doubting that he should easily force their intrenchments, which were not yet completed; but the consular legions, though consisting of raw soldiers, who had been just defeated in the plain, made so vigorous a resistance, that Antony, fearing Hirtius might attack him in the mean time, thought it advisable to content himself with the advantage he had gained, and return to his camp before Mutina.

*Antony
prevails
over the
consul
Pansa;*

While his troops were marching back in disorder, Hirtius unexpectedly appeared at the head of twenty chosen cohorts, and falling upon them before they could form their ranks, cut many in pieces. However, those veterans, tired

as they were, made a vigorous resistance, and being encouraged by the example of their general, who eminently distinguished himself on this occasion, stood their ground a considerable time; but were at last entirely defeated, and forced to save themselves by flight cross the marshes on each side the Æmilian Way. Hirtius, who in this action discharged the duty of an experienced general, and a valiant soldier, would not suffer his men to pursue the fugitives, for fear of an ambuscade, it being already dark, and the country full of woods and marshes. Antony passed a melancholy night with part of his forces in a small village called Forum Gallorum, at present Castel Franco, whence he returned greatly dejected to his camp before Mutina. His cavalry rallied in the dark, and taking up their wounded behind them, reached their camp by midnight, being quite exhausted with the fatigue of two battles, and a march of sixty furlongs, through woods and marshes. The loss on both sides was pretty equal: in the first battle Octavianus's guards, with a great number of Pansa's legionaries, were cut in pieces; but in the second Hirtius lost only a small number of men, whereas the slaughter of the enemy was very great.¹

but is defeated by his colleague Hirtius.

After the battle both armies returned to their respective camps in the neighbourhood of Mutina. Antony resolved only to defend his lines, and in the mean time carry on the siege with vigour. On the other hand, Hirtius and Octavianus, fearing the place, if not relieved, might soon be obliged to capitulate, were determined to hazard another engagement: but as Antony kept close within his lines, the two generals resolved to make a bold attempt, in order to relieve the invested city. Accordingly, leaving a sufficient number of forces to guard their camp, they marched with the rest close up to Antony's lines, with a design to force them where they appeared weakest. Antony immediately ordered out all his cavalry against them; but his horse being routed, after a sharp engagement, by the enemy's legionaries, who had possessed themselves of an eminence, he ordered two legions to advance, which were so vigorously attacked by Hirtius, that they soon began to give ground, and retire in disorder to their intrenchments. The consul pursued his advantage, and suffering himself to be carried away by his courage and ardour, entered the lines with the fugitives, and penetrated as far as the general's quarters, where he received a blow which laid him dead on the

The battle of Mutina.

The consul Hirtius is killed.

¹ Cic. Philippic. xiv. Suet. in Octavio. Vell. Patercul. lib. ii. cap. 61. Dio, Appian, ibid.

*Antony
raises the
siege of
Blatina.*

ground. And now, by the death of one of the consuls, and the absence of the other, who had been conveyed to Bononia after the first battle, in which he was mortally wounded, Octavianus was left commander in chief of the whole army (K). Antony, weakened by these losses, and fearing the event of a third battle, raised the siege next day. Not being in a condition to keep the field, he retired towards the Alps, and took the road to Transalpine Gaul, with a design to join Lepidus, Plancus, and Asinius Pollio, who were in those provinces at the head of considerable armies^r.

Brutus, being thus delivered from a long and troublesome siege, was for some time at a loss how to behave to Octavianus, who he knew bore him an irreconcilable hatred, notwithstanding the assistance he had afforded him against Antony. By the advice of his friends, he dispatched a messenger, inviting him to an interview on the banks of the Scutemnis, now the Panaro. Octavianus received the messenger with great coldness, but agreed to his proposal: this Brutus no sooner understood, than he caused the bridges on the river, which parted the two armies, to be broken down, and by a second message required, that the conference might be held in the presence of their troops, and with the river between them. These were not unreasonable precautions, it being well known that Octavianus had vowed the destruction of all those who had been concerned in the death of his father.

*An inter-
view be-
tween
Brutus and
Octavianus.*

Octavianus having agreed to these conditions, he and Brutus appeared on the opposite banks of the river; when

^r Appian. Dio, *ibid.* Plut. in Antonio.

(K) According to some writers, he misbehaved in the former battle; others affirm, that he gave on this occasion signal proofs of an extraordinary courage, and conducted the action with all the prudence of an old and experienced commander: for at the head of some brave legionaries he rescued the body of the dead consul out of the enemy's hands, and one of his standard-bearers being killed, he carried the eagle himself, fighting like a private man in the first line; but, as he observed the consular troops discouraged

by the death of their leader, he retired in good order out of the enemy's camp into the neighbouring plain, where the action being renewed, he gained a complete victory, and obliged the enemy to seek for shelter behind their intrenchments. Some ascribe the whole glory of this action to D. Brutus, who falling out of the city, and falling upon the enemy's rear, while they were engaged with Octavianus, forced them to give ground, and retreat with the utmost confusion to their camp.

the

the latter thanked him in a very obliging manner for his powerful assistance, and acknowledged himself indebted to him for the liberty he enjoyed. To this compliment Octavianus replied, that Brutus owed him no obligations, since he had relieved Mutina, not for his sake, but to chastise the insolence of Antony, who nevertheless might one day become his friend; whereas he should ever maintain a mortal enmity to Brutus, and all those who had embued their hands in the blood of his father. Brutus, piqued at this answer, observed, that since Antony was already sufficiently humbled, Octavianus had no farther business in the province of Cisalpine Gaul, which had been confirmed to him by a decree of the senate, forbidding any other general to enter it without his leave. Octavianus was offended at this declaration; but being apprised that Brutus was supported by the senate, he thought it adviseable to stifle his resentment; and, quitting the neighbourhood of Mutina, to return to Bononia, where he found the consul Vibius Pansa lying at the point of death.

He no sooner heard of the arrival of Octavianus, than he sent for him, and tenderly embracing him, spoke to this effect: "I always loved your father; and when he was slain, I never laid aside the desire, nor the hopes of revenging his death, though some prudential reasons, to which even you have submitted, have tied my hands, and kept me in the party of the senate. My death, just at hand, deprives me of that comfort: however, before I expire, I will at least acquit myself towards the son of what I was indebted to the father. Know then, that the senate both hates and suspects you; nothing has pleased them more than to see you at variance with Antony; and they flatter themselves with the hopes of finding you become the instruments of each other's ruin: if they have declared for you, it was only because they thought you the least formidable. These views they have confessed more than once to Hirtius and to me. The friendship with which Cæsar once honoured me, obliges me to give such advice as I would follow on the like occasion. Compromise your difference with Antony; for you have no other means of saving your life, and advancing your fortune. My design was not, as the senate believed, to destroy Antony, but compel him to be reconciled with you, and afterwards to join our armies, and in conjunction pursue the murderers of our common benefactor. I return your two legions, and would willingly surrender to you the rest of the army; but they do not entirely depend upon me: the commanders are most of them the spies of the senate, who have private orders to observe your conduct. Suffer me,

*Pansa's
last advice
to Octa-
vianus.*

Pansa dies of his wounds. me, therefore, to put them into the hands of Torquatus.⁹ The words of the dying consul made a deep impression on the mind of Octavianus, and produced at length the famous triumvirate¹ (L).

The bodies of the consuls carried to Rome, and interred with pomp. The senate, upon the news of the advantages gained over Antony by the generals of the republic, decreed fifty days supplications to return thanks to the gods for the success of the campaign. By the same decree large sums were ordered to be paid out of the public treasury to such of the victorious legionaries as remained alive, and to the widows and heirs of those who had died in the battle, or since of their wounds. The bodies of the two consuls were, by an order from the senate, conveyed to Rome, and with magnificence interred in the Campus Martius, at the expence of the public; an honour which had been hitherto granted to none but the most eminent personages of the republic¹.

The senate disgust Octavianus: The conscript fathers, conceiving Antony to be utterly ruined, began to slight Octavianus, for whom they believed they should have no farther occasion. He demanded a triumph, which was refused, and granted to Decimus Brutus; though Octavianus had at least as just a claim to that honour as Brutus. Cicero was for granting him an ovation, but could not, with all his eloquence, prevail upon the senate to confer on him even that mark of distinction. They heaped all sorts of honours on Decimus; and ordered Torquatus to deliver him the troops which the consul Pansa had commanded: they appointed him commander of all the forces in Cisalpine Gaul, charging him, without even mentioning Octavianus, to pursue Antony, and treat him as a public enemy. All the temples of Rome were opened, and public prayers appointed for the success of his arms: as the siege of Mutina had been raised on his birth-day, the senate decreed, that it should be for ever deemed a lucky day, and as such marked in the fasti. At the same time the conscript fathers, to mortify Octavianus, commanded, that a statue should be raised at the public expence to the memory of

⁹ Appian. Bell. Civil. lib. iii. lib. xlvii. Suet. in Octavio.

¹ Brutus ad Cic. epist. 6. Dio,

(L) Octavianus was suspected of having murdered both the consuls; Hirtius with his own hand in the heat of the battle, and Pansa after it, by causing poison to be poured into his wound by Glyco, his physician. It is certain Glyco was seized.

and even condemned to the torture, but saved by the credit of his master Octavianus. Decimus Brutus indeed wrote to Cicero in behalf of the physician, whom he seems to have thought incapable of so black a crime.

Pontius

Pontius Aquila, one of the conspirators, who had been killed in the battle of Mutina; and that all the charges he had been at, and the losses he had sustained during the war, should be restored to his heirs out of the public treasure.

So many marks of distinction heaped upon the conspirators left Octavianus no room to doubt of the disposition of the senate. From that moment he resolved to follow the last advice of Panfa, and to be reconciled to Antony: with this view he sent back to him a great number of officers, who had been taken prisoners in the last battle, and among the rest Decius, one of Antony's most intimate friends, after having, in ambiguous words, signified his intention. Ventidius, as we have observed before, had raised three legions for Antony, and was attempting to join him after the battle of Mutina. Octavianus overtook and surprised him with a superior force, and might easily have defeated him; but he suffered him to escape, after having had a private conference with him, wherein he charged him to tell Antony in his name, that he acted as if he was ignorant of his true interest. At the same time he opened himself without reserve to Lepidus, Plancus, and Alinius Pollio, all old officers of the dictator, with whom he had always maintained a secret correspondence. He assured them that the senate, entirely devoted to the assassins of his father, were resolved to destroy him; that they ought not to expect a more favourable treatment; that their common enemies studied only how to divide, in order to crush them the more easily one after another; that for their own safety they ought to unite their forces, and join in maintaining the party, and revenging the death of their late general. He added some complaints of Antony; but in so artful a manner, that it was easily seen he was not averse to a reconciliation.

who resolves to be reconciled to Antony

In the mean time Antony, pressed by Brutus, endeavoured to reach the Alps, with a design to pass those mountains, and join Lepidas, who commanded seven legions in Transalpine Gaul, and who, he imagined, would support him, in consideration of the many kind offices he had done him during his late consulship, and in the dictator's life-time. Brutus, having thus driven him out of Italy, wrote to the senate, that he had dispersed his army, and that Antony was skulking among the Alps, where he could not avoid falling into his hands. The senate, overjoyed at these tidings, exclaimed, that the republic had recovered its ancient liberty, and appointed, as if Antony had been actu-

Antony is driven out of Italy by Decimus Brutus.

* Cic. ad Attic. lib. i. epist. 15. & ad Familiar. lib. x. epist. 20. Dio, lib. xlv. Appian. lib. iii.

*His effects
confiscated.*

ally taken, ten commissioners to try him. They talked of repealing all the laws which had been enacted by him during his consulship, and even including in this repeal all the ordinances of the dictator, in order to settle the commonwealth on its ancient foundation. At the motion of Cicero a decree immediately passed, confiscating all Antony's effects, and those of his friends and adherents, with terrible menaces against such as should conceal any part of his estate.

*Reduced to
great diffi-
culties in
passing the
Alps.*

While Cicero, at the head of the senate, thus vented his rage against Antony, that general was struggling among the Alps with all the hardships and miseries that can be imagined. Brutus having obliged him to quit Italy, he attempted to pass those mountains without his baggage, and the necessary provisions for so long and painful a march: his followers were forced to feed first upon the flesh of their horses, and afterwards upon such wild fruits and roots as they could find in that mountainous country, and which no man had ever tasted before; they were at last so pinched with hunger, that they devoured the bark of trees. Plutarch tells us, that in this extremity, Antony, though accustomed to luxury and ease, exhibited an example of patience to the whole army, and that in misfortune he could not be easily distinguished from a virtuous man. He suffered all hardships with the constancy of a hero, and adopted such a system of conduct, that no one could have expected from a man wholly addicted to pleasure. After all, he must have perished with his whole army, if Culeo, one of the lieutenants of Lepidus, who guarded the passes, had performed his duty: but the venal commander suffered himself to be bribed by Antony, and for a sum of money granted him a free passage.

*Enters
Gaul.*

Antony no sooner entered Gaul than he wrote to Lepidus, Plancus, and Asinius Pollio, on the subject of their ancient friendship, and exhorting them to join him against the murderers of Cæsar, their common enemies. Lepidus was surprised at his arrival, and at a loss how to behave in so critical a conjuncture. He was a man of an illustrious family, but of a narrow mind, though unbounded ambition. He was afraid, that if he joined Antony, who was beloved by the troops, he might get the ascendant, and scarce leave him the rank of a lieutenant in his own army. Upon this consideration alone he rejected Antony's proposals: for since the senate had declared that general an enemy to his country, he could not join him without drawing upon himself a decree of the same nature; but he assured him at the same time that, whatever orders he received from the senate, he would carefully avoid coming to an engagement,

*Lepidus
refuses to
join him.*

or molesting him. Agnius Pollio, on the contrary, no sooner received Antony's letter, than he assured him, that he should find him always ready to concur in all his measures; for he had been one of Cæsar's particular friends, and bore an irreconcilable hatred to all those who had been concerned in his death. Plancus maintained a secret intelligence with both parties, and carefully avoided declaring himself openly for either side, till he saw which was likely to prevail.

Antony marched up to the army of Lepidus, in the neighbourhood of which he marked out his camp, but without fortifying it, as if they had been of the same party and interest. He sent immediately some of his officers to him with a message, conjuring him, by Cæsar's memory, to concur with him in revenging the death of their common benefactor: but Marcus Juventius Laterensis, one of Lepidus's most intimate friends, and in his heart a zealous republican, laboured to dissuade him from joining Antony. To conceal his attachment to the party of the conspirators, he artfully represented to Lepidus, that having seven legions under his command, he was one of the most powerful generals of the republic, and would be of great weight, what side soever he chose; but that, if he joined Antony, he would be obliged to submit to the authority of so haughty and imperious a commander, and would make but a very poor figure. By this suggestion the zealous republican strove to prevent a conjunction which he was convinced would prove fatal to his country. Antony, who saw his ruin unavoidable, if Lepidus should be at length prevailed upon to act in concert with Decimus Brutus, resolved to put his fortune on a desperate hazard.

Antony encamps near Lepidus.

His hair was long and disordered, nor had he shaved his beard since his late defeat. In this condition, and with a mourning mantle flung over him, he went boldly into the camp of Lepidus, and there harangued the soldiers, who had all served with him under Cæsar. They were greatly moved at his habit, and more at his speech; and Lepidus observing their emotion, ordered the trumpets to sound, that he might be heard no longer. This expedient did not prevent the compassion of the soldiery, who secretly sent Clodius and Lælius disguised in women's cloaths, advising Antony to attack Lepidus, and assuring him, that the greater part were disposed to receive him with open arms, and even to dispatch Lepidus, if he thought it necessary. Antony would not suffer any violence to be offered to Lepidus; but early next morning, putting his troops in motion,

Enters Lepidus's camp in a mourning habit, and moves the pity of the soldiers.

*by whom
he is re-
ceived,
and de-
clared ge-
neral.*

he passed the river Argenteus (M), which divided the two armies. The soldiers of Lepidus no sooner saw him than they ran to receive him, and began to beat down the works, and level the ramparts. Antony entered the camp amidst the acclamations of the soldiery, and marched immediately to the general's quarters, whom he found asleep. We may easily conceive the surprize of Lepidus at sight of Antony, no longer in the attire of a suppliant, but surrounded by his guards, and attended by his own officers, and those of Lepidus. He leaped out of his bed in the utmost consternation, and throwing himself at Antony's feet, offered him the command of the army. Antony, though absolute master of the person and army of Lepidus, tenderly embraced him, giving him the name of father, and even left him the title, and all the badges of a general, though he alone performed the functions of that office. Juventius Laterensis was so touched with the misfortunes which he foresaw this fatal conjunction would bring upon his country, that while the generals were embracing each other, he killed himself with his own sword v.

*Antony is
joined by
Pollio and
Plancus.*

Alfius Pollio, who was encamped at a small distance from Lepidus, followed his example, and joined Antony. Munatius Plancus, who had been hitherto wavering, and doubtful which side to take, thought it now high time to declare himself: accordingly leaving his camp at the conflux of the Rhone and the Saone, where he had been trusted by the senate with the charge of founding a colony (N), he led all the troops under his command to Antony, who was about the same time joined by Ventidius, at the head of three legions. So that he, who a little before had fled before Brutus, and abandoned Italy, found himself now in a condition to return thither with twenty-three legions, and above ten thousand horse.

While this revolution, in the affairs of Antony, happened in Gaul, Octavianus continued at Bononia with the fourth legion, that of Mars, and some others, which had remained with him after the battle of Mutina. As the senate had committed the whole management of the war against Antony to Decimus Brutus, he concluded from thence, that

v Appian. lib. iii. Vell. Patercul. lib. ii. cap. 63.

(M) This river, called by the ancients Argenteus, and by the moderns Argens, rises near S. Maximin in Provence, and falls into the Mediterranean at a small distance from Frejus.

(N) The city of Lions is commonly thought to have been founded by him.

the conscript fathers intended to reduce him to the state of a private citizen : to defend himself from this blow, he resolved to stand for the consulate, which office was become vacant by the death of Hirtius and Pansa ; but as he was aware of the difficulties he should meet with in the pursuit of that dignity from the senators, who were for the most part attached to the cause of Brutus and Cassius, he applied himself to Cicero, with whose vanity and ambition he was well acquainted ; and wrote a letter, discovering his design to that orator as to a bosom-friend, telling him, that he was very desirous of having him for his colleague in the consulate, in order to be instructed by so great a master in the rules and maxims that are requisite for the government of the commonwealth ; that, for his part, he only desired the name of consul to make him amends for the loss of a triumph, which he thought his due ; but that all the power and authority should be left to Cicero. Thus cajoled by the artful flatteries of a raw youth, the old orator proposed in the senate the elevation of Octavianus to the consular dignity, as the only means of preventing him from being reconciled with Antony. He added, that as Octavianus was very young, the fathers ought to appoint him such a colleague, as by his age and prudence might be capable of directing his conduct. The senators perceiving that he pointed out himself as the most proper person to be chosen for Octavianus's colleague, could not help laughing aloud ; and it was no small mortification to Cicero to see his vanity at the same time both exposed and disappointed ; for all the relations and adherents of the conspirators cried out with one voice, that to put Cæsar's son at the head of the republic, was a measure that would utterly destroy the commonwealth *.

Octavianus uses Cicero's ambition to get the consulate ;

but is disappointed.

Octavianus, finding he could obtain nothing of the senate by Cicero's means, resolved to defer no longer his reconciliation with Antony. He forthwith invited him back into Italy, exhorting him to forget all private injuries, and concur with him in humbling their common enemies. Antony, pleased to find Octavianus so earnest for a reconciliation, readily consented, and began his march towards Italy, to put the finishing stroke to their accommodation. He led with him seventeen legions, and a thousand horse, having left six legions in Gaul under the command of Varius, one of his bottle-companions, who was nick-named Cotylon, which signifies a bottle.

Octavianus is reconciled to Antony.

* Appian. Dio, *ibid.*

Lepidus declared an enemy to his country.

The management of the war against him and Antony, committed to Octavianus, and D. Brutus.

His speech to his soldiers.

Octavianus's soldiers demand the consulship for their general.

News of the junction of Antony and Lepidus reaching Rome, filled the city with consternation. The senate immediately assembled, and declared Lepidus an enemy to his country, and denouncing the same censure on the legionaries of his army, who should not abandon him, and return to their duty before the calends of September. The statue of Lepidus was, by order of the senate, thrown down, and that of Juventius Laterensis raised in its room. As the senate was entirely ignorant of the reconciliation between Octavianus and Antony, and the private treaty which by this time was concluded between them and Lepidus, they had recourse to Octavianus, and committed to him, in conjunction with Decimus Brutus, the management of the war against Antony and Lepidus. Octavianus artfully returned the senate thanks for the honour they had been pleased to confer upon him, and began to raise troops, and make the necessary preparations for renewing the war.

When he saw himself again at the head of an army, he threw off the mask. Assembling his soldiers, he told them, that the sole view of the senate was to destroy all his father's friends, by sowing divisions among them, and arming them against each other; but that he, well apprised of their wicked designs, had entered into a confederacy with Antony and Lepidus, as the only means of procuring safety for themselves, and for so many brave men who had espoused their cause: "Do you believe (said he) that those who have murdered my father, will spare my life or your's, if their party should prevail? and prevail they must, if we are divided among ourselves. What security can you have for those houses, lands, and inheritances, which my father allotted you, if those men get into power, who approve of his death, and are for annulling all his ordinances? You know I am not ambitious; for you have seen me refuse the prætorship, which yourselves offered me; but now I must intreat you, not for my own sake, but for your's, to concur with your votes and interest in raising me to the consulship. I shall be in a condition, when vested with that dignity, to secure to you the possession of those benefices which my father bestowed upon you, and at the same time to revenge his death with the destruction of those who endeavour to destroy us."

The soldiers received this proposal with great joy, and immediately appointed deputies to go to Rome, and demand the consulship for their general, in the name of the legions. The senate received the deputies with great civility; but refused

refused to comply with their request, alleging the youth of Octavianus, who had not yet attained the age which the laws required in a consul. The deputies, who had been previously well instructed, brought several instances of persons who had been raised to the consular dignity without any regard to their age, such as Rullus, Decius, Corvinus, the two Scipios, Pompey, and Dolabella, which last had been but very lately honoured with the consulate, though nearly of the same age with Octavianus. These precedents were of no weight with the fathers; they therefore, without casting any reflections on Octavianus, or declaring their real motives, endeavoured, under divers pretences, to elude the request of the legionaries; when one of those armed ambassadors, named Cornelius, laying his hand on his sword, "If you will not make him consul (said he) this shall." Having thus spoken, he left the senate with his companions, and they returned to give their general an account of the failure of their negotiation.

The soldiers, provoked at this refusal, pressed Octavianus to lead them to Rome, saying that he, as heir to Cæsar, had a right to dispose of the consulate. The ambitious youth taking advantage of the present disposition of the soldiery, marched immediately towards Rome with eight legions. He passed the Rubicon, and dividing his army into two bodies, advanced with one by long marches towards the capital, in order to surprise his enemies, while the other followed at leisure. The unexpected news of Octavianus's approach filled the city with dread and confusion. Several senators, among the rest Cicero, withdrew into the country: those who remained, assembled in haste, and came to the following resolutions: that the money, which the senate had promised to the two legions, the fourth, and that of Mars, should be immediately sent to them; that the same sum should be promised in the name of the republic to the other legions under the command of Octavianus; and that he, though absent, should be allowed to stand for the consulate. Deputies were immediately dispatched to acquaint him with these resolutions. They were scarce gone, when the fathers, reflecting coolly on their behaviour, began to be ashamed of their pusillanimity in thus submitting to a boy, and giving way to the insolence of the soldiery. At the same time two legions, who had been in Africa, arrived at the gates of Rome. These the senate looked upon as a reinforcement sent them by the gods, and resolved with them, and a legion which Vibius Pansa had posted to guard the city, to put themselves in a posture of defence. Two prætors, Quintus Gallius Lupercus, and Marcus Cornutus, had

Octavianus marches towards Rome.

Resolutions taken by the senate.

governed the city, and supplied the want of consuls since the death of Hirtius and Panfa. The former was inclined to the party of Octavianus, and therefore continued inactive; but the latter, who was a zealous republican, and an avowed friend to Brutus and his followers, left nothing untried to encourage the fathers, and inspire them with resolutions becoming the rank they held in the republic. He commanded all the citizens, who were fit to bear arms, to appear on the ramparts, placed guards in all the avenues to the city, and detached a good number of cohorts to garrison the Janiculum, whither the public money had been conveyed.

Octavianus is received at Rome with loud acclamations.

In the mean time Octavianus approached, and posting himself on the Quirinal, then without the walls, sent emissaries into the city, assuring the people, that their lives and estates were safe. Thus encouraged, they flocked out in crowds to behold their friends and relations, who served under Octavianus, carrying them refreshments, and freely conversing with them. Many of the senators, and the chief nobility, went forth to pay their compliments to the young general, who, finding the people generally inclined to favour him, entered the city next day amidst the loud acclamations of the multitude. He was met by his mother and sisters, who had concealed themselves among the Vestals, and accompanied by them, and a numberless crowd to his house, whither all the nobility flocked to pay him their respects (O).

Is joined by the legions in the city.

Next day the three legions, that were in the city, joined Octavianus, who now ordered his troops to march into Rome, and encamp in the field of Mars. From thence he sent a detachment to seize on the Janiculum, and the public money, out of which he immediately paid two thousand five hundred drachmas to each soldier under his command. The

(O) Cicero, who had returned to the city upon the arrival of the two African legions, was one of the last who came to pay him his respects, Octavianus received him coldly; and when the orator congratulated him on his return to the city, "You are the last of my enemies (answered Octavianus with an ill-natured sneer) who have honoured me with a visit." He knew, that Cicero was entirely in the interest of Brutus and

Cassius; and besides, he had been told by some of his emissaries, that the orator, in the speech which he made to the fathers, when he demanded the consulate for him, had used a very odd and equivocal expression: "Egregius iste juvenis, (said he,) laudandus, honorandus, & tollendus est;" that is, "That brave youth ought to be praised and honoured;" but as to the last word, it signifies equally to *advance*, and to *cut off*.

prætor

prætor Quintus Gallius summoned the people to meet in the Campus Martius, in order to proceed to the election of new consuls; while his colleague Marcus Cornutus, foreseeing the evil consequences that must inevitably attend the promotion of Octavianus, gave up the republic for lost, and scorning to submit to the yoke of his fellow-citizen, laid violent hands on himself.

On the day appointed for the election, Octavianus withdrew from the city, that the comitia might enjoy some appearance of liberty. When the people met, they unanimously declared Octavianus first consul, and appointed Quintus Pædus, one of his relations, and a legate of the dictator, for his colleague. Upon the news of his election Octavianus returned to the city, where, as he was sacrificing, according to custom, six, as some say, twelve vulturs are said to have been seen, the same number that appeared to the founder of Rome. Hence he concluded, that he should one day be invested with the same power and authority as Romulus (P). We shall now briefly relate what

Yr. of R.
231.
Ante Chr.
36.
U. C. 712.

Octavianus chosen consul.

(P) This year is reckoned by most of the ancient historians, and modern chronologers, the first of the long reign of Octavianus, known afterwards by the name of Augustus. However, his authority was not yet either full or peaceable, but for some time divided with Antony and Lepidus, and warmly disputed by the republican party, both in the East and West. Livy says, that Octavianus was but nineteen years old, when he was created consul (2): but Suetonius writes more freely, that he usurped the consulship in the twentieth year of his age (3). Plutarch tells us, out of Octavianus's own commentaries, that he was scarce twenty years old, when he was honoured with the consular dignity (4). He was declared consul, says Velleius Paterculus (5), the day before he was twenty years old, on the

tenth of the calends of October. But Velleius was certainly mistaken, for there wanted a whole month and five days to the completing of the twentieth year of Octavianus' age; neither did he obtain the consulate in the month of September, in which he was born, but in that of Sextilis, which was thence called Augustus, as is manifest both from Suetonius (6), and the decree of the senate, which is to be seen in Macrobius (7). Dio observes, that on the nineteenth of August he was made consul for the first time, and that he died on the same day (8); and Tacitus tells us, that the superstitious multitude after Augustus's death admired the strange events of his fortune, "That the last day of his life, and the first of his reign, were the same (9), &c."

(2) Liv. lib. cxix. (3) Suet. in Octavio, cap. 16. (4) Plut. in Bruto. (5) Vell. Patercul. lib. ii. (6) Suet. ibid. cap. 31.
(7) Macrobi. lib. i. Saturnal. cap. 12. (8) Dio, lib. lvi. p. 590.
(9) Tacit. lib. i. Annal. cap. 9.

passed in the East, during this period of time from the death of the dictator, to the first consulship of Octavianus, which he obtained in the twentieth year of his age.

What happened in the East, from the death of Cæsar, to the consulship of Octavianus.

Brutus and Cassius having left Rome to escape the fury of the populace, immediately after the death of Cæsar, retired first to Antium, with a design to return to the city, as soon as the rage of the unsettled multitude should abate. But Antony raising daily new disturbances, they wrote to their friends, that since it was not safe for them to resume the functions of their office in the city, they were determined to spend the rest of the year in Italy as private citizens; a resolution which the senate, who favoured them privately, no sooner understood, than they committed to them the care of supplying the city with corn, which Brutus was appointed to send out of Asia, and Cassius out of Sicily *r.* The design of the senate in charging them with such a commission was, to afford them an opportunity of assembling fleets, and privately engaging the governors of those provinces in their cause. In the mean time Octavianus arriving from Apollonia at Rome, the city began to be divided into two factions, some adhering to him, others to Antony, and the legionaries, without any regard for their country, publicly selling themselves to the highest bidder. In consequence of these events, Brutus and Cassius resolved to pass into Greece, and from thence into the eastern provinces, where they hoped to gain over the numerous legions that were dispersed about those countries.

Brutus passes into Greece.

How received at Athens.

Statues erected to him and Cassius by a public decree. Gains several young noblemen.

Brutus, crossing Lucania, repaired to Elea, and embarked for Athens, where he was received with all possible demonstrations of esteem; and here in a few days he was joined by Cassius. The Athenians, who still retained their ancient ideas of government, extolled them as heroes and patriots, and by a public decree erected their statues over-against those of Harmodius and Aristogiton, who had, about five hundred years before this period, delivered their country from slavery by the death of the tyrant Hipparchus. At Athens Brutus found Marcus, the son of Cicero, at his studies, and several other young noblemen of Rome, whom he soon brought over to his interest. Notwithstanding these public demonstrations of honour and esteem, Brutus seemed to have laid aside all thoughts of public business, that he might be wholly at leisure for the study of philosophy. He lived privately with one who had been formerly his guest, and constantly attended the lectures of Theophrastus the Academic, and Cratippus the Peripatetic, as if

he intended to pass the remainder of his life in quiet and retirement; but all the while he was secretly making preparations for war.

He sent one of his partisans, called Herostrates, into Macedon, to sound the Roman troops quartered in that province. Herostrates discharged his trust with no less fidelity than address; for he either found the Macedonian troops ready to side with Brutus, or dexterously prevailed upon them to espouse his cause. Brutus, thus encouraged, began to act openly, and raise troops in all the cities of Greece, whither many Romans had retired, dissatisfied with the present situation of affairs at home (Q).

Raises troops, and prepares for war.

It was no sooner known that Brutus was raising forces, than he was joined by the remains of Pompey's army, who, ever since the defeat of their general, had wandered about Thessaly. With these he obliged Cinna to deliver up five hundred horse, on their march to Dolabella in Asia; and young Cicero gained over to him an entire legion, which Piso designed to convey to Marc Antony in Italy.

Embarking with a strong detachment for Demetrias, he there seized a prodigious quantity of arms, which had been formerly deposited in that city by Cæsar for his Parthian expedition. Macedon was then governed by Hortensius, the son of the famous orator, who was Cicero's rival in eloquence. He declared, without hesitation, for Brutus; and before the arrival of Caius Antonius, who was appointed to succeed him, he resigned to Marcus both his province and his troops. Brutus, being now at the head of a powerful army, and master of Greece and Macedon, all the petty kings and princes around flocked to join him, and offer him their service.

Seizes on the magazines at Demetrias.

Joined by the troops in Macedon.

Caius, the brother of Antony, having crossed the Adriatic to join Gabienus, or, as others call him, Vatinius, who commanded three legions in Dyrrachium and Apollonia, Brutus resolved to be beforehand with him. Accordingly, he put his troops in motion; and his march, though through rugged places, and a deep snow, was so expeditious, that he left those who were to bring his provisions a long way

* Cic. lib. v. ix. x. & xii. Epist. Famil. & Philippic. xi. Plut. in Bruto. Appian. lib. iv. p. 668, & seq. Dio, lib. xlvii. p. 339, & seq. Vell. Patercul. lib. ii. cap. 62, & seq.

(Q) Being informed that Asia, was to touch at Carystus, the quæstor Vetus Antistius, his particular friend, who had been charged with the care of conveying to Rome the tributes of

Asia, was to touch at Carystus, a city of Eubœa, he went thither to meet him, and easily persuaded him to deliver up great part of the treasure.

behind,

*Joined by
Gabinus
and his
three le-
gions.*

behind. When he approached Dyrrachium, he was seized with a distemper, which the Greeks call bulimia, that is, a violent hunger (R). As he grew very faint for want of food, and none in the army could supply him, his attendants were forced to have recourse to the enemy. Advancing to the very gates of the city, they acquainted the centinels, who were there upon duty, with the disorder of Brutus, and implored them to assist him. They were touched with compassion, and immediately flew to his relief with plenty of provisions. Brutus, on this occasion, won so much upon the affections of those legionaries by his obliging behaviour, that they joined him to a man, Gabinus himself not excepted. Caius Antonius, receiving intelligence of what had happened at Dyrrachium, advanced with all possible expedition to Apollonia, and summoned all the soldiers, who were quartered near that city, to join him there; but finding they went all over to Brutus, and suspecting that the garrison of Apollonia were inclined to the same party, he abandoned that city, and hastened to Buthrotus, now Butrinto, on the Ionian Sea. Brutus closely pursued him, and on his march cut in pieces three of the seven cohorts that attended him.

*Brutus ap-
pointed go-
vernour of
Greece,
Macedon,
and Illy-
ricum.*

Upon this success Brutus acquainted the fathers with what he had done in Greece and Macedon. His letter was read in the senate by the consul Pansa, who was still in Rome, and a decree passed, appointing Brutus to govern Macedon, Illyricum, and all Greece, in quality of proconsul^a. By the same decree, both he and Cassius were empowered to make use of the public money, and to raise what sums they should think necessary, in the provinces subject to Rome. The kings and cities of the East, in alliance with the Roman people, were at the same time ordered to lend them all the assistance in their power^b.

*C. Antonius
defeated
and taken
prisoner.*

In the mean time young Cicero, whom Brutus had detached with his light-armed foot in pursuit of Caius Antonius, overtook, and totally defeated him in the neighbourhood of Byllis, or Bullis, a city of Illyricum, on the Adriatic. Caius fled with his troops to a neighbouring marsh, where he was surrounded by Brutus, without any possible means of making his escape. On this occasion his own men

^a Cic. Philippic. x. Appian. lib. iii. p. 567. & lib. iv. p. 622, 632, 633.

^b Idem. ibid. & Vell. Patercul. lib. ii.

(R) The word *bulimia* is compounded of the two Greek words, βύς, an ox, and λιμός, hunger, and signifies an ox-like

hunger, an insatiable appetite, proceeding from a too sharp ferment in the stomach; by physicians called *fapes canina*.

delivered

delivered him up to Brutus, who had now eight legions under his command, a numerous body of horse, and a great many archers and slingers, with several companies of Macedonians, whom he daily exercised after the Roman manner^c. As for Caius Antonius, Brutus treated him with the utmost civility, and even suffered him to enjoy the title of proconsul, and all the badges of that dignity, though several senators, and particularly Cicero, solicited him to rid the republic of so dangerous an enemy: but finding that he abused his good-nature, and made use of the liberty which was allowed him to corrupt the officers, and raise seditions among the soldiers, he confined him on board a ship, and there kept him close prisoner.

*Is treated
with great
civility by
Brutus.*

Brutus being now at the head of a powerful army, and master of all Greece, Illyricum, Macedon, and Thrace, resolved to pass into Asia, and there join Cassius, whose progress in those eastern provinces, from the time he parted with Brutus in Athens, to the consulate of Octavianus, we are now to relate. He sailed first into Asia, which province was then governed by Trebonius, who received him with open arms; and P. Lentulus, the pro-quæstor, supplied him with money. He was soon after joined by a body of horse, which Dolabella had sent into Asia, with orders to pursue their march into Syria. Lentulus, in one of his letters to Cicero, ascribes to himself the glory of having brought over these troops to Cassius's party^d.

*Cassius
passes over
into Asia.*

It was no sooner known in Asia and Cilicia that Cassius was raising forces, than the Romans, who were dispersed about those provinces, flocked to him from all quarters; so that seeing himself at the head of a considerable army, he left Asia properly so called, and marched into Syria, with a design to seize on that province, before the arrival of Dolabella. He was scarce gone when Dolabella landed on the Asiatic coast, laid waste the country, made himself master of Tarsus, where Cassius had left a garrison, and put to death the proconsul Trebonius, as we have already related. Cassius, on his arrival in Syria, found Statius Murcus and Marcus Crispus carrying on the siege of Apamea against Q. Cæcilius Bassus. These two leaders immediately joined him with all their forces, and Bassus's soldiers forced him to take the same step. The city being delivered up to Cassius, an end was put to the siege, and the army of that general, by this new addition, increased to the number of

^c Plut. in Bruto. Appian. lib. iv. p. 632, 633.
^{ad} Familiar. epist. 14.

^d Cic. lib. xii.

eight legions (S). Both Murcus and Crispus heartily embraced Cassius's party; the former was by him appointed governor of Syria, and also admiral of his fleet; but Bassus, not caring to engage in this war, was permitted quietly to retire ^c.

*Makes
himself
master of
all Syria.*

Cassius being thus strengthened, soon made himself master of all Syria from whence he marched to Phœnice and Judæa, which he likewise secured in his interest. Receiving intelligence that Allienus, one of Dolabella's lieutenants, was on his march through Palestine with four legions, which Cæsar had left in Egypt after the Alexandrian war, he went to meet them, and taking them by surprize, obliged both Allienus and his legions to side with him; by which accession his army now amounted to twelve legions. In the mean time Dolabella, after a long stay in Asia, where he burdened the cities with new taxes, and oppressed the inhabitants in a most tyrannical manner, passed first into Cilicia, and thence into Syria, with two legions; whither his fleet, composed of vessels hired of the Lycians, Pamphylians, and Cilicians, sailed soon after under the command of L. Figulus ^f. Upon his arrival in Syria he attempted to enter Antioch, as governor of that province; but being repulsed by the inhabitants, and the garrison which Cassius had left there, with the loss of a hundred men, he abandoned the enterprize, and retired in the night towards Laodicea. During his march, most of the troops he had raised in Asia abandoned him, some of them returning to Antioch, where they joined Cassius, and others retiring over Mount Amanus into Cilicia ^g. As the inhabitants of Laodicea were entirely devoted to Cæsar's party, they received Dolabella with open arms, and put him in possession of their city. Cassius no sooner heard of this event, than he hastened thither, leaving Herod governor of Coele Syria, with a strong detachment from his army to keep that province in awe ^h.

*Obliged
Allienus,
with his
four le-
gions, to
join him.*

*Dolabella
retires to
Laodicea:*

*where he
is besieged
by Cassius.*

He found Dolabella encamped under the walls of the city; and there he resolved to besiege him ⁱ. As Laodicea was situated on a peninsula, Cassius, to prevent Dolabella from making his escape by land, carried on a wall, two furlongs in length, cross the isthmus, with materials brought

^c Dio, lib. xlvii. p. 343. ^f Appian. lib. iv. p. 624. ^g P. Lentul. ad Cic. lib. xii. ad Familiar. Epist. 15. ^h Joseph. Antiq. lib. xiv. cap. 19. ⁱ Cic. lib. xii. ad Familiar. epist. 13.

(S) From this time he took as appears from his letters to upon him the title of proconsul, Cicero (1).

(1) Cic. lib. xii. ad Familiar. epist. 11, 12.

from

from the neighbouring villages and sepulchres. At the same time he dispatched messengers to the Phœnicians, Lycians, and Rhodians, for ships, with a design to block up the harbour. The Sidonians alone complied with his summons, and sent him what vessels they had ready equipped in their harbour. They were scarce arrived when Dolabella's fleet, under the command of L. Figulus, appeared off Laodicea. Cassius, though his fleet was inferior in number to the enemy's, ventured an engagement, in which both parties fought with incredible bravery. At length Cassius's fleet was overpowered, and five of his ships were taken, with all the mariners on board; but Statius Murcus, his admiral, having got together a considerable number of ships of war in Phœnicia, and on the coast of Asia, ventured two other engagements; in the first whereof the two fleets parted upon equal terms; in the second Dolabella's was entirely defeated. Then Murcus blocked up the port, so that no provisions could be conveyed into the besieged city either by sea or land; the wall, which Cassius had begun cross the isthmus, being now completed. The place being thus reduced to the utmost extremity, Dolabella attempted several times to sally out at the head of the garrison; but was constantly driven back into the city, which was at length treacherously delivered up to the enemy by Quintius, a principal officer of his army.

*Cassius's
fleet de-
feated.*

*Dolabella's
fleet entire-
ly defeated,
and Lao-
dicea taken.*

Dolabella, seeing the enemy in possession of the city, and fearing Cassius would retaliate his cruel treatment of Trebonius, ordered one of his guards to cut off his head. The soldier obeyed the order, and then killed himself with the same sword. The example of Dolabella was followed by M. Octavius his lieutenant, and Q. Marcius, another of his chief officers. Cassius ordered their bodies to be decently interred, and incorporated the soldiers among his legions. He then plundered the temples and treasury of Laodicea, put all the nobility to the sword, and reduced the people to the most deplorable distress^k.

*The death
of Dol-
abella.*

After the reduction of Laodicea, Cassius, now master of all Syria, acquainted the fathers with the success of his arms; who thereupon confirmed to him the government of those vast provinces^l. Thus was the Roman state, taken in its utmost extent, divided between two opposite parties. The Cæsareans were obeyed by all the nations in the West, between the ocean and the most southern borders of Italy: while the party of Brutus and the conspirators prevailed in

*The go-
vernment
of Syria
confirmed
to Cassius.*

^k Appian. lib. iv. p. 629 & seq.
^l Appian. lib. iii. p. 567, 568.

^l Vell. Patercul. lib. ii. cap.

all the provinces of the East. As for Sicily, it was held at this time by Sextus Pompeius, the younger son of Pompey the Great, of whom we shall have frequent occasion to speak in the sequel of this history. Such was the situation of affairs at the beginning of Octavianus's first consulate.



C H A P. L.

The History of Rome, from the first Consulate of Octavianus to the Death of Cassius and Brutus.

Octavianus causes Brutus and Cassius to be condemned.

THE first step Octavianus took, after his promotion to the consulship, was to procure the confirmation of his adoption in a general assembly of the people: he afterwards prevailed upon the senate to revoke their decree, declaring Dolabella, whose death was not yet known at Rome, an enemy to his country^m. Soon after these measures, his colleague Q. Pædius, at his instigation, proposed a law for impeaching, trying, and condemning all those who had been any ways concerned in the death of Cæsar. Pursuant to this law, which passed without opposition, L. Cornificius took upon him to accuse Brutus, and the famous M. Vipsanius Agrippa (T) appeared against Cassius. Among the judges who were chosen for the decision of so important a cause, Silicius Coronas was the only person who had courage enough to declare in their favour, which cost him his life; for though Octavianus thought it then adviseable to dissemble his resentment, and pretended even to be reconciled to Silicius, yet he soon after sacrificed him to his revenge. The conspirators were all condemned, without being heard, to perpetual banishment, and their estates confiscatedⁿ.

^m Appian. lib. iii. p. 586. Dio, lib. xlv. p. 321, 322. ⁿ Liv. lib. cxx. Vell. Patercul. lib. ii. cap. 69. Suet. in Nerone, cap. 3. Dio, lib. xlv. p. 322. Plut. in Bruto.

(T) Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa was, according to Suetonius, of a mean descent; but of an equestrian family, according to Cornelius Nepos. He was brought up from his infancy with Octavianus, and served him to the last with the utmost fidelity. We shall have occasion to make frequent mention of him in the sequel of this history.

As Brutus and Cassius were at the head of twenty legions, Octavianus rightly judged, that it would not be easy for him to destroy them without the assistance of Antony and Lepidus. He therefore dispatched messengers to those chiefs, desiring them to march with all possible expedition into Italy, that they might, with their united forces, fall upon Brutus and Cassius, and drive them out of the provinces which they had seized. In consequence of this intimation, they set out without delay, and passing the Alps at the head of seventeen legions, entered Cisalpine Gaul. The senate, alarmed at their approach, and strangers to the private understanding between them and Octavianus, ordered the latter to march, and attack them as public enemies. Octavianus, with great joy, embraced this opportunity of concluding the treaty, which had been begun some time before between him and his rival. When he left Rome, he gave private instructions to Quintus Pædus, his colleague and creature, to insinuate to the senate, that it was for the advantage of the commonwealth to repeal their decree against Antony and Lepidus, and not drive such men to despair, especially Antony, who was a great commander, and no less to be dreaded than Sylla and Marius. This proposal was very disagreeable to the senate; but nevertheless, as they suspected Octavianus to be at the bottom of this transaction, they wrote to him for his advice in so nice a point. The crafty general readily consented to the repealing of the decree; but to deceive the senate, told them in his letter, that his consent had been in a manner extorted, by the earnest entreaties of his soldiers. The conscript fathers began to perceive his drift; but they were no longer in a condition to oppose him, and therefore annulled all the decrees against Antony and his adherents.

*Invites
Antony and
Lepidus
into Italy.*

*The decree
against
Antony and
Lepidus
revoked.*

In acknowledgement of this favour, Antony marched immediately against Decimus Brutus, who was encamped in the neighbourhood of Mutina with ten legions, four whereof consisted of veterans, though in a very bad condition, from the distempers and fatigues they had suffered during the late siege; the others were newly raised, and quite unacquainted with military discipline. D. Brutus, therefore, not finding himself in a condition to oppose the united and superior forces of Antony and Lepidus, resolved to quit Cisalpine Gaul; to pass by the way of Aquileia, into Illyricum, and from thence into Macedon, where M. Brutus commanded. All the passes on that side being seized by the troops of Octavianus, he took his route towards the Alps, with a design to pass the Rhine, where that river di-
vides

*Antony
marches
against D.
Brutus.*

The misfortunes and death of D. Brutus.

vides Transalpine Gaul from Germany, and through the latter country pursue his route into Macedon : but the apprehension of the fatigues and dangers of so long a march, had such an effect on the minds of the new-raised troops, that they all abandoned Brutus, and joined Antony. Their example was followed by the other four legions ; so that Brutus's army was reduced to a few squadrons of Gaulish horse : with these he marched as far as the Rhine, the sight of which rapid river so frightened the few Gauls he had with him, that they stole away one after another, except ten, who seemed determined never to forsake him. In this extremity, he laid aside all thoughts of entering Germany, and dressing himself after the Gaulish manner, he resolved, in that disguise, to return through Gaul into Italy, not without hopes of reaching at length Macedon undiscovered. He had not gone far, before he was taken by a band of free-booters, who conducted him, at his request, to the lord of that district, by name Camillus, or as others call him, Camilius, who had received a thousand favours at his hands in the dictator's life-time. This Gaul received him with a shew of friendship, but dispatched a messenger to Antony to know how he should be treated, and received an order to put him to death, which was executed accordingly. When his head was brought to Antony, he looked on it with some concern, and then delivered it to his friends, by whom it was decently buried *. Thus died Decimus Junius Brutus, one of the most active assassins of Cæsar, who was his patron, friend, and benefactor.

Octavianus, Antony, and Lepidus, meet in a certain island.

Antony immediately acquainted Octavianus, that he had sacrificed Decimus to the manes of his father, and then advanced, with Lepidus, at the head of his army, to give him a meeting. The place they chose for their private conferences, was a small island formed by the river Rhenus, now the Reno, which falls into the Po, after having watered the territory of Bononia or Bologna. Both armies advanced to the opposite banks of this river, from whence, by two bridges, a communication was opened with the island. Lepidus entered the first into the island, to view whether there was any ambuscade or contrivance against the life of either party. Such was the condition of those ambitious men, who, even in the midst of a reconciliation, could not help distrusting each other. Lepidus having made the signal agreed on, the two generals entered the island from the opposite banks, each of them guarded by three hundred men, who remained at the head of the bridges,

* Dio, lib. xlv. p. 315.

while

while the two chiefs advanced to the place of the interview, which was a rising-ground, whence they could be equally seen by their guards, and both armies. Having saluted and embraced each other in a friendly manner, they took their seats, the other two yielding the most honourable place to Octavianus, as consul. The conference lasted three days, during which they had the precaution to speak so low, notwithstanding some warm debates, that not a single word could be heard, even by their guards, who stood but at a small distance.

At length, they agreed on the following articles: 1. That Octavianus should forthwith resign the consulate, which gave him a kind of pre-eminence over the other two, to Ventidius, one of Antony's lieutenants. 2. That the supreme authority should be divided among the three, and kept by them for the space of five years, under the name of triumvirs, and in quality of reformers of the commonwealth. 3. That they should cause this authority to be confirmed by the Roman people. 4. That Antony should have all Transalpine and Cisalpine Gaul, except Narbonne, which together with both Spains, should be yielded to Lepidus; and that Octavianus should have for his share Africa, with Sicily and Sardinia. 5. That Italy, and the eastern provinces, which were possessed by Brutus and Cassius, should, for some time, remain in common. 6. That Antony and Octavianus should forthwith join their forces, and make war upon Brutus and Cassius, while Lepidus, with four legions, staid at Rome to maintain the authority of the triumvirate. Besides these, several other articles were settled. As it was of the utmost importance, especially for Octavianus and Antony, who were to march into the East against Brutus and Cassius, to secure the fidelity of the legions, it was agreed, that each legionary should receive after the war five thousand drachmas, each centurion twenty-five thousand, and each tribune fifty thousand. To these immense and almost incredible sums were added other rewards, still more substantial. The triumvirs agreed to promise their soldiers settlements on their return from the East, in eighteen of the best cities of Italy, which should be chosen by the three chiefs, and abandoned in property with their houses and lands to the soldiers. As for the ancient proprietors, they were to be driven out of their habitations, stripped of their lands and effects, and suffered either to perish with famine, or subsist in the best manner they could. Some of these unhappy cities were Capua, Rhegium, Beneventum, Luceria, Ariminum, and Vibo.

The articles of their agreement.

*The pro-
scription.*

As the triumvirs had occasion for immense sums to carry on the war, and knew that there were still in Rome great numbers of zealous republicans, who probably would raise disturbances in Italy during their absence, they formed that barbarous and inhuman resolution, which will render their memories execrable and infamous to the latest posterity; a resolution which brings disgrace upon tyranny itself: they agreed not only to cut off all their enemies, but those also who were either possessed of great estates, or thought to retain the least spark of zeal for their ancient laws and liberties. These regulations were made without the least contest or dispute; but the list of the proscribed, when it came to be settled, occasioned warm debates, each of them being solicitous to destroy his enemies, and save his friends.

Antony would come to no agreement till Cicero's name was set down among the proscribed. Octavianus endeavoured to save him, and pressed Antony to sacrifice Lucius Cæsar, his uncle by the mother's side. As for Lepidus, some writers tell us, that, contrary to the inclination of the other two, he insisted upon the condemnation of his own brother L. Æmilius Paulus, who had voted first in the senate for passing the decree which declared him a public enemy when he joined Antony: other authors say, that he would have saved his brother, but that Octavianus and Antony demanded his head; it is certain, however, that the desire of being revenged on their enemies got the better of saving their friends and relations. Octavianus in the end sacrificed Cicero to Antony; Antony gave up his uncle Lucius to Octavianus; and Lepidus was either allowed to murder his brother Paulus, or forced to abandon him to the resentment of the other two. The death of these three being agreed on, the list of the others, whom the triumvirs mentioned the names of his particular enemies. Among others, they proscribed Plotius, consul elect, and brother to Plancus, one of Antony's lieutenants; Quintus, who was also designed consul for the ensuing year, and whose daughter Asinius Pollio, a great partisan of the triumvirate, had lately married; Thoranius, who had been governor to Octavianus, and had taken particular care of his education, and many others, whom we shall have occasion to mention. The articles of this wicked confederacy being sworn to, the chiefs separated, and went to impart the result of their conferences to their respective armies, who, overjoyed at the advantageous promises that were made them, heard the report with the greatest satisfaction. The same day the two
armies

armies joined, and mutually feasted and entertained each other^p (U).

The fatal decree of proscription being drawn up, was made public (W), and sent to Rome; together with the first list of the unhappy men who were doomed to die, and the same time some companies of soldiers were detached thither, to put the cruel orders of the triumvirs in execution. The soldiers arrived in the evening, and meeting

^p Appian. lib. iv. p. 589, 590. Dio, lib. xlvi. p. 325, 326. Plut. in Cic. & Antonio. Flor. lib. iv. cap. 6.

(U) The agreement being made, and the articles signed by the triumvirs, the army desired, that the friendship between Antony and Octavianus might be cemented by some alliance, and in a manner forced the latter to divorce Servilia, the daughter of Servilius Isauricus, whom he had married when he was very young, and to take in her room Clodia, the daughter of the famous P. Clodius, who was killed by Milo, and of Fulvia, whom Antony had married after the death of her first husband (1).

(W) It began thus: "M. Lepidus, M. Antonius, and Octavianus Cæsar, chosen for the reformation of the commonwealth. If the generosity of Julius Cæsar had not prompted him to pardon some faithless men, and to grant them besides their lives, of which they were unworthy, honours and offices, which they deserved as little, he had not fallen by their treason, nor should we have been obliged to proceed in a manner disagreeable to us against those who have declared us enemies to our country. But the wicked designs they formed against us, the horrible treachery they shewed towards Cæsar, and the

certain knowledge we have of their execrable practices, force us to prevent the evils with which we are threatened." Then followed a justification of the proceedings of the triumvirs, founded on the advantages which Cæsar had procured for the Roman people by his victories, on the ingratitude of those who had murdered him, and on the necessity of clearing the city of such as might involve it in new troubles. They concluded thus: "No man shall dare to receive, conceal, help to escape, any way relieve those who are proscribed, or hold any manner of intelligence with them, upon pain of being himself proscribed. Whosoever shall bring to any of the triumvirs the head of a proscribed person, shall receive, if a freeman, twenty-five thousand sesterces; and ten thousand, if a slave: the slave, who shall kill his master, shall moreover be declared a Roman citizen. The same rewards shall be given to such as shall discover the place where any proscribed person lies concealed, and the name of the informer shall not be entered into any register, to the end it may never be known who he was."

(1) Plut. in Antonio.

*Rome in the
utmost con-
sternation.*

four of the proscribed persons in the streets, immediately put them to death: others were inhumanly massacred in their houses; some while they were supping with their friends, and some in the temples, whither, upon the first alarm they had fled for refuge. The city was in an instant filled with horror and confusion; nothing being heard but cries and lamentations. As the list of the proscribed persons was not yet made public, every one fancied himself in that number; and hence the consternation became general. Some in transports of despair resolved to involve the whole city in their destruction, and accordingly set fire to it in different quarters. The horror of the scene was augmented by the darkness of the night, the fire which began to flame out in several places, the cries and groans of those who were inhumanly butchered in the streets, the sight of armed soldiers running up and down to execute the vengeance of the triumvirate, the flight of the people, and the shrieks of the women. Q. Pædius, the only consul in Rome, to remove the fears of the alarmed multitude, and prevent disorders, ran from street to street, causing it to be every where published, that the number of those who were doomed to die, was but very small; and that, as soon as it was day, he would cause their names to be fixed up in the forum. Accordingly, early next morning the list of the proscribed, containing the names of only seventeen persons, was set up in a public place, together with the decree of the triumvirs. This restored tranquillity to the city for a while; but the consul Pædius, having overheated himself with running up and down the city, to calm the minds of the people, and prevent disorders, died the night following^a.

*The entry of
the trium-
virs into
Rome.*

*They are
invested by
a decree of
the people
with the
authority
which they
had usurp-
ed.*

During these alarms, the triumvirs advanced, at the head of their united forces, towards Rome, which they entered on three different days; Octavianus on the first, Antony on the second, and Lepidus on the third, each of them attended with his prætorian cohort, and one legion. The first step they took after their arrival was, to procure a law, investing them with the authority which they had usurped. It was accordingly proposed by the tribune P. Titius to the assembled tribes, who passed it the same day in the following terms: "The Roman people, lawfully assembled, have thought fit to appoint three persons to govern the commonwealth with consular power. These are M. Antonius, M. Lepidus, and Cæsar Octavianus, whose authority shall be acknowledged and obeyed by all for the space of five

^a Appian. Dio, Flor. Plut. *ibid.*

years." The decree was no sooner ratified, than Octavius, pursuant to one of the articles of the confederacy, resigned his consulship, some say to C. Carinas, others, to Ventidius. However that be, these two were by the triumvirs appointed consuls for the remaining part of the present year; but they were mere cyphers, the whole power and authority of the republic being lodged in the triumvirs. These three tyrants, now considering themselves as lawful magistrates, added the night following the names of an hundred and thirty persons to those they had already proscribed; a few days after, they proscribed an hundred and fifty more, and thus they daily increased the number, till it amounted at last to three hundred senators, and above two thousand knights.

Every considerable man in Rome, who was disliked, or suspected by the triumvirate to disapprove their tyranny, and rich enough to glut their avarice, was doomed to die. As it was death to conceal or help them, and ample rewards were given to such as discovered and killed them, many were betrayed and butchered by their slaves and freedmen; many betrayed by their treacherous hosts and relations. Many fled to uninhabited places, where they perished for want. The streets were covered with dead bodies; the heads of the most illustrious senators were exposed upon the rostra, and their bodies left unburied in the streets and fields, to be devoured by dogs and ravenous birds. A great number of citizens that were not condemned, perished in this confusion, some by malice or mistake, others for concealing or defending their friends. This season of calamity produced some pathetic instances of the affection of wives for their husbands, and of the fidelity of slaves towards their masters, but very few of filial love; not that Rome was entirely destitute of this virtue: Oppius carried his old and decrepit father on his shoulders to the sea-side, and escaped with him into Sicily. His piety was not long unrewarded; for on his return to Rome, after the triumvirs had put an end to the proscription, he found the people so affected by the generous action, that the tribes unanimously concurred in raising him to the ædileship; and because he wanted money to exhibit the usual sports, the artificers worked without wages, and the people not only taxed themselves to defray the necessary charges, but gave proofs of the esteem they had for so dutiful a son by such contributions as amounted to twice the value of his paternal estate, which had been confiscated by the triumvirs. Caius Hosidius Geta was likewise saved by his son, who spread a report, that his father had laid violent hands on himself, and to render the

The sad conditions which the city was in.

Some of the proscribed saved by their children.

fact more credible, spent the poor remains of his fortune in performing his obsequies: By this contrivance, Hosi- dius made his escape, but lost one of his eyes, which he had kept too long covered with a plaster, the better to disguise him. The barbarous impiety of those children, who by a strange apostacy from nature betrayed their own parents, ought to be buried in oblivion. Nothing can reflect greater infamy on the memory of the triumvirs, than their countenancing such impious monsters. Several slaves chose rather to die on the rack amidst the most exquisite torments, than discover the places where their masters lay concealed; others, not caring to outlive them, fell by their own hands upon the dead bodies of their patrons.

*Others by
their
wives.*

Many illustrious matrons gave remarkable proofs of their conjugal love, which ought not to be passed over in silence. The wife of Q. Ligarius, seeing her husband betrayed by one of his slaves, declared to the executioners who cut off his head, that she had concealed him, and, consequently ought, in virtue of the decree, to undergo the same fate. They not hearkening to her, she appeared before the triumvirs, upbraided them with their cruelty, owned she had concealed her husband, and begged death of them as a favour. Being driven away by their officers, she shut herself up in her own house; and there, as she was determined not long to outlive her husband, starved herself to death. Acilius was betrayed by one of his slaves, and apprehended, but redeemed by his wife, who readily parted with all her jewels to save his life. Apuleius, Antistius, Antius, Q. Lucretius Vispallio, Titus Vinus, and many others, were saved by the ingenious contrivances of their wives, after they had given themselves up for lost. Lucius, the uncle of Antony, was saved by his sister Julia, in whose house he had taken refuge (X).

*Lucius Cæsar saved
by his sister.*

(X) The ministers of the triumvirs endeavoured to break into the room where he lay concealed; but his sister meeting them at the door, cried out several times, "You shall never kill Lucius Cæsar till you first dispatch me; me, who gave your general his life and being." The assassins, thunderstruck at these words, retired; but nevertheless Julia flew to the forum, where her son was sitting on his tribunal, receiving the heads of the proscribed, and

paying the assassins the promised rewards: "I have transgressed your decree, (said she to Antony), and am come to inform against myself. I have taken my brother into my house, and am resolved to protect him till you shall think proper to put us both to death." "You have behaved," (replied Antony) like a good sister, but as a bad mother;" and took no farther notice of what Julia said; but Lucius was no more enquired after.

Though

Though the country, as well as the city, swarmed with informers and assassins, yet many illustrious citizens found means to avoid the fury of the proscription, and to get safe, either to Brutus in Macedon, or to Sextus Pompeius in Sicily. The latter kept constantly a great number of small vessels hovering on the coast of Italy, to receive such as made their escape, and treated them with great kindness and respect (Y).

Cicero

(Y) Restio, Appius, Meneius, and Junius, were saved by their slaves. Restio had marked one of his slaves on the forehead with a red-hot iron; the usual punishment inflicted on such as attempted to run away from their masters. This slave, having by chance found out the place where Restio lay concealed, conducted him to a cave, and there supported him for some time with what he earned by his daily labour. At length a company of soldiers coming that way, and approaching the cave, the faithful slave, alarmed at the danger his master was in, followed them close, and falling upon a poor peasant, killed him in their presence, and cut off his head, crying out, "I am now revenged on my master for the marks with which he has branded me." The soldiers, seeing the infamous marks on his forehead, and not doubting but he had killed Restio, snatched the head out of his hand, and returned with it in all haste to the triumvirs. They were no sooner gone, than the slave conveyed his master to the sea-side, where they had the good luck to find one of Sextus Pompeius's vessels, which transported them safe into Sicily. The generosity of the slaves of Appius and Meneius, or Menenius, was still more heroic; for they suffered them-

selves to be slain in their masters' habits, while their masters made their escape in the disguise of slaves. Pomponius, finding no other means to get safe out of Rome, assumed the habit of a prætor, and went early out of the city in that attire, attended by his slaves in the disguise of lictors: he travelled at the expence of the public, giving out every where that he was sent by the triumvirs to negotiate a treaty with young Pompey: he was well received in all the cities on the road, and supplied both with horses and provisions: several bands of soldiers and assassins met him on his journey, but none of them offered to stop or examine an ambassador of the triumvirs; so that he reached Sicily undiscovered. Ventidius (not the consul) deceived the murderers by pretending to be one of them himself, and patrolling about the country with some of his friends, as in search of proscribed persons. The senator Coponius was saved by his wife at the expence of her virtue, Antony having caused his name to be struck off the black list, in consequence of her compliance with his desires, after she had been proof for several years against the offers, caresses, and menaces of the lewd tyrant. Another senator, being tired with concealing

*The fate of
Cicero.*

*Afflicting
circum-
stances of
the death of
his brother.*

Cicero being with his brother Quintus, who was likewise proscribed, at his country-house near Tusculum, when the first news were brought him of the proscription, they forthwith took the route of Astura, another of his country-houses on the sea-side, between the promontories of Antium and Circeum. There they both designed to take shipping, and endeavour to join Brutus in Macedon. As they had, in the first alarm and hurry, forgot to take with them the necessary money to defray the expence of their voyage, it was agreed between them, that Cicero should make what haste he could to the sea-side, and Quintus return home to provide necessaries. Quintus returned to Rome, and got to his house undiscovered, where he thought himself safe, at least for a short time, since it had been lately searched by the ministers of the triumvirs. As in most houses there were as many informers as domestics, his return was immediately known, and the house of course filled with soldiers and assassins, who not being able to discover him, put his son to the torture, in order to make him declare where his father lay concealed. Filial affection was proof in the young Roman against the most exquisite torments: however, the tender youth could not help sighing and groaning with the agony of torture. Quintus, who was within hearing, unable to bear this trial of his son expiring on the rack, broke from his concealment, and presented himself to the assassins, begging them, with a flood of tears, to put him to death, and dismiss the innocent child, whose generous behaviour the triumvirs themselves, if informed of the fact, would judge worthy of the highest encomiums and rewards. Those inhuman monsters, without being in the least affected with the tears either of the father or the son, answered, that they must both die, the father, because he was proscribed, and the son, because in defiance of the decree of the triumvirs, he had concealed his father. Then a new contest of tenderness arose between the father and the son, who should die first; but this the assassins, destitute of all sense of humanity, soon decided by beheading them both at the same time.

r Appian. Dio. Plut. Val. Max. *ibid.* Seneca in *suaser.*

himself in caves and dens, and master, opened there a little 'sculking' about the country in school, and kept it as long as continual alarms, returned to the proscription lasted, without Rome in the disguise of a school- being discovered (1).

(1) Appian. lib. iv. Vell. Paternul. lib. ii. Dio, lib. xlvii. Val. Max. lib. vi. cap. 8. & lib. x. cap. 11. Suet. in Octavio. Macrobi. Saturnal. lib. i. cap. 11.

But

Mean while Cicero, having reached Astura, and found a vessel there ready to weigh anchor, went on board, with a design to pass over into Macedon, and join Brutus : but either dreading the inconveniencies of such a voyage, or still depending on the friendship of Octavianus, he soon changed his mind, and ordered the master of the ship to set him ashore at Circæum, whence he took his route towards Rome by land. After he had gone about two hundred furlongs, he altered his resolution once more, and returned to sea, where he spent the night in a thousand melancholy and perplexing thoughts. Wavering between the hopes he had in Octavianus's friendship, and the fear of death, he at last suffered his domestics to convey him by sea to a country-house which he had in the neighbourhood of Caieta ; where he had not been long, when his domestics carried him again in a litter towards the sea-side.

Embarks for Macedon.

Changes his mind.

They were scarce gone, when a band of soldiers, under the command of Herennius, a centurion, and Popilius Lænas, a military tribune, came to the house. Cicero had formerly undertaken the defence of Popilius, when he was under a prosecution for the murder of his own father, and by the power of his eloquence saved him from an infamous death : but the ungrateful wretch, unmindful of former obligations, and wholly intent on ingratiating himself with Antony, had promised to find out Cicero, wherever he lay concealed, and bring him his head. He found the doors of his house shut, but breaking them open, and searching in vain every corner, he threatened to put all the slaves in the house to the torture, if they did not immediately declare where their master lay concealed. The faithful slaves, without betraying the least fear, answered with great constancy and resolution, that they knew not where he was. At length a young man, named Philologus (Z), who had been slave to Quintus, and afterwards enfranchised by him, and instructed by Cicero in the liberal arts and sciences with all the tenderness of a father, discovered to the tribune, that Cicero's domestics were then carrying him in a litter through the close and shady walks

A band of soldiers in search of him.

Is discovered.

(Z) Plutarch seems to question what some authors have written of the treachery of Philologus ; at least he tells us, that this circumstance was unknown to Tiro, Cicero's emancipated slave, who published an account of his life, which is

Plutarch's time was in great request, but has not reached ours. Appian tells us, that Cicero was betrayed and discovered by one Cyrillus, who had formerly served Clodius, his mortal enemy.

to the sea-side. Upon this information Popilius, with some of his attendants, hastened to the place where he was to come out, while Herennius with the rest followed the lines through the narrow paths. As soon as Cicero perceived Herennius, he commanded his servants to set down his litter, and stroking, according to his custom, his beard with his left hand, he put out his head, and looked at the assassins with great intrepidity. This constancy, which they did not expect from him, his face disfigured and emaciated with cares and troubles, his hair and beard in disorder, affected the soldiers who attended Herennius, that they covered their eyes with their hands, while he cut off his head, and, pursuant to Antony's directions, his right hand, with which he had written the Philippics. With those trophies of their cruelty, Herennius and Popilius returned to Rome, and laid them before Antony, while he was holding an assembly of the people for the election of new magistrates. The tyrant no sooner beheld them, than he cried out in a transport of joy, "Now let there be an end of all our proscriptions: live, Romans, live in safety; you have nothing more to fear." He took the head in his hand, and gazed on it a long time with great satisfaction, smiling at a sight which drew tears from all who were present. After he had satiated his cruel and revengeful temper with so dismal a spectacle, he sent the head of the orator to his wife Fulvia, who was even more cruel than the triumvir, and had borne an implacable hatred to Cicero ever since the time of her first husband P. Clodius, who was slain by Milo.

His head and right hand cut off, and carried to Antony.

The cruelty of Fulvia.

This inhuman monster, after having insulted the poor remains of her enemy with the most injurious reproaches, took the head in her lap, and, drawing out the tongue which had uttered many bitter invectives against both her husbands, pierced it several times with a golden bodkin, which she wore in her hair. When she had thus satiated her impotent rage, Antony ordered both the head and the hand to be fixed on the rostra, where Rome could not, without horror, behold the remains of a man who had so often triumphed in that very place by the force and charms of his eloquence. Thus fell the greatest orator Italy, or perhaps any other country, ever produced. He was undoubtedly a sincere lover of his country, which he had served, and even saved from destruction; but his patriotism was on some occasions rendered ineffectual by his pusillani-

His character.

t Vell. Patercul. lib. ii. cap. 66. Seneca in Suxfor. Orat. 7. Plut. in Cic. Dio, lib. xlvii. Appian. lib. iv. Tacit. Dialog. de Orat.

mity; and his virtues were tarnished with some other defects, which have thrown a shade upon his reputation. He was vain to a degree of childishness; and from his private letters it appears, that he was not free from abject flattery, selfish views, and double dealing.

In the midst of all the slaughter which desolated Rome, *Lepidus's triumph.* Lepidus resolved to triumph, on account of some inconsiderable advantages he had formerly gained over the revolted Spaniards. The decree, empowering him to enjoy this honour, was issued by himself with the consent and approbation of his two colleagues, and began thus: "To all those who shall honour our triumph with sacrifices, feasting, and other demonstrations of joy, health and good fortune; but to others misery and proscription." This decree drew greater crowds to his triumph than had ever been seen on the like occasion: he was attended by all the nobility of Rome, who strove to outvie each other in offering sacrifices for the safety of Lepidus and his colleagues, and in feasting their friends and the friends of the triumvirs. L. Munatius Plancus was likewise decreed a triumph for some exploit he had performed in Gaul" (A).

The triumvirs having shed the blood (B) of so many illustrious citizens, began to think of raising the necessary sums for carrying on the war against Brutus and Cassius. They seized on the estates of the proscribed, defrauding *The cruelty and avarice of the triumvirs.*

* Vide Grut. Inscript. p. 297. & Appian. lib. iv. p. 607.

(A) As it was customary for the soldiers to sing during the triumphal procession, satirical verses on the victorious generals, the following were often repeated on this occasion; "De Germanis, non de Gallis duo triumphant consules." The Latin word *Germani* signifies equally *brothers*, and the *inhabitants of Germany*; so that the verses might be understood as importing, either that the designed consuls triumphed over the Germans, or over their brothers; for they had both procured the proscription of their brothers, or at least consented to it (1).

(B) Nothing so strongly proves the superior magnanimity of Julius Cæsar, as his disdaining to glut his resentment with blood, and to consult his own personal safety by such infamous and inhuman proscriptions which had been practised by Marius and Sylla, even with more desolation and brutality than appeared upon this second occasion. Cæsar's clemency probably occasioned his death; and in all probability this consideration, co-operating with private revenge, gave birth to the proscription of the triumvirs.

(1) Vell. Patercul. lib. ii. cap. 67.

the

The Roman women taxed.

They apply in a body to the triumvirs.

the widows and orphans of their right of inheritance and succession. They burdened the people with grievous taxes, seized all the gold and silver, whether in plate or specie, they could lay their hands on, and took away by force immense sums, belonging both to strangers and citizens of Rome, which had been deposited in the hands of the Vestal virgins. But all these expedients proving insufficient to make up the sum of two hundred thousand talents, which they judged necessary to defray the charges of the war, they drew up a list of fourteen hundred of the richest ladies of Rome, mothers, daughters, relations, or allied to such persons as they had proscribed, and taxed them all equally, and at an extravagant rate. In this emergency the ladies, after having had recourse in vain to the female relations of the triumvirs, agreed to go in a body, and plead their cause at the tribunal of those magistrates, while they were administering justice in the forum. Having made their way through the crowd, and the numerous guards attending the tyrants, they demanded audience. The triumvirs, alarmed at such an unusual sight, ordered their guards to disperse them; but one of them was at length permitted to speak; and the person the suppliants chose for this purpose was Hortensia, the daughter of the celebrated orator Hortensius. She did not disgrace the character of her father; but on the contrary pronounced a noble remonstrance, replete with energy and spirit. The triumvirs, provoked at the boldness of her speech, and fearing it might occasion some sudden tumult, ordered their lictors to drive away such troublesome suppliants; but the people crying out against such violence, they adjourned the affair to the next day, when, to appease the multitude, who had openly espoused the cause of the women, they reduced their number from one thousand four hundred to four hundred; but at the same time taxed above a hundred thousand men, as well strangers as citizens, without exempting the priests, obliging them to pay immediately the fiftieth part of their estates, and a whole year's revenue.

The proscription at an end.

And now the triumvirs, having caused about three hundred senators, and two thousand knights to be inhumanly massacred, and raised by a thousand extortions the necessary sums for their eastern expedition, assembled at last the few senators they had left alive, and entering the senate-house, declared; that the proscription was at an end. Lepidus endeavoured to justify their past proceedings, and assured

• Dio, Appian: *ibid.*

the

the conscript fathers, that for the future he at least should give them no occasion of complaint (B).

After this welcome declaration, the triumvirs appointed, of their own authority, without so much as assembling the people, the consuls for the ensuing year. These were M. *Emilius* Lepidus the triumvir, and Lucius Munatius Plan- *The trium- virs ap- point con- suls, pri- tors, &c. for several years.* cus. As Antony and Octavianus were wholly intent on their grand expedition into the East against Brutus and Cas- sius, they named, in concert with Lepidus, consuls, prætors, and ædiles, for several ensuing years, choosing for those great offices such persons as they all approved of, and could rely on. This precaution seemed necessary, to prevent the people from raising to these dignities, during their absence, men ill-affected to the triumvirate. When they had thus settled matters in the city, Antony and Octavianus divided both the money and troops; and then set out, the former for Brundisium, and the latter for Rhégium, where the fleets appointed to transport them into the Levant were ready to take the forces on board, and put to sea with the first favourable wind. Before we relate the great events which determined the fate of the republic, we shall give a succinct account of what passed in the East, from the re- duction of Laodicea by Cassius, to the arrival of Antony and Octavianus in Macedon.

Cassius, having made himself master of all Syria, resolved next to invade Egypt; for Cleopatra had not only declared for the triumvirs, but was ready to join them with a power- ful fleet: but, as he was on his march, he was recalled by Brutus, who, by repeated letters, pressed him to come and join him against the triumvirs, who were making a dread- ful havock of their friends in Italy, and assembling forces with a design to pass into Macedon. As Cassius had a great esteem and veneration for Brutus, he dropped his enter- prize upon Egypt; and committing the government of Sy- ria to his brother's son with one legion, he departed with all the rest to meet his colleague. On his march he de- tached a body of horse into Cappadocia, with orders to put king Ariobarzanes to death, upon an information that he had conspired against him, and kept up a private cor- respondence with his enemies. His orders were put in *Cassius re- solves to invade Egypt; but is recalled by Brutus.*

(B) But Octavianus openly declared, "That he still reserved to himself the liberty of punish- ing the guilty." And indeed Suetonius tells us, that though he was at first unwilling to sign the fatal decree which doomed so many citizens to die, yet he was the most cruel and inexora- ble of the three in the execu- tion of it.

execution,

*Is touched
with com-
passion for
the Tar-
senses.*

execution, and, after the king's death, great sums raised on his subjects, who were looked upon by Cassius as disaffected to the republican party. As he passed by Tarsus, he remitted the rest of the heavy tax, which he had formerly laid on the inhabitants for siding with Dolabella, and refusing to supply with provisions the troops which Tullius Cimber, one of the conspirators, was leading into Syria. This conduct of the Tarsenses, after they had entered into an alliance with Cassius, and even presented him with a crown of gold, so provoked the republican general, that he condemned them to pay fifteen hundred talents; for the raising of which sum, they first sold the lands belonging to the public, and the ornaments of their temples, afterwards their children of both sexes, and at last their women and old men. As the money accruing from these sales did not amount to the sum of fifteen hundred talents, they were at last forced to sell some of their young men, who were fit to bear arms; but the unhappy persons, preferring death to slavery, destroyed themselves. Cassius, either touched with their misery, or ashamed of his own oppression, forgave them the rest of the payment, and exempted them from all tributes for the future. From Tarsus he pursued his march into Asia, to join Brutus *.

*Brutus
passes over
into Asia.*

That general, being master of all Greece, Macedon, and Illyricum, had resolved to invade Asia with the greater part of his army, and was already on his march, when news were brought him, that Caius Antonius, whom he had taken prisoner, had raised a sedition among the troops that were left in Macedon. In consequence of this intelligence, he returned, quelled the tumult, and having closely confined Caius in the city of Apollonia, pursued his march, and passed over into Asia, where he was joined by all the princes of that country, and among the rest by Deiotarus, king or retractor of Galatia, though he had refused to assist Cassius. While Brutus was in Asia, Caius Antonius, having found means, even in his confinement, to corrupt many of his soldiers, attempted to make his escape; but the plot being discovered, Antonius was more closely confined, and the guilty soldiers forced to take refuge on a neighbouring hill, where they seemed determined to defend themselves, and rather undergo any hardships than submit to the will of their officers. Caius Clodius, to whose custody Brutus had committed the seditious prisoner, fearing he might raise new disturbances, and at length make his escape, put

* Plut. in Bruto. Appian. lib. iv. p. 625. & lib. v. p. 675. Dio, lib. xlvii.

him to death; but whether of his own authority, or by Brutus's orders, is uncertain (C). *Caius Antonius put to death.*

Brutus, apprehensive that the death of Antonius might occasion insurrections in Macedon, left Asia, and hastily repaired thither. On his arrival, he put himself at the head of a legion, and marched against the mutineers, whom he soon forced to sue for mercy. His officers pressed him to punish at least a small number of the mutineers, in order to deter others from the like practices. The general seemed to yield to their importunity; and having ordered a galley to be got ready, caused the ringleaders of the late tumult to be put on board of it, as if he intended to have them thrown into the sea, and drowned; but in the mean time, he gave private orders to the commander of the galley to convey them to some place of safety. *The great clemency of Brutus.*

Brutus, having thus quieted all disturbances in Macedon, returned to Asia, and advanced in all haste to Smyrna, where he had appointed to meet Cassius. Without all doubt the interview was tender and interesting. They were not only intimate friends, embarked in the same important concern, but their union was corroborated by the ties of alliance; for Cassius had married Julia, the sister of Brutus. This meeting could not but be doubly agreeable to both, when they compared their present flourishing circumstances with the poor forlorn condition in which they had quitted Italy. In the course of their deliberations, Brutus proposed that all their forces should be transported into Macedonia and Thessaly, to make head against the triumvirs, who would in all probability land their army in one of those countries: but Cassius was of opinion, that they should first reduce the Rhodians and Lycians, that they might not leave two such formidable maritime powers, unsubdued, behind them; for both those nations had refused to pay them any contributions, or to take any part in the war, under pretence of maintaining a strict neutrality, though it was well known that they had sent succours secretly to the triumvirs. *Brutus and Cassius meet at Smyrna.*

Brutus readily came into the opinion of Cassius, who was deemed an officer of great experience. It was therefore agreed, that Brutus should march against the Lycians, and Cassius sail with his fleet against the Rhodians; but as Bru- *Resolutions taken at their interview.*

7 Dio, Appian, *ibid.*

(C) Thus Dio Cassius. But Plutarch tells us, that Brutus no sooner heard the news of Cicero's death, than he sent orders to Hortensius to kill Caius Antonius; and adds, that, on this account, Antony, having afterwards taken Hortensius in the battle of Philippi, slew him on his brother's tomb.

tus

tus had expended great sums in equipping a fleet, he desired Cassius to share with him the immense treasure he had amassed in Asia. This demand was resented by the friends of Cassius, who endeavoured to dissuade him from complying with the just request of Brutus, saying, that it was not reasonable the money which he had saved with so much parsimony, or got with so much envy, should be disposed of to enrich Brutus's soldiers, and to make him popular. But Cassius was prevailed upon to give him a third part of the treasure he had amassed by every species of extortion.

The Rhodians, in order to avert the impending storm, sent ambassadors to Cassius, to dissuade him from commencing hostilities against a nation, which, though very powerful at sea, was willing to observe the most scrupulous neutrality during the present disputes. But he plainly told them they had nothing to expect but war and invasion, unless they would espouse his cause, and join him immediately with their fleet. They sent a second embassy in the person of Archelaus, who had been his master when he studied at Rhodes, and now conjured him by their ancient friendship to spare his country; but Cassius remained deaf to all his remonstrances, and the Rhodians, thus repulsed, began to make preparations for war.

They sent their admirals, Alexander and Mnaseas, to sea with a fleet of three and thirty ships of war, which falling in with the squadron of Cassius commanded by Statius Murcus, off Cnidos, a battle ensued, and was long maintained with equal valour on both sides; but at length the Rhodians were worsted, and obliged to retire with considerable loss. Cassius, who beheld the dispute from a neighbouring mountain, immediately embarked his forces at Loryma, a maritime town of Caria, opposite to the island of Rhodes, where his army landing, fortified themselves, while he, with a fleet of eighty ships of war, blocked up the city by sea. The Rhodians hazarded a naval engagement once more; but being defeated again, their city was invested and taken, after a short but vigorous resistance.

On this occasion, Cassius indulged his natural disposition, which was equally cruel and rapacious. The inhabitants, seeing him master of the place, flocked to him from all quarters, calling him their king and master; but Cassius, abhorring those titles, "I am neither your king nor master," (said he), but the destroyer of a tyrant, who would have been your king and master." He then caused a tribunal to be raised in the market-place, and seating himself on it,

The Rhodians worsted at sea.

City of Rhodes taken.

With a spear planted before him, commanded fifty of the citizens to be put to death in his presence. He condemned twenty-five to perpetual exile; he plundered all the temples; commanded individuals to bring him all their gold, silver, and valuable effects, causing those to die by the hand of the common executioner who were convicted of having secreted any part of their wealth; encouraging informers with rewards, and offering liberty to those slaves who should, in this instance, betray their masters. By these infamous means he raised, over and above the plunder of the temples, the sum of eight thousand talents, at the expense of private citizens. Having thus reduced and pillaged the city of Rhodes, he returned to the continent, leaving Lucius Varus with a strong garrison on the island, to exact a fine of five hundred talents more. On the continent he was informed, that Cleopatra had left Egypt, and sailed with a numerous fleet to join Antony and Octavianus. Upon this intelligence, he sent Statius Murcus with sixty ships of war, and a legion on board, to cruise off the coast of Peloponnesus, with orders to pillage that rich country, and keep near the promontory of Tenarus, in hopes of meeting with Cleopatra's fleet; but her navy was dispersed by a violent storm, and most of her ships were dashed to pieces on the coast of Africa; which misfortune obliged her to return home, and lay aside for the present all thoughts of assisting the triumvirs. Cassius, having now no enemies behind him, began his march to rejoin Brutus, obliging all the provinces of Asia, as he passed through them, to pay, without the least abatement, ten years taxes.

Cassius treats the Rhodians with severity.

Cleopatra's fleet dispersed by a storm.

While Cassius was thus employed against the Rhodians, Brutus carried the war into Lycia, agreeable to the scheme concerted between him and his colleague. Before he began hostilities, he sent to the Lycians, to demand a supply of men and money, which was refused: at the same time, they took measures for securing their frontiers; but their detachments being driven from their posts, he entered their dominions with his army, reduced all their towns and open villages; and finally invested their capital Xanthus, which was reckoned one of the strongest cities of Asia. The inhabitants were as great enthusiasts for liberty as Brutus himself or any of his confederates; but it does not appear that the destroyer of tyrants paid them any regard on this account: on the contrary, he resolved to reduce them to slavery; and they determined to maintain their independence to the last extremity. In a word, Brutus carried on his operations with great vigour, and the Xanthians defended themselves with the most obstinate valour.

Finding, however, that all their skill and bravery were insufficient to protect them against the effects of the Roman machines, which had made several breaches in their walls, they endeavoured by various means to escape slavery. Some attempted to save themselves by diving under water; but these unhappy wretches were caught in nets spread for the purpose. They had recourse to a general sally, hoping to make their way through the besiegers, and escape to the mountains; but the humane Brutus, suspecting their design, laid an ambush for those miserable people, who were slaughtered without mercy. Thus driven to despair, the Xanthians had nothing farther in view than to sell their lives as dear as possible to the Romans. They repeated their sallies; and set fire to the engines of the enemy. In one of their retreats, a body of two thousand Romans entered with them pell-mell; and must have perished had not a company of Oenoandes, in the service of Brutus, found means, by climbing a steep rock, to get into the city, and open a postern by which the Roman army was admitted. Their introduction was facilitated by a conflagration produced from some sparks blown by a high wind from the machines which had been set on fire. In this emergency Brutus, fearing the whole city might be destroyed, ordered his soldiers to lay aside all thoughts of revenge, and assist the inhabitants in quenching the fire; but the Xanthians, seized with a kind of frenzy, to drive away the soldiers who came to their assistance; nay, they themselves, gathering together reeds, wood, and other combustible matter, spread the fire over the whole city. Brutus, seeing the flame blaze out in a most frightful manner, and extremely desirous of saving the place, mounted his horse, and riding round the walls, stretched forth his hand to the inhabitants, begging of them that they would spare their own lives and save the town (D). But his entreaties were not regarded; the Xanthians were immoveably determined not to outlive the loss of their liberty.

The desperate resolution of the Xanthians.

Instances of the fury and despair of the Xanthians.

Some of them killed their wives, their children, and their slaves, and then leaped into the flames. Not only the men, but the women, and even the children, ran, like wild beasts, on the enemy's swords, or threw themselves headlong from the top of the walls. Some children were seen offering their throats, or opening their breasts to their fathers' swords, and begging they would take away that life which they had

(D) He might have had the wretched inhabitants to escape town entire with all its treasure, to the mountains, when they and some praise for his clemency, had he allowed the intent.

given.

givent. When the city was almost wholly reduced to ashes, a woman was found, who had hanged herself, with her young child fastened to her neck, and the torch in her hand, with which she had set fire to her own house. When this was related to Brutus, he is said to have burst into tears, and proclaimed a reward to any soldier who should save a Xanthian; but, with all his care, he could only preserve one hundred and fifty, and those much against their inclination ^a.

From Xanthus Brutus led his army against Patara, another city of Lycia; but knowing that cruelty and oppression were bad recommendations of a man who professed himself the patron of liberty, he sent deputies, desiring the inhabitants would submit, without obliging him to treat them as he had treated the Xanthians. They answered, that they chose to die like brave men, rather than purchase life at the expence of liberty. Then the Roman general tried to intimidate them into submission by causing the miserable remains of the Xanthians to be sold as slaves under their walls. But this expedient served only to render them more obstinately determined to preserve themselves free to the last extremity.

Brutus endeavours to gain the Patarienses by gentle methods;

Accident, however, performed what all his remonstrances could not effect: one of his parties, in scouring the country, happened to meet some of the chief women of Patara, whom they took prisoners, and carried to Brutus, who immediately dismissed them without ransom. These returning into the city, and extolling the clemency, justice, and temperance of Brutus, prevailed upon their husbands and relations, who were all leading men, to submit, and deliver the city into his hands (E).

and at length succeeds.

Brutus, having reduced all Lycia, left that country, and entered Ionia, where he found the rhetorician Theodotus, who had been the counsellor and cause of Pompey's death. This infamous miscreant had fled from Egypt on the arrival of Cæsar at Alexandria, and, since that time, wandered about in Asia from town to town, hated and abhorred by all men. Brutus no sooner knew he was in Ionia, than he

^a Plut. in Bruto. Appian. lib. iv. p. 633—635.

(E) Plutarch tells us, that the Roman general exacted only a hundred and fifty talents of the whole nation; a very inconsiderable sum, if compared with that of eight thousand talents, which Cassius extorted from the

Rhodians. Appian writes, that Brutus, after the example of Cassius, ordered the Patarienses, on pain of death, to bring him all their gold and silver, promising rewards to such as should discover any hidden treasures.

F 2

caused

*Theodotus
put to death
by Brutus's
order.*

*Brutus and
Cassius
meet at
Sardis.*

*A private
dispute be-
tween the
two gene-
rals.*

*Brutus's
equity.*

caused him to be seized, and sacrificed to the manes of the illustrious Roman ^b. This memorable act of justice was greatly applauded by every honest Roman, and all the princes of Asia, who had a great veneration for the memory of Pompey. From Ionia, Brutus marched into Lydia, and stopping at Sardis, the metropolis of that country, waited there for Cassius, who, after the reduction of Rhôdes, was, by agreement, to rejoin him in the neighbourhood of that city. When Cassius approached, Brutus went forth to receive him; and their meeting was celebrated by the loud shouts and acclamations of their armies, who saluted them both with the title of emperor. After mutual compliments and congratulations, they retired to a private apartment, in order to settle some differences which had arisen betwixt them, from motives of jealousy and distrust. Certain it is, they disputed with great warmth, reproaching and accusing each other with the most acrimonious expressions, and at last bursting out into tears. Their friends, who stood without, hearing them so loud and angry, began to be afraid their quarrel would be attended with dangerous consequences; but they durst not interrupt them, having been forbid to enter the room. Notwithstanding this prohibition, M. Favonius, who valued himself more upon a cynical liberty of speaking what he pleased, than upon the dignity of a senator, breaking through the attendants, entered the room, and, without knowing the subject of the dispute, pronounced with a theatrical tone, a verse which Homer puts in the mouth of Nestor, signifying, "Be ruled; for I am elder than you both." Cassius laughed at his buffoonery; but Brutus, offended at his intrusion, thrust him out, calling him a dog, in allusion to his sect, and a counterfeit philosopher. This incident, however, put an end to the dispute; Cassius provided a supper that night, and Brutus invited his friends to it. Favonius came in, and took the most honourable place, though Brutus told him, that he was not invited; but, after all, he diverted the company; and the entertainment was seasoned with many sallies of wit and pleasantry ^c.

Next day Brutus, upon the accusation of the inhabitants of Sardis, publicly condemned and branded with infamy Lucius Pella, who had been formerly censor, and often employed by Brutus himself in offices of trust, for having embezzled the public money. This sentence offended Cassius, who but a few days before had publicly absolved two of his own friends, and continued them in their offices, though

^b Plut. in Pomp. & Bruto.

^c Plut. in Bruto.

accepted of the same crime. He did not conceal his sentiments on this head from Brutus, whom he chid for being too rigorously just, when their interest required some relaxation. In answer to this reproach, Brutus reminded him of the ides of March, the day on which they had killed Cæsar, who himself neither vexed nor oppressed mankind, but was the support of those who did. He desired him to consider, that if justice could be neglected under any colour or pretence, it had been better to have suffered the injustice of Cæsar's friends, than to give impunity to their own; "For then (said he) we could have been accused of cowardice only; whereas now, if we connive at the injustice of others, we make ourselves liable to the same accusation, and share with them in the guilt."

The two republican generals, being now masters of all the eastern provinces, from Macedon to the Euphrates, after several consultations, resolved to march from Sardis to Abydus, and crossing the Hellespont, advance into Macedon against Antony and Octavianus, who, notwithstanding the opposition they had met with from Statius Murcus, had transported their troops, without the loss of one single ship, to Dyrrachium. From thence they detached Decidius Saxa, and Caius Norbanus, with eight legions, to seize on the freights leading from Thrace into Macedon, in order to prevent Brutus and Cassius ravaging the country, before they had filled their magazines. Brutus and Cassius, upon the first intelligence of these motions, left Sardis, and marched rapidly to Abydus, where they had appointed the Lycian fleet to meet them, and transport their forces from Asia into Europe. It was on this march that Brutus is reported to have seen a ghost or spectre in his tent.

Antony and Octavianus pass over into Macedon.

Plutarch tells us, that as he sat alone musing in his tent at midnight, with a dim light burning before him, he heard, on a sudden, an unusual noise at the door, which flew open, Brutus, casting his eye towards the place whence the noise came, saw a terrible and strange figure coming towards him without speaking; but he undauntedly addressed the spectre, asking it, "What art thou? a god, or a man? or upon what business dost thou come to us?" "I am (said the ghost) thy evil genius, Brutus; thou shalt see me again near Philippi." Brutus, without betraying the least fear, answered boldly, "Well, I will see thee there;" upon which reply the apparition vanished. Brutus immediately called his servants, who declared, they had neither seen nor heard any thing. He continued watching the rest of the night,

Story of an apparition.

^a Plut. in Bruto.

and as soon as it was day, went to give an account of this strange event to Cassius, who justly ascribed the vision to a perturbation of mind, occasioned by long watching and anxiety. He then accounted physically for the apparition from the Epicurean philosophy, to which he adhered.

Brutus and Cassius pass over into Europe.

Both generals pursued their march to Abydus, and crossing the Hellespont, took their route through Thrace, with a design to dislodge Saxa and Norbanus, who had seized the passes between that country and Macedon (F). Upon their arrival in Thrace, they were joined by Rhaseupolis, a petty king of that country, who, at the head of three thousand horse, conducted them, through private roads, to the place where the two generals of the triumvirs were encamped with eight legions. There Brutus and Cassius thought it adviseable, before they attempted to force the passes which were guarded by such a numerous body of the enemy, to

They review their forces;

review their forces, offer a sacrifice for the success of their arms, and remind their soldiers of the justice of the cause in which they were engaged. Both armies passed in review before the two generals, and were found to consist of eighty thousand foot, and twenty thousand horse, including Romans and auxiliaries. A sacrifice was then offered with the utmost solemnity, and innumerable victims were killed. When this ceremony was over, the two generals appeared on a tribunal erected for the purpose, having on their right hand the Roman senators and magistrates of their party, and on the left the foreign kings and princes who had joined them. Cassius took upon him to harangue. After having enlarged on the justice of their cause, the unheard-of cruelties committed by the triumvirs in Italy, and the miserable condition to which Rome was reduced, he concluded with, informing them, that Brutus and he had agreed to give

and distribute large sums among the soldiers.

immediately two thousand five hundred drachmas to each soldier, five thousand to each centurion, and double that sum to each tribune. This intimation could not but be agreeable to the army; nothing was heard but shouts of joy and loud acclamations, the soldiers and officers striving to outdo each other in protestations of fidelity, and an inviolable attachment to the interest of their leaders. The money was immediately distributed, and besides, considerable presents were made to the officers and commanders of the foreign troops; so that the whole army marched with great

(F) Plutarch tells us, that, on their march, two eagles flew to them, and, lighting upon the two foremost ensigns, continually at-

tended the army, and were fed by the soldiers till they came to Philippi, where, the day before the battle, they disappeared.

alacrity

alacrity towards the plain of Oricum, which was bounded towards Macedon by the straits we have mentioned before. Norbanus, upon the first notice of the enemy's march, dispatched an express to Decidius, who guarded the coast of the Melaëic gulf, intreating that officer to join him immediately. The two bodies, thus united, posted themselves so advantageously in the narrow passes, that it seemed impossible to dislodge them.

Brutus being thus anticipated, consulted with Rhascupolis, who being well acquainted with that country, told him there was another passage over the mountains; but that they could not go that way in less than three days, and besides, would meet with no water during their march; but if they could take water with them, he engaged to conduct them the fourth day to the river Arpeffus, which was but one day's march from the city of Philippi, by ways unknown even to the wild beasts. This expedient was adopted; the soldiers provided themselves with water; and the generals trusting entirely to the conduct of Rhascupolis, began their march, Bibulus, son-in-law to Brutus, marching with the Thracian prince in the van, and Brutus and Cassius bringing up the rear. The hardships they underwent on their route can hardly be expressed. The fourth day they were ready to fall upon Rhascupolis, suspecting him of treachery, when their spies discovering the river, testified their joy to the harassed troops with loud shouts, which were answered by the whole army, and heard even in the camp of Norbanus and Saxa, who thereupon abandoned their post, and retired precipitately to Amphipolis, that they might not be surrounded. At the same time they dispatched an express to Antony and Octavianus, acquainting them, that the enemy had passed the streights, and were advancing towards the frontiers of Macedon. In consequence of this intelligence Antony, to prevent the enemy from possessing themselves of Amphipolis on the Strymon, which the triumphs designed to make their place of arms, quitted the neighbourhood of Dyrrachium, and, by long marches, reached Amphipolis. His arrival was so sudden, and his march so expeditious, that Brutus and Cassius could not believe he was come, till they saw his vanguard advancing into the plains of Philippi (G). In this plain, at a small distance from the city,

They get beyond the streights of Symbolon possessed by the enemy;

who abandon that post.

Antony arrives with his troops in the plains of Philippi.

(G) This city, famous for the battle which was fought here, and for the epistle which St. Paul afterwards wrote to its inhabitants, belonged, properly speaking, to Thrace; but is placed, by most geographers, in Macedon, pursuant to the division which obtained ever since the time of Philip the father

Brutus and Cassius post themselves advantageously in the same plain.

city, was a rising-ground, and there Brutus entrenched himself, while Cassius took possession of a post equally advantageous, about three miles from Brutus's camp, and nearer the sea. They drew lines of communication from one camp to the other, and built a strong wall, which covered the interval between the entrenchments; so that they could not have wished for a more advantageous situation, having the plains of Philippi before them, the Strymon and a marsh on their left, the streights of Topiris on their right, and behind them the sea, by which means they could be easily supplied with all manner of provisions from Asia and Sicily, which island was in the hands of young Pompey*.

Octavianus arrives with his troops.

Number of the troops of both armies.

Antony was informed at Amphipolis of the advantageous situation of the enemy; but nevertheless, having left in that city one legion, under the command of Pinarius, he advanced boldly into the plain, and encamped in sight of the republican generals; but did not attempt any thing till the arrival of Octavianus, who joined him ten days after, having been detained at Dyrrachium by a fit of sickness. The army of Brutus and Cassius consisted of nineteen legions, and twenty thousand horse, and that of the triumvirs of the same number of legions, but more complete, and thirteen thousand horse: so that the forces of both parties were pretty equal; but the troops of Brutus far excelled those of the triumvirs in the richness of their apparel and arms, which were for the most part adorned with gold and silver.

The triumvirs begin to want provisions.

Antony lay encamped opposite to Cassius, and Brutus over-against Octavianus. The latter did nothing worth relating; but Antony was continually harassing the enemy, in order to draw them to a battle; for the forces of the triumvirs began very soon to be distressed for want of provisions, having only Macedon and Thrace open to them, since Pompey, Murcus, and Ahenobarbus had, with their several fleets, cut off all communication with Africa, Spain, and Italy. On the other hand Brutus and Cassius received daily supplies from Asia and Sicily, and had amassed great store of necessaries in the neighbouring city of Neapolis, and in the island of Thasos, whence they were conveyed, without the least danger, to their respective camps. Antony, indeed, attempted to cut off their communication with the sea, by opening a passage through the marsh which lay between them and the shore; and completed this great and

* Plut. in Brut. Appian. lib. iv. p. 480.

father of Alexander, who, ancient boundary of Macedon, having reduced the country lying between the Strymon, the it to his hereditary kingdom.

bold undertaking before the enemy had notice of his design; but Cassius no sooner saw, to his great surprize, castles and turrets appearing among the reeds, than, with incredible labour, he drew a line cross the marsh from his camp quite to the sea; and fortifying it with towers and castles at proper distances, maintained, notwithstanding Antony's utmost efforts, a free communication with the sea, and the cities on the coast. In the mean time Thrace and Macedon being quite exhausted, the numerous troops of the triumvirs were daily in greater want of necessaries, with which those countries could no longer supply them. This scarcity made Antony extremely desirous of coming to a battle; which the enemy, for that very reason, carefully avoided.

Had they continued in this resolution, the triumvirs must either have retreated to Dyrrachium, and from thence returned to Italy, or attempted to force the strong intrenchments, which, in all probability, would have proved fatal to them; but Brutus soon changed his opinion, and, in a council of war, which consisted of all the chief officers of the army, declared, that he was for putting the whole to the issue of a general engagement, that so he might either restore Rome to her former liberty, or else deliver from their misery so many nations, who were harassed with the expences, troubles, and dangers, of the war. Cassius, very unwilling to put all to the hazard of a battle, enlarged on the bad posture of the enemy's affairs, on their want of provisions, and on the extremities to which they must be soon reduced. Brutus yielded to his reasons, and both generals kept close in their intrenchments, despising the bravadoes of Antony, who advanced every day with his army in battalia to the very gates of their camp; but in the mean time the undiscerning soldiery began to complain, and ascribe to cowardice the prudent measures of their generals; they even deserted in troops to the enemy, a circumstance which, together with the advantages the light-horse of the republican generals had gained in several skirmishes, inclined Brutus again to venture an engagement.

Cassius still opposed this measure; but most of the officers, fearing a general desertion, changed their opinions to that of Brutus; so that a general engagement was agreed to by a great majority, to which Cassius himself yielded at last, after having solemnly declared, that he was still of a contrary opinion. Before the council broke up, it was resolved to give battle next day. Brutus that night invited his friends to an entertainment, at which he appeared very cheerful, and full of hope, diverting his guests with learned discourses till he went to rest. Cassius supped privately with

Brutus inclined to fight, contrary to the opinion of Cassius.

A general engagement agreed to by most of the officers.

with a few of his most intimate friends, and, during the repast, appeared thoughtful and silent, contrary to his temper and custom (H).

What passed between Brutus and Cassius before the battle,

Next morning by break of day a scarlet coat of armour, among the Romans the signal of battle, was exposed on the tents of the two generals, who, while the troops were preparing to march out of their intrenchments, met in the middle space between the two camps. Cassius, desirous to know what Brutus intended to do, in case fortune should prove their enemy, addressed him, at their first meeting, thus: "The gods grant, O Brutus, that we may now overcome our enemies, and pass the rest of our days together in repose and prosperity! but, since the greatest of human concerns are the most uncertain, and since it will be very difficult for us to see one another again, if the success of the battle should not answer our expectation, tell me, what are you determined to do, to save yourself by flight, or to die?" Brutus answered, "When I was young, Cassius, and unskilful in affairs, I condemned Cato for laying violent hands on himself, thinking it irreligious in itself, and unworthy of a man, to quit the post in which Providence has placed him, and not to take and bear patiently whatever the gods are pleased to send him. But my present situation has made me alter my opinion; so that, if Providence shall not dispose what we now undertake according to our wishes, I am resolved to make no farther attempts, nor preparations for war, but to die contented with my fortune; for I sacrificed my life to the service of my country on the ides of March, in recompence for which I have ever since lived with liberty and honour^f. At these words Cassius smiled; and tenderly embracing him, "With these noble sentiments (said he), let us advance boldly against the enemy; for either we shall conquer, or have no cause to fear those who do." After this explanation, they consulted with their friends about the order of battle. Brutus desired of Cassius, that he might command the right wing; a request which

^f Plutarch. in Bruto. Appian. lib. iv. p. 653. 655. Dio, lib. xlvii.

(H) Valerius Messala, who supped with him, tells us, that as Cassius rose from the table, he took him by the hand; and, pressing it close, in token of his good-will and affection, "Bear witness for me, Messala, (said he to him in Greek) that I am forced, in the same manner as

Pompey the Great was before me, to expose the liberty of the Roman people to the hazard of one battle: yet we ought to take courage, relying on fortune, which it were unjust to mistrust, though we have taken bad measures.

was readily granted him, though it was thought a post more fit for Cassius, in respect both of his age and experience: Cassius even placed Messala in the same wing, at the head of his best legions, ordering him to assist and support Brutus.

The two generals, having drawn up their men in battalia, marched out of their intrenchments, and advanced in good order into the plain, where the army of the triumvirs waited for them in battle-array. Antony commanded the right wing, and Octavianus conducted the left; but the latter withdrew just before the charge was given, occasioned by a dream which his physician, Artorius, had the preceding night. Brutus, before he began the charge, sent to all the commanders tickets, with the parole, or word of battle, which, according to some, was Liberty, according to others, Apollo; and rode through the ranks, exhorting his soldiers to behave with their usual bravery. They were so animated by his speech, that few of them had patience to stay for the word of command to charge; but, before it could be given, rushed with loud shouts upon the enemy. This impetuosity caused great confusion in the army, the legions being scattered and separated from one another. Messala, at the head of his legions, instead of attacking the enemy in front, took a compass about. Having put in disorder some ranks in the rear of Octavianus, and killed a small number of his men, he fell upon his camp, and, entering it sword in hand, made a dreadful havoc. In particular, he put to the sword two thousand Lacedæmonians, who were lately come to the assistance of Octavianus. The soldiers pierced the litter in which Octavianus used to be carried on account of his indisposition; whence a report was spread, and for some time believed; that he was slain. In the mean time Brutus, charging the enemy in front, easily put them to flight, as they were in great consternation at the loss of their camp, cut three whole legions in pieces on the spot, and pursued the fugitives with dreadful slaughter, the plain being, to a great distance, strewed with dead bodies. Thus was the enemy's left wing entirely defeated by the brave Brutus, who, as Octavianus was no-where to be found, began to believe, that the republic was delivered from the worst of her tyrants. He was confirmed in this belief by some of his soldiers, who asserted, that they had killed Octavianus, shewed him their swords all bloody, and described his age and person *. Brutus took a great many of the enemy's ensigns, and three eagles.

Octavianus retires before the battle.

Brutus's men charge without orders.

Defeat the enemy's left wing, and seize their camp.

* Plut. in Bruto. Flor. lib. iv. cap. 7. Vell. Paterc. lib. ii. cap. 70.

Brutus,

The left wing commanded by Cassius, defeated, and his camp taken.

Brutus, by engaging too far in the pursuit, left the wing, which Cassius commanded, naked, and separated from the rest of the army. Antony, who well knew how to take advantage of this oversight, charged the enemy in front, and at the same time detached some legions, with orders to cross the marsh, and fall upon their flank, which was left open and unguarded. The first shock was terrible: Antony, according to some writers, retired into the marsh, to avoid the fury of it, and did not again appear till the enemy began to give ground. Be that as it may, both parties fought with an unparalleled bravery and resolution. Antony's troops, notwithstanding their utmost efforts, could make no impression upon Cassius's front; but in the mean time the detached legions, having opened a passage through the marsh, fell unexpectedly upon his flank, and, after a long and vigorous resistance, put them to the rout. The Romans fled to their camp, whither the triumvir's men pursued them, and, finding it weakly guarded, quickly made themselves masters of it. This disaster occasioned so general a consternation in the rest of the army, who still maintained their ground in the plain with great intrepidity, that first the cavalry, and afterwards the foot, began to give way, and fly towards the sea. Cassius on this occasion did all that could be expected from a man of courage. He returned several times to the charge, at the head of his guards, and the few men he could rally; and, snatching an ensign out of the hand of the standard-bearer, who fled, carried it himself: but, being no longer able to keep together even his prætorian band, or guards, he was forced to retire, with a small number of attendants, to a rising-ground near the city of Philippi^b.

Brutus, believing he had gained a complete victory, was leading back his troops, loaded with plunder, when, casting his eyes upon that of Cassius, he was surprised, that he could not perceive any tents standing, not even the general's, which used to appear, at a great distance, above the rest. Some who were about him, and had a more quick and discerning sight, acquainted him that they distinguished a great many arms shining about his tent, and silver targets moving to and fro, which, they thought, could not belong to those who had been left to guard the camp. On the other side, there did not appear so many dead bodies about the place, as would have been after the defeat of so many legions. However, Brutus, suspecting Cassius's misfortune, left a sufficient guard in the enemy's camp, recalled his troops

^b Plat. in Bruto.

from the pursuit, and marched with all possible expedition to the relief of his colleague; who, from the top of the hill whither he had retired, discovered nothing, as he was short-sighted, except the destruction of his camp, and even that in a confused manner; but those who were with him, acquainted him, that they saw a great body of horse moving towards him. As Cassius knew nothing of the victory and march of Brutus, he took them to be a party of the enemy sent in pursuit of him. However, he ordered out Titinius, one of his most intimate friends, to get more certain intelligence. As soon as Brutus's cavalry perceived him, those who were his more familiar acquaintance, shouting for joy, and, alighting from their horses, saluted and embraced him, while the rest, who knew him to be one of Cassius's chief favourites, rode round him, as it were in triumph, asking him, "What news of his general?"

Brutus marches to the assistance of Cassius.

Cassius, observing this scene, and believing the horsemen, who dismounted to embrace Titinius, had taken him prisoner, cried out, "Alas! to preserve the remains of a miserable life, I have exposed my best friend to be taken by the enemy before my face." Having thus spoken, he retired into a tent with Pindarus, one of his freedmen, whom he had reserved for such an occasion ever since the unhappy battle of Carrhæ. We have no authentic account of what passed there; but Cassius's head was found lying severed from his body, and Pindarus never appeared afterwards: whence some suspected he had killed his master without his command¹. A few minutes after Cassius's death, his attendants perceived who the horsemen were, and saw Titinius, crowned with garlands in token of Brutus's victory, hastening towards them with the cavalry; but their joy was soon turned into the deepest melancholy and affliction. Titinius especially was inconsolable, when he was informed of the unfortunate mistake and death of his general. He burst into tears, and crying out, "My long stay has been the occasion of his death," he drew his sword, and killed himself upon the body of his friend. Brutus, upon the first advice of the defeat of Cassius, flew to his assistance; but was ignorant of his death till he came near his camp. Then, shedding many tears over his body, he called him the last of the Romans. He caused his body to be privately conveyed to the island of Thafus, lest the celebrating of his funeral within the camp might dishearten the troops; and occasion great disorder. He then assembled the fol-

Cassius's death.

Brutus's concern for, and eulogium upon, Cassius.

¹ Plut. in Bruto. Appian. p. 655. Vell. Patercul. lib. vii. cap. 70. Dio, lib. xlvii. p. 394. Val. Max. lib. vi. cap. 2.

diets of the deceased general, comforted them; and to make them amends for the losses they had sustained, promised to each man two thousand drachmas.

His character.

Cassius was generally esteemed one of the best commanders of his age, and had given signal proofs of an extraordinary courage, and knowledge of the military art, in Crassus's unhappy expedition against the Parthians. It was commonly said, as Plutarch informs us, "that Brutus hated the tyrannical power, and Cassius only the tyrant," on account of a private grudge; but in all probability that was reinforced by the republican principles which he had avowed from his early youth.

The two armies return to their former posts.

Brutus, now the sole commander of two numerous armies, thought it adviseable to withdraw his troops from the camp of Octavianus, which he had taken. Antony, likewise, when informed of the total overthrow of his colleague, abandoned that of Cassius, which he did not think himself in a condition to defend against the victorious troops of Brutus; so that both armies returned to their former posts.

The triumvirs, not yet informed of the death of Cassius, were greatly disheartened, having lost above sixteen thousand of their best legionaries; whereas, on the enemy's side, there were not slain eight thousand men, reckoning even the sutlers and servants of the army. Besides, provisions were become very scarce in their camp; and they saw no possible means of receiving new supplies, either by sea or land. These melancholy reflections had almost reduced them to despair, when a servant of Cassius, named Demetrius, coming in the evening to Antony, gave him an account of the tragical end of Cassius; and, at the same time, delivered to him the garment which he had taken from his master's dead body, and his sword still bloody. Antony, overjoyed at the news, immediately imparted them to his colleague; and they both agreed to draw out their forces next morning by day-break, to try whether they could bring Brutus to a battle, before his men recovered themselves from the terror and consternation which, they knew, the defeat and death of Cassius must have occasioned; but Brutus, having his own camp filled with prisoners, who required a numerous guard, and finding that of Cassius in great disorder, kept close in his entrenchments*.

Antony and Octavianus endeavour to draw Brutus to a second battle.

Antony and Octavianus, finding they could not force Brutus to battle, were greatly at a loss what measures to take. All their dependence was on a fleet, which they expected hourly from Italy, having on board great quantities of pro-

* Plut. in Bruto. Appian. p. 656. Dion, p. 355.

vision,

vision, two legions of veterans, one of which was that of Mars, a prætorian cohort, and a considerable body of cavalry; but while they were comforting themselves with the hopes of the speedy arrival of this powerful supply, news were brought them, that their fleet, under the command of Cneius Domitius Calvinus, had been entirely defeated, and most of their ships, with the soldiers on board, either sunk, or taken, by Cneius Domitius Ahenobarbus, and Lucius Statius Murcus, the two admirals of the adverse party. Some of their ships, indeed, found means to save themselves among the rocks of the Adriatic Sea; but, being there blocked up by the enemy, both the soldiers and mariners, after having consumed all their provisions, were forced by famine to feed upon the sails and tackle of their ships, which they boiled with the pitch and grease they had prepared for careening their vessels. This victory was gained on the same day in which the battle of Philippi was fought; and the news of so great an overthrow, which soon reached the triumvirs, so discouraged them, that they now began to look upon their affairs as quite desperate.

The triumvirs' fleet destroyed by Brutus' admirals.

As they were encamped in a low ground, surrounded with marshes, and a great quantity of rain, as usually happens in autumn, had fallen after the battle, which filled their tents with mire and water, distempers began to reign in both armies, and daily carry off great numbers of men. On the other hand, Brutus had sufficient provisions to support his army for a long time, was very advantageously posted, his camp being secure from the injuries of the weather, and inaccessible to the enemy; and, as he was absolute master of the sea, he could receive whatever necessities he wanted from Asia, Africa, Sicily, and Spain. The triumvirs, finding themselves in this desperate condition, left nothing unattempted which could provoke the soldiers of Brutus to mutiny against their general for declining an engagement. They drew out their troops day after day, and marched in battle-array up to the gates of the enemy's camp; but Brutus, who knew that their boldness proceeded from despair, remained quiet, not doubting but he should soon see them moulder away, and, by a shameful flight, abandon both Greece and Macedon to the mercy of his troops. The triumvirs, finding they could not bring Brutus to a battle, detached two legions to take possession of a rising-ground which Brutus had thought proper to abandon after the late battle. About six hundred paces from thence, towards the sea, they posted ten legions, and two

The bad situation of the triumvirs' affairs.

more

more at a small distance from them, with a design to cut off the communication between the enemy's army and fleets.

Brutus's troops begin to mutiny, and demand to be led out against the enemy.

Brutus caused several works to be carried on from his camp quite to the shore, and by these means kept a free communication with the sea; but as several skirmishes happened between the soldiers of the opposite parties, who covered their workmen, in which Brutus's men had the advantage, they were so elated with this success, that they began to mutiny, and, assembling in crouds, ask their general, "What cowardice he had lately observed in them, that they must be thus, like prisoners, kept within their entrenchments, and not suffered to make use of their arms, and exert that courage which had but a few days before proved so fatal to the enemy who now insulted them." Brutus endeavoured to restrain their unseasonable ardor, by representing the desperate posture of the enemy's affairs, and the happy situation of their own; but all to no purpose: though the forces of the triumvirs were reduced to the utmost extremity, and a considerable body of German troops, to avoid starving in their camp, had deserted, and given the mutineers a full account of their miseries; yet, by an unaccountable obstinacy, they still persisted in demanding to be led out against the enemy, whom they desired to conquer, not by famine, but valour; nay, because the prudent general refused to comply with their request, several Romans, as well as auxiliaries, abandoned him, and went over to the enemy.

Brutus yields to the importunity of the soldiery.

This desertion gave Brutus great concern, which was increased by the disorders that happened daily in the camp of Cassius, whose soldiers, become headstrong and intractable since the death of their general, refused to obey the officer whom Brutus had appointed in his room. In these circumstances Brutus yielded at last to the importunity of his soldiers, and resolved to end his own cares, and those of the Roman world, by a general and decisive action; which all the ancients tell us he would never have hazarded, had he been informed of the late advantage gained by his fleet: but of that important victory he received no intelligence till twenty days after; that is, till the very evening before the fight¹, when it was too late for him to alter his measures. Brutus, at length determined to put the whole to the issue of a general action, commanded all the prisoners he had taken in the last battle to be put to the sword, that he might not be deprived of the use of those soldiers

¹ Plut. in Bruto.

who were employed in guarding them: a barbarous step, which his admirers seek to excuse or palliate, by quoting the example of Antony and Octavianus; a plea as absurd as the occasion of it was inhuman. Besides, Plutarch tells us it was a step taken at the instigation of Casca, exasperated by some sarcasms of two buffoons who happened to be among the prisoners.

Brutus puts the captive slaves to death, and sets most of the freed-men at liberty.

Brutus, having thus rid his hands of his prisoners, assembled his soldiers the day before the battle; and, in order to rouse their courage, promised them the pillage of Thessalonica and Lacedæmon, two cities which had sided with the triumvirs. This was another instance of the great clemency, moderation, and justice of this celebrated Roman, which even his panegyrist Plutarch is obliged to give up to reprobation. Having thus encouraged his men, and made the necessary preparations for the next day's engagement, he retired late in the night to his tent, when the spectre, which had promised to meet him at Philippi, is said to have appeared to him again in the same shape as it had assumed before, but vanished in an instant, without one word being uttered on either side.

Brutus promises his soldiers the spoil of two Greek cities.

The spectre appears again to Brutus.

Next morning he chose his ground like an able general, forming his lines at a small distance from his camp, that he might have a safe retreat in case of any misfortune. Then riding through the ranks, "Fellow-soldiers (said he), you have desired to engage the enemy in the open field, when you might have gained a complete victory by continuing inactive within your intrenchments; but this kind of victory you despised, as not honourable enough for men of your bravery; you are for purchasing glory at the expence of your blood. It is therefore now incumbent upon you to summon all that boldness with which you demanded battle, to maintain the honour of your first victory, and to answer the trust which I have reposed in your valour. Whether Rome is to enjoy an uninterrupted happiness and liberty, or be condemned to eternal slavery, and endless calamities, this day will decide." Antony and Octavianus were utterly astonished when they first observed the usual signal of battle exposed on the tent of Brutus. Overjoyed at this unexpected resolution, they ordered their men to prepare immediately for battle; but did not quit their intrenchments before three in the afternoon, when they marched out like famished lions, as Appian expresses it, against their prey. Their generals, to encourage them, promised to each soldier five hundred drachmas after the victory, painting to them, at the same time, in most lively colours, the inexpressible miseries and calamities which they

Brutus's speech to his soldiers before the battle.

must unavoidably endure if overcome. "You have but two things to choose (said they), to conquer, or perish by the most miserable of all deaths, famine."

*The second
battle of
Philippi.*

*Brutus de-
feats the
enemy's
left wing.*

*But his
left is de-
feated by
Antony;*

Having spoken to this effect, they ordered their men to advance with a slow pace against the enemy, who kept their ground, ready to receive them. When the two armies were near each other, Brutus had the mortification to see a brave knight, named Cumulatus, whom he highly esteemed for his valour, abandon his post, and go over to the enemy. Fearing others might follow the example, he caused the signal of battle to be given immediately, and charged the enemy's left wing, commanded by Octavianus, with such intrepidity, vigour, and resolution, that all gave way before him. As the cavalry of Octavianus was put into the utmost disorder at the first onset, Brutus's horse broke in among the enemy's foot, and made a dreadful havock of the legionaries. While the brave Brutus was thus signaling himself in the right wing, his left, commanded by the lieutenants of Cassius, men altogether unequal to that charge, was hard pressed by Antony. Cassius's cavalry instantly fled, leaving the flank of the wing in which they were posted naked and unguarded. Then the infantry, in danger of being surrounded, widened their ranks to the right and left, that they might oppose the enemy every way; but as this extension weakened them, they were, at the first onset, broken and disordered by the close battalions of Antony. The plain was soon covered with the fugitives; some of them making towards the camp, others flying to the sea-side; but most of them repairing to the right wing, to take shelter among the victorious troops of Brutus. Antony did not pursue them; but, like an experienced general, marched directly against Brutus, and attacked his rear with incredible fury.

*which oc-
casions the
defeat of
the whole
army.*

*Brutus's
gallant
behaviour.*

That commander performed, on this occasion, all that could be expected from an expert general, and valiant soldier; but Cassius's troops, which were overthrown in the left wing, crowding in among his ranks, and carrying with them, wherever they came, despair and confusion, turned the scale in favour of the enemy, after Brutus had for a long time maintained his ground against all the forces of the united armies. His lines were at length broken, and put into disorder. He attempted several times to bring them back to the charge; but all his endeavours proved unsuccessful. Being surrounded on all sides, and overpowered by the numerous forces of Antony and Octavianus, he was in imminent danger of being either cut in pieces, or falling alive into the hands of his most inveterate

enemies.

enemies. On this occasion many of his best officers were killed in endeavouring to save their general, who, with their assistance, breaking through the enemy's battalions that surrounded them, retreated from the field of battle.

Among the few who attended him, was one Lucilius Lucinus, an intimate friend, who, observing a body of Thracian horse, under the command of Rhascus, the brother of Rhascupolis, not regarding any other in the pursuit, but making directly towards Brutus, resolved to stop them, and save the life of his general, at the hazard of his own.

Accordingly, without acquainting Brutus with his design, he halted till the Thracians came up, and surrounded him.

Then he cried out, that he was Brutus; and begging quarter, desired they would carry him to Antony; pretending, that he feared Octavianus, but could trust the other. The

The contrivance of Lucilius to save Brutus.

Thracians, thinking themselves happy in their prey, immediately detached some of their body to acquaint Antony with their good fortune; and, in the mean time, giving over the pursuit, returned with their prisoner. The report being spread in an instant all over the army, that Brutus was taken, and that the Thracians were bringing him alive to Antony, both soldiers and officers flocked together from all parts to see him. Some pitied his misfortune; others accused him of a meanness unbecoming his former glory, for suffering himself to fall a prey to barbarians. Antony was not a little concerned at this adventure, being quite at a loss, in what manner he should receive, and how he should treat his illustrious captive: but he was soon delivered from his uneasiness; for, as the Thracians approached, he knew the prisoner who had passed himself upon the Thracians for Brutus; who now, addressing the triumvir with a generous confidence, "Be assured, Antony (said he), that no enemy either has, or ever shall take Marcus Brutus alive. Forbid it, ye gods, that fortune should ever prevail so much above virtue! But let him be found, dead or alive, he will certainly be found in such a state as is worthy of him. As for me, I have delivered myself up to save him, and am now ready to suffer whatever torments you think proper to inflict upon me, without demanding, or expecting, any quarter."

Antony, touched with the fidelity, virtue, and generosity of Lucilius, turned to the Thracians, enraged at their disappointment, and addressed them thus: "I perceive, my fellow-soldiers, that you are concerned, and full of resentment, for having been thus imposed upon by Lucilius; but be assured, that you have met with a booty better than that which you sought for; you were in search of an enemy,

Antony's generosity.

and have brought me a friend. I was truly at a loss how I should have used Brutus, if you had brought him to me alive; but of this I am sure, that it is better to have such a man as Lucilius our friend than our enemy." Having thus spoken, he embraced Lucilius, and commended him to the care of one of his friends. Such generous behaviour won the heart of Lucilius, who ever after continued inviolably attached to the interest of his friend and benefactor^m. After this incident, both Antony and Octavianus marched with their victorious legions in pursuit of the enemy's broken and dispersed forces, making a dreadful slaughter of the fugitives. Some of the officers of Brutus chose rather to die sword in hand than take quarter, and survive all hopes of seeing the republic restored. Among these was the son of Cato, who, though in every other respect degenerate from the virtue of his father, still retained that republican enthusiasm which he had imbibed in his education.

What happened to Brutus after the loss of the battle.

The contrivance of Lucilius gave Brutus an opportunity of passing a little brook encompassed with rocks, and shaded with trees. Being overtaken by the night, he reposed in an hollow place at the foot of a rock, attended with a small number of his friends and officers. There, lifting up his eyes to heaven, he repeated two Greek verses, one of which Volumnius, who attended him, forgot; but remembered the other, which was the following, out of the *Medea* of Euripides:

Punish, great Jove, the author of these ills:

By which it was thought he meant Antony, who remembered and repeated it, when, after the battle of Actium, he was reduced to the necessity of laying violent hands on himself.

Brutus, understanding that he was invested by the enemy, exhorted those who were with him to make some attempt to reach their camp before day-light; for he conjectured, that he had not lost many of his men, and that those who had escaped had taken refuge there. Statilius undertook to pass through the enemy, and go by himself to the camp, promising, if it was not taken, to hold up a lighted torch for a signal, and return immediately. Statilius arrived safe, and held up the torch; which gave Brutus some hopes of retrieving his affairs. He waited a long time for the return of Statilius, saying, "If Statilius

^m Plut. in Bruto.

be alive, he will come back ;” but he was slain, on his return, by the enemy.

Brutus, tired with waiting, and day now beginning to dawn, whispered something in the ear of Clytus, one of his domestics, who returned him no answer, but burst into tears. Then Brutus, taking aside Dardanus, his armour-bearer, had some discourse with him in private, and afterwards addressed himself to Volumnius in Greek ; conjuring him, by their common studies, and ancient friendship, to draw his sword, and put an end to his life. Volumnius, and after him several others, answered him only with their tears. One of them, to divert Brutus from laying violent hands on himself, starting up, “ There is no staying here any longer, said he ; we must all fly.” “ Yes (answered Brutus), we must fly indeed, not with our feet, but with our hands.” Then taking each of them by the hand, he told them with a cheerful countenance, that it was an infinite satisfaction to him to find, that none of his friends had proved false to him ; that he did not complain of fortune for his own, but for his country’s sake ; that as for himself, he thought he was much more happy than those who had conquered, not only respecting what was past, but even in his present condition, since he should enjoy that reputation which always follows virtue, and which tyranny and injustice could never deserve. He besought his friends to provide for their own safety, telling them, that he hoped Antony and Octavianus, satisfied with his death, would pursue their revenge no farther. He then withdrew, with two or three only of his peculiar friends. Among these was Strato, an Epirote, with whom he had contracted an acquaintance, when they studied rhetoric together. To him Brutus had recourse, conjuring him, by their ancient friendship, to give him the last proof of his affection, by performing that friendly office which the others had declined. As Strato could not be prevailed upon to imbrue his hands in the blood of his friend, Brutus called one of his slaves ; and then the faithful Epirote, crying out, “ Forbid, ye gods, it should ever be said, that Brutus died by the hand of a slave for want of a friend,” covered his eyes with his left arm, and presented the point of his sword to Brutus, who threw himself upon it with such violence, that it pierced him through, and he expired immediately ^a.

His last words to his friends.

Yr. of Fl.
2313.
Ante Chr.
35.
U. C. 713.

The death of Brutus.

^a Plut. in Bruto. Liv. lib. cxxiv. Vell. Patercul. lib. ii. cap. 74. Appian. lib. iv. p. 665, 666.

His character.

Thus fell Brutus, in the forty-third year of his age; and with him fell the last hope of the expiring republic: for it must be owned, his conduct was founded on real patriotism; and his character was of such importance as to justify the expectation of those who thought the constitution of the republic might be re-established. Brutus inherited from nature a good capacity, which had been carefully cultivated. He had studied philosophy with great attention; and wrote several treatises which are now lost. He was learned, eloquent, brave, liberal, and naturally humane; and his private life without blemish or reproach. Whether he carried his enthusiastic love of liberty too far, in murdering his friend and benefactor, is a question that will afford matter of dispute, as long as the memory of that transaction remains.

The generosity of Antony.

Antony being informed of the death of Brutus, flew to the place where the body still lay, beheld it with grief and tears, cast his purple mantle, of great value over it, and charged one of his freed-men to take care of his funeral. Some time after, being told that the servant had not burnt the mantle with the corpse, and had detained part of the money which was to be expended in the funeral, he ordered him to be put to death. Octavianus, who was more actuated by the spirit of revenge against him, as the murderer of his father, caused the head of Brutus to be cut off, that it might be sent to Rome and laid at the feet of Cæsar's statue; but, in the passage from Dyrrachium, a violent storm arising, it was, probably out of superstition, thrown into the sea*. The rest of the body was burnt by Antony's order, and the ashes were conveyed in an urn to Servilia, mother of the deceased (I).

Many of Brutus's men submit to the conquerors.

The death of Brutus was no sooner known in his camp, than those who had retired thither, to the number of fourteen thousand men, submitted upon honourable terms to the two victorious generals. Others fled into the island of

* Plut. in Anton. & Brut. Appian. lib. iv. p. 668. Suet. in Octavio, cap. 13. P Dio, lib. xlviii. p. 356.

(I) As for Porcia his wife, Valerius Maximus, and Nicolaus, the Peripatetic philosopher, tell us, that being resolved not to outlive her husband, she killed herself by swallowing live coals: but Plutarch assures us, that in his time was still extant a letter of Brutus to his friends, wherein he lamented the death of Porcia, and complained of them for suffering her to die of melancholy (1).

(1) Plut. in Brut.

Thasus,

Thasus, and from thence escaped into Asia. Antony and Octavianus found in Brutus's camp plenty of arms and provisions, with immense sums of money, which enabled them to satisfy immediately some of their veterans, whom they disbanded soon after the battle, being glad to get rid of men who, proud of their services, began to usurp an authority even over their generals. By this victory the triumvirs established the authority they had usurped, and became masters of the whole Roman empire, Sicily alone excepted, which was still held by Sextus, the son of Pompey the Great; though the opposition they met with from him was not very considerable.



C H A P. LI.

The History of Rome, from the Death of Brutus and Cassius to the Settlement of the Empire by Octavianus.

THE first days after the battle were spent by the triumvirs in punishing such of their personal enemies as had the misfortune to fall into their hands. Antony, after having reproached Hortensius with the death of his brother Caius, caused him to be slain on his tomb. He likewise put to death Varro, an illustrious senator, who had on all occasions expressed an irreconcilable hatred to him, and could not forbear reproaching the triumvir, even when he was in his power, with his debauched and scandalous life, which, he said, he would one day end with an unhappy and tragical death. Livius Drusus, the father of that Livia who was afterwards married to Augustus, killed himself in his tent. Quintilius Varus, after having adorned himself with all the ensigns of the honours and dignities he had borne, chose rather to die by the hands of his freedmen, than to be exposed to the insults of a merciless enemy. Octavianus, on this occasion, acted with such cruelty as left an indelible stain upon his reputation. He seems from the beginning to have been actuated by an implacable spirit of revenge against the authors of Caesar's death; whom he considered as the most infamous assassins.

Several illustrious citizens slain, or lay violent hands on themselves.

Cruelty of Octavianus.

The triumvirs having thus sacrificed to the powers of revenge, began to deliberate on the proper measures for bringing the war to a period, and extinguishing the last remains of opposition to their designs. Pompey was still in posses-

The republican party still powerful.

son of Sicily; Domitius Ahenobarbus, and Statius Murcus, the admirals of Brutus, commanded two powerful fleets, the former on the coasts of Macedon, the latter in the Ionian sea. Cassius Parmensis (K), one of the conspirators, having been left in Asia, by Brutus and Cassius, with a considerable fleet, and a competent number of forces, to keep the eastern provinces in awe, upon the news of Brutus' overthrow and death, reinforced his fleet with thirty Rhodian ships, which he manned with Romans; and being joined by Clodius, governor of Rhodes, at the head of three thousand men, by Lepidus, from Crete, with the garrison which Brutus had left there, by Clodius, Torulus, young Cicero, and many other persons of distinction, who had fled into Asia, gave no small umbrage to the triumvirs.

Measures taken to suppress it.

In a private conference between them, it was agreed, that Antony should march into the East, and settle those provinces; and that Octavianus should lead the old troops into Italy, put them in possession of the lands which had been promised them, and force young Pompey from a retreat, which served for an asylum to all the zealous republicans. Before they parted they disbanded all their veterans, except eight thousand, after having satisfied them in part, with the money they had left, and what they found in the camp of Brutus. Of the remaining forces Octavianus took with him into Italy four legions, and four thousand horse; Antony retaining six legions and ten thousand horse.

Antony and Octavianus part.

And now the two conquerors separated, Octavianus taking his route towards Dyrrachium, in order to return to Italy, and Antony marching into Greece with a design to pass over from thence into Asia. Octavianus arrived in a few days march at Dyrrachium, where we shall leave him to follow Antony in his memorable, but to him fatal, expedition into the East. After so complete a victory he resolved to visit Greece, as the country where flattery was managed with most delicacy: there he took pleasure in assisting, like a private citizen, at the disputes of the philosophers in the schools and academies of Athens, in seeing the public sports, and frequenting the religious ceremonies of the Greeks. Fond of being styled the Lover of Greece, but above all, the Lover of Athens, he administered justice

The obliging behaviour of Antony to the Greeks.

1 Appian. p. 672, 673. Dio, lib. xlviii. p. 358.

(K) Cassius Parmensis was one of the conspirators; but some time after the battle of Philippi, he joined Antony, and served under him at the

battle of Actium. Upon his defeat he retired to Athens, where he was put to death by order of Octavianus.

there

there with great equity, and made very considerable presents to the city, though he was himself in great want of money, his military chest being almost drained by the sums he and his colleague had distributed among the veterans after the battle. Before he left Attica, he caused an exact survey to be made of the temple of Apollo Pythius, as if he designed to repair it; but he dropped that project on his arrival in Asia, whither he marched with all his forces, leaving Lucius Censorinus, one of his lieutenants, to govern Greece in his absence.

In Asia, all the kings and princes who acknowledged the Roman power, came to pay their homage to him, many of them bringing with them their wives and daughters, to gain the triumvir's favour by their charms. The queens rivalled one another, who should make him the most magnificent present, or appear most charming in his eyes. This croud of sovereigns, who daily attended his levee, and waited upon him wherever he went, with their praises and submissions, most agreeably soothed his ambitious and voluptuous temper; but nothing pleased him so much as the reception he met with at Ephesus. There the women went out to meet him in the habits they used to wear when they solemnized the feasts of Bacchus, and the men and boys dressed like satyrs and fauns. Nothing was to be seen throughout the town but spears wreathed with ivy, harps, flutes and hautboys, while they styled Antony in their songs, "Bacchus the gracious and the gentle;" and so indeed he was to some, but others he treated with great inhumanity. He pardoned all those of Brutus's party who surrendered themselves to him, except Petronius, who was one of the conspirators, and Quintus, who was charged with betraying Dolabella to Cassius in Laodicea. But then he stripped several rich citizens of their estates to gratify his flatterers and buffoons (L).

In Asia he is courted by kings, princes, &c.

His behaviour towards the Asiatics.

As the chief business which had brought him into Asia, was the raising of the necessary sums for satisfying the victorious legions, he summoned the deputies of all the subjects and allies of Rome to meet at Ephesus; and after having reproached them with assisting Brutus and Cassius, he acquainted them with the great promises he and his colleague had made to their twenty-eight conquering legions, amounting in all to a hundred and fifty thousand men, and upwards; and then concluded thus: "You may judge of the sums we want from the number of our soldiers, and the promises

(L) Thus one of his cooks, as his reward, the fine house having dressed him a supper to of a wealthy citizen of Magnesia. his taste, begged, and obtained

*His speech
to the deputies
of the
Asiatic
cities.*

we have made them. This necessity has obliged my colleague to go into Italy, where he has taken upon him to reward them with lands and houses, from which he will be obliged to drive out the ancient proprietors: but I will treat you with more humanity, being unwilling to deprive you of your inheritances, or drive you from your temples and the sepulchres of your forefathers. As you would run the fortune of our enemies in war, now that the gods have been pleased to grant the victory, not according to your wishes, but their own justice, we ought to treat you as the allies, or rather as the accomplices, of our foes, and inflict upon you some exemplary punishment: but as the laws of humanity will not always allow the punishments to be proportionable to the crimes, instead of other penalties, we shall content ourselves with a sum of money, the same you gave our enemies, ten years tribute: but as you paid it to them in two years time, we require it in one. This is the only punishment we intend to inflict upon you, which we should very readily forgive, were not our exigencies very pressing." At these words the deputies threw themselves at Antony's feet, remonstrating, with tears in their eyes, that their assisting Brutus and Cassius could not be criminal, since they had been forced to it by such cruel usage, as rendered them rather objects of pity than punishment; and that, as to the sums which were demanded, it was not in their power to raise them; for Brutus and Cassius had stripped them, not only of all their gold and silver in specie, but likewise of their plate, the furniture of their houses, and of all the ornaments of their cities and temples. Antony continuing inflexible, Hybreas, an orator and agent for some of the Asiatic cities, rising up, "Since you are determined (said he) to double our taxes, pray take care, that our summers and autumns be doubled too; otherwise we shall never be able to satisfy your demands." This liberty of speech did not displease Antony, who was naturally good humoured, and loved raillery.

*The Asiatics loaded
with heavy
taxes.*

His generosity.

The deputies prevailed at length upon the triumvir to be contented with the tribute of nine years, to be paid in two: so that all the princes, kings, and free states of Asia, were obliged to lay heavy burthens on their subjects for the payment of this sum; which reduced them, after the exorbitant taxes with which Cassius had loaded them, almost to a state of beggary. After this exaction Antony made a progress through the provinces of Asia, exhibiting every where extraordinary demonstrations of generosity and good nature.

* Plut. in Anton. Appian. lib. v. p. 673, 674.

* Appian, ibid.

He pardoned Lucius, brother of Cassius, and several others of the adverse party, who, upon the same of his clemency, flocked to him from all quarters: but he continued implacable to the murderers of Cæsar. He freed the Xanthians from all tribute, and persuaded them to rebuild their city. To the Rhodians, whom Cassius had treated with great severity, he gave the islands of Andros, Tenos, Naxos, and Myndus. The inhabitants of Tarsus and Laodicea he likewise exempted from all taxes. Neither was he unmindful of the Athenians, to whom he granted the islands of Ægina, Teos, Cea, Sciathus, and Peparethus: so that the whole weight of the exorbitant contributions, amounting to two hundred thousand talents, fell upon the inhabitants of Asia, properly so called, of Syria, Phrygia, Mysia, Galatia, Cappadotia, Cilicia, and Palestine.

Antony, arriving in Cilicia, dispatched Dellius into Egypt, to summon Cleopatra to appear before him, and give him an account of her conduct during the war; for though she had assisted Dolabella, yet Serapion, her lieutenant in Cyprus, had joined Brutus and Cassius (M). As Dellius was well acquainted with Antony's temper, after a short conversation with the queen, he easily judged with what sentiments a woman of her beauty, wit, address, and sprightly conversation, would inspire him; and therefore encouraged her to go in person into Cilicia, assuring her, that Antony, who was a brave and amorous soldier, would receive her with all the respect due to persons of her high station, extraordinary merit, and qualifications. She had great faith in the words of Dellius; but she had a greater

He summons Cleopatra to give an account of her conduct.

† Appian. *ibid.* p. 675.

(M) Dellius, who was sent on this message, was a famous historian, and a man of great wit and learning, but of no principles. He was one of Horace's most intimate friends, who addressed to him the third ode of his second book, containing the soundest principles of the Epicurean philosophy. Messala Corvinus used to call him *desultorem bellorum civilium*, that is, *the vaunter of the civil wars*. For he left Dolabella to side

with Cassius, then quitted Cassius to join Antony, and at last abandoned Antony to take part with Octavianus. During his stay at the court of Egypt the fair queen captivated his heart, and is said not to have been displeased with the addresses of a man of his fine genius. In the time of Seneca several letters of his to that queen were handed about, written with too much familiarity (1).

(1) Vid. Sen. lib. i. de Clementia, cap. 18. Strabo, lib. xi. & Lips. ad i. Annal. Tacit.

*Her
charms.*

dependence on herself. Never had beauty been signalized by more illustrious conquests: she had captivated the heart of Julius Cæsar, of Pompey's eldest son, and formerly of Antony himself, when he served under Gabinus, governor of Syria; and this when she was young and ignorant in the arts of love; whereas she was now to meet him in the flower of her age, with all the charms of beauty, and all the artifice of riper years. But what above all inspired her with certain confidence of rekindling the flame in Antony's heart, was the consciousness of her own superior genius and accomplishments. She possessed a certain natural grace which diffused itself through her whole deportment: the charms of her conversation were irresistible, and the very tone of her voice so harmonious, that no instrument was capable of a greater variety of sounds, and of equally soothing the soul of the hearers. Besides, she expressed herself with so much ease, and in so many different languages, that she was looked upon as a prodigy.

*She arrives at
Tarsus in
Cilicia;
and capti-
vates An-
tony.*

She made great preparations for her journey, taking with her vast sums of money, and all the jewels, plate, and rich ornaments of the Egyptian kings. Many were the letters she received from Antony, pressing her departure; but she seemed to disregard his orders. At length she set out, and, arriving at the mouth of the river Cydnus, she embarked in a small galley, and appeared before Antony at Tarsus in Cilicia, in the fantastical manner we have described in our history of the Ptolemies of Egypt. The triumvir was so captivated by her attractions, that he laid aside all other considerations, and seemed to be entirely engrossed by her idea. He neglected the business of mankind; and followed her into Egypt, where he spent the winter with her in amorous dalliance, enhanced by all the enjoyments of the most voluptuous dissipation.

*Octavia-
nus greatly
indisposed.*

While he thus indulged in effeminate pleasures with his Egyptian paramour, his colleague was wholly taken up in settling the affairs of Italy, and dividing the promised lands among the veterans. Having embarked his troops at Dyrrachium, he crossed the Adriatic Gulf without meeting with any of the enemy's fleets, and landed at Brundisium; where he was taken so ill, that his physicians gave him over, and the news of his death were immediately spread all over Italy. Most of the senators looked upon this report as one of his usual artifices to discover their intentions, and real sentiments; and therefore, by a decree of the senate, prayers

* Plut. Appian. Dio, *ibid.*

and

and sacrifices were offered up to the gods for his recovery, which was soon effected by his native air, and the vigour of his youth. When he was in a condition to bear the fatigues of the journey, he set out for Rome, where he was received with loud acclamations. Some time before his arrival the fasces had been transferred from Lepidus and L. Munatius Plancus to L. Antonius, the brother of the triumvir, and P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus; but Fulvia, Antony's wife, a woman of a masculine spirit, and unbounded ambition, had gained the ascendant over the new consuls, and governed Rome with absolute power. This Octavianus could not bear; and hence the mutual jealousies and distrusts between her and the young triumvir, which at length kindled a war in the very bowels of Italy.

Octavianus met with many almost insurmountable difficulties in the distribution of the promised lands. As the public treasury was quite exhausted, he could not content the soldiery without giving up to them the several towns which he had promised them as the reward of victory; and this measure he was well convinced would provoke the people. Most of the inhabitants of those unhappy towns flocked daily in great multitudes to Rome: numbers of women with children in their arms, whose tender years and innocence moved even the triumvir's friends to compassion, daily filled the temples and public places with their cries and lamentations. The people on this occasion spoke with a great deal of freedom and boldness: "This war (said they) has been undertaken not for the public good, but for the private views of the triumvirs, who, since they have reaped the advantage of it, ought to bear all the charges, and not satisfy their soldiers at the expence of so many distressed families." Octavianus heard, and patiently bore, these complaints, with a dissimulation peculiar to himself. Unwilling to give occasion to fresh disturbances, he borrowed several sums of money; but finding he could not raise what was sufficient to satisfy his soldiers, he broke through all difficulties, and, pursuant to his first design, allotted them the lands for their inheritance, which he had promised in the beginning of the war (N).

*Complaints
against the
triumvir.*

Octa-

(N) Cremona, a city greatly attached to the interest of Brutus, suffered most in this iniquitous distribution; and Mantua, which was but too near to a place abandoned to the mercy of the ungovernable soldiery,

had more than her share in these misfortunes. Virgil had like to have perished on this occasion by the hand of a centurion named Arrius, who pursued him with his drawn sword, for daring to dispute with him the possession

Octavianus meets with difficulties in the distribution of the lands.

Divorces the daughter of Fulvia.

Octavianus was exposed to great dangers in this extremely nice and difficult undertaking, the soldiery and people being equally exasperated against him. Few of the veterans were satisfied with the portion of the lands allotted to them; Antony's soldiers taxed Octavianus with partiality, in assigning the best lands to his own men, and the worst to them. Fulvia did not fail to improve these discontents; and, being seconded by the consul Lucius, her brother-in-law, whom she easily gained over to her interest, she left nothing unattempted to exasperate the soldiers and people against one who, she perceived, was engrossing all the power to himself.

Octavianus, no longer able to bear the haughty and imperious behaviour of Fulvia, divorced her daughter Clodia, after having solemnly declared upon oath, that, for him, she was still a virgin. This affront was touching the proud Fulvia in the most sensible part: she resolved henceforth to keep no measures with Octavianus, and accordingly began openly to encourage the veterans, who had served under her husband, to take arms against his ungrateful colleague, who, though he had in no degree contributed to the victory, was now reaping all the advantage of it, with a view to engross the whole power to himself, and exclude Antony, to whose valour the victory was entirely owing, from any share in the administration. She appeared in all the assemblies of the people, with the children she had by Antony; and there made bitter complaints of the cruel usage she pretended they had received from one who ought, with all the tenderness of a father, to have protected them against the insults of their enemies. Lucius, her brother-in-law, joined her endeavours, by insinuating, that Octavianus had nothing in view but to enslave Italy, deprive his colleagues of all power, and make both the senate and people of Rome subservient to his will. He pretended to act by the directions of, and in concert with, his brother, whose chief concern, he said, was, to preserve the republic from the tyranny of the proud, crafty, and ambitious Octavianus. This disagreement be-

sion of his small estate on the banks of the Mincius; and would have deprived the world of the greatest poet Italy ever produced, had he not happily escaped the fury of the enraged centurion, by swimming across the river. This very adventure seems to have chiefly contributed to the reputation and good fortune of that inimitable

writer; for it put him upon going to Rome, where his extraordinary talents being known to Mæcenæ and Asinius Pollio, he obtained by their interest the restitution of his farm, which is the subject of that excellent eclogue, the first of his *Bucolics*, he being then about twenty-eight years of age.

The republic rent anew into two factions.

tween the young triumvir on one side, and Lucius and Fulvia on the other, gave rise to two different factions, which rent the republic again into parties. The veterans, who had served under Antony, and such of the Italians as had been driven from their ancient inheritances, sided with Fulvia and Lucius. The friends of the late dictator, and those legionaries who were satisfied with the lands fallen to their share, took part with Octavianus: so that all Italy was in a flame, and threatened with a new war ready to break out within the walls of Rome, where horrible disorders, and cruel murders, were daily committed by the insolent populace, and ungovernable soldiery of the two opposite factions. To complete the misfortunes of Rome and Italy, a famine began to be felt all over the country, great part of the lands lying uncultivated ever since the beginning of the civil war, the seas being beset with the enemy's fleets, and Sextus Pompeius holding Sicily, whence the continent, and especially the capital, was supplied with corn. In this distress Octavianus would have compromised matters with Fulvia; but she would hearken only to the dictates of her own resentment, and the insinuations of Manius, her husband's agent, who assured her, that nothing but a war could force Antony from the arms of Cleopatra, and bring him into Italy.

Fulvia retires from Rome, and forms a camp at Præneste.

Fulvia followed the pernicious advice of Manius, and, abandoning Rome, retired to Præneste, a city which had espoused her cause. There, forgetting her sex, she appeared with a helmet on her head, and a sword by her side, assembled some legions, harangued them, and performed all functions of a general. Octavianus, apprehensive young Pompey might take advantage of the misunderstanding between him and Fulvia, sent a deputation to the camp of Præneste, exhorting the female general, and her brother-in-law, who, though consul, served in a manner as her subaltern, to lay aside all animosities, and act in concert against their common enemies. The deputies, who were all of the senatorial order, and common friends to the triumvirs, would have prevailed on Lucius to hearken to an accommodation, had he not been diverted from it by the implacable Fulvia, and by Manius, whom Antony had appointed to manage his affairs in Rome during his absence. He in a studied speech accused Octavianus of unfair dealing with respect to Antony, as if he designed to engross the whole power of the triumvirate to himself, and reduce his colleague to the state of a private man, though the victory they had gained in the plains of Philippi was entirely owing to his valour.

* Appian. *ibid.* Dio. lib. xlviii. p. 359, 360. Vell. Pat. lib. ii. cap. 74. Suet. in Octav. cap. 62.

Octavianus,

Both parties prepared for war.

Octavianus, upon the report of his deputies, finding a war unavoidable, began to assemble his legions; and both sides prepared for hostilities. In the mean time several manifestos and declarations were published by the opposite parties, and some very spirited letters passed between Lucius and Octavianus. The latter, seeing many of the veterans join his enemies, dispatched an express to Salvidienus, whom he had appointed his lieutenant in Spain, ordering him to hasten into Italy with the six legions under his command. Salvidienus, who had not yet reached his province, immediately re-passed the Alps, and advanced with incredible expedition into Cisalpine Gaul, to join Octavianus, who had left the capital, and was assembling his forces in that province. Caius Asinius Pollio, and Publius Ventidius, two of Lucius's lieutenants, who were encamped at the foot of the Alps, followed Salvidienus, harassing him on his march, and cutting off his convoys; by which means they reduced him to great difficulties. At the same time Lucius, having assembled a considerable body of troops, advanced to meet Salvidienus, and attack him in front, while his two lieutenants fell upon his rear. He must inevitably have been cut off with all his troops, had not Vipsanius Agrippa, with a choice body of veterans, come seasonably to his relief, and posting himself between him and Lucius, invested the city of Sutrium. As the inhabitants of that place had signalized their attachment to the interest of Lucius, he flew to their assistance; a motion which gave Salvidienus an opportunity of joining Agrippa, and seizing with him, after he had taken Sutrium by assault, all the passes and defiles leading to the two camps of Pollio and Ventidius.

Salvidienus rescued from danger by Agrippa.

Lucius Antonius besieged in Perugia.

Lucius, after having attempted in vain to open himself a passage sword in hand, resolved to retire into the city of Perugia, and wait there, as in a place of safety, for the arrival of his two lieutenants: but Agrippa and Salvidienus, following him close, invested the place before he had time to reflect on the danger to which he exposed himself and his troops. Octavianus was no sooner informed of the desperate situation of Lucius, than he advanced to Perugia, and, in concert with his two lieutenants, carried on the siege with great vigour; but, as he found it impossible to take by assault so strong a place, garrisoned by a whole army, he resolved to reduce it by famine; and, with this view, surrounded it with a line of circumvallation fifty-six furlongs in compass. From his camp he drew lines quite to the Tiber, which he strengthened with ramparts, and flanked with towers at equal distances. These towers he filled with archers, slingers, and all sorts of engines, to prevent

prevent the enemy from receiving any convoys by water. Lucius, on his side, was continually harassing the workmen, and the legions that covered them, with vigorous sallies, in which his men, who were for the most part gladiators, had all the advantage. In one of these sallies Octavianus himself narrowly escaped falling into the enemy's hands. In the mean time Fulvia detached, from her camp at Præneste, L. Munatius Plancus, with a numerous body of chosen troops, ordering him to join Ventidius and Pollio, and with their united forces oblige the enemy either to venture a battle, or raise the siege. Plancus, in spite of Agrippa and Salvidienus, whom Octavianus detached against him, joined Ventidius and Pollio, and, together with them, advanced as far as Fulginium, within a hundred and sixty furlongs of Perugia. Lucius was overjoyed at their approach; which they took care to signify to him by fires in the night, and other signals. He did not in the least doubt that they would exert their utmost endeavours for his relief.

Such indeed was their design: but Plancus, after having viewed the advantageous situation of the enemy, declared, that they could not attempt the relief of the place, without exposing their troops to the greatest dangers. His opinion prevailed; and, as none of them approved of Lucius's conduct, who had thus rashly engaged in a war without his brother's knowledge, they retired, leaving their general, and his troops, in the utmost despair. The besieged being already reduced to the greatest extremity for want of provisions, they made a desperate sally; but were driven back into the city, after having fought with unparalleled bravery from nine at night till the next morning. Lucius, being determined to hold out to the last, took an inventory of all the provisions in the place, which he daily measured out sparingly to the soldiers, and inhabitants of free condition; but allowed none to the slaves, and servants of the army, though he kept them at the same time within the city, and had them narrowly watched, lest they should acquaint the enemy with the condition to which the garrison was reduced. This was an instance of inhumanity hardly to be matched in history. Those unhappy persons, reduced to this desperate condition, wandered about the works in search of herbs, grass, and roots, some of them even feeding upon the flesh of their dead companions.

At length the soldiers themselves, no longer able to bear the famine, begged leave of Lucius to make a general sally, choosing rather to die like brave men, than to live under the miseries they endured. The general approved of their

*Lucius's
generals
despair of
relieving
him.*

*The cruelty
of Lucius
towards
the slaves.*

*The garri-
son reduced
to great
straits,
make a
desperate
sally.*

choice ; telling them, that they had nothing to depend upon but their own valour ; and that, in their present circumstances, they must either conquer or die. They resolved, therefore, to make a desperate effort, and sally out by break of day, to avoid the disorders that might happen in the dark. Accordingly, having first provided a great number of spades, hooks, scaling-ladders, and all sorts of necessary tools, to break down the wall with which Octavianus had inclosed the city, as soon as day began to appear, they rushed out, and cut in pieces the enemy's advanced guards, filled the ditch in an instant, plucked up the palisades, and began to undermine the wall, while the rolling towers, which they had prepared for that purpose, and filled with archers and dartmen, discharged showers of darts and arrows upon the enemy. The ground was immediately covered with dead bodies, and nothing was heard but groans and cries of dying men. The soldiers of Octavianus made a dreadful havock of the assailants, their machines playing incessantly upon them from the ramparts, and overwhelming them with showers of arrows, darts, and stones. But, though many of them fell, the rest, not so much afraid of death as of famine, continued fighting with amazing resolution, and, climbing up the wall, notwithstanding all opposition, drove the enemy from their posts.

*Their gal-
lant beha-
viour.*

The dispute continued many hours with such obstinacy and fury as can hardly be expressed ; and Lucius's men, though they fought with all the disadvantage imaginable, would have gained a complete victory, had the forces been equal ; but Octavianus's troops being more numerous, and constantly relieved with fresh supplies, the besieged, weakened with hunger, overpowered with numbers, and exhausted with the length of the combat, were in the end driven from the wall. These desperate wretches, though stunned with their fall, still strove to climb up again, encouraging with their words and gestures their companions, who had not yet given ground. At length Lucius, surprised at such extraordinary valour and fidelity, and knowing that their courage only served to destroy them, commanded a retreat to be sounded. Their adversaries then shouted aloud, striking, according to the custom of the Romans, when they had gained a victory, their swords against their bucklers. This exultation the besieged looked upon as an insult ; therefore, getting together the few ladders that remained, they returned to the charge with new fury : and it was with the utmost difficulty, and not without tears, that Lucius prevailed upon them to retreat. Octavianus that night doubled his guards, and disposed fe-

veral

veral bodies of troops on the ramparts in such manner, that they could easily relieve each other in case of a sudden attack, which he apprehended *.

Lucius, finding himself reduced to the utmost extremity, without any hopes of relief, resolved to capitulate. Accordingly he dispatched three of the chief officers of his army to treat with Octavianus in his name. The general received the deputies in a very polite and obliging manner, and returned this answer to their proposals, that he willingly pardoned all those who had served under Antony against the murderers of his father; but, as for the others, he insisted upon their surrendering at discretion. Thus he spoke to the deputies in common; but afterwards, taking Furnius, one of them, aside, he told him, that he intended to extend his mercy to the whole army, a few only excepted, who, from hatred to him, had been the occasion of all these disorders. Upon the report of the deputies, many illustrious Romans, who had been always declared enemies to the triumvirate, afraid of falling into the hands of Octavianus, exhorted Lucius to insist on the safety of all, and not to surrender upon any other terms.

Lucius resolves to capitulate.

Lucius, touched with compassion for so many brave men, whom he well knew Octavianus would sacrifice to his revenge, resolved to negotiate in person, and putting himself into the young conqueror's hands, intercede for his unhappy followers. Octavianus received him with great marks of esteem and affection; and promised, in consequence of the regard he owed to him and his brother, indemnity to all who had taken part with him, on condition they would surrender without farther resistance, and put him in possession of the city. Lucius, depending on this promise, ordered his men to march out next day, and acknowledge the young conqueror for their general; which order they obeyed accordingly, and were incorporated into his troops. As for the inhabitants of Perugia, who had shewn an inviolable attachment to Lucius, Octavianus ordered those who composed the senate, or council of the city, to be brought before him in chains; and sentenced them all to die, contrary to the articles of agreement, and the promise he had made. Some of those unhappy men pleaded innocence, others begged mercy; but they had all one and the same answer, "*Moriendum est; You must die.*" Accordingly they were, to the number of three hundred, carried in chains to an altar raised to Julius Cæsar, and there inhumanly butchered, as victims to his manes, on the ides of

Goes in person to treat with Octavianus.

* Appian. Dio, *ibid.*

The cruelty of Octavianus to the inhabitants of Perugia.

Perugia reduced to ashes.

End of the war of Perugia.

March, the anniversary of his death. With them were sacrificed Caius Flavius, Clodius Bithynicus, and Canutius, three illustrious senators of Rome, zealous defenders of their ancient liberties. The city he delivered up to the lust and plunder of his soldiers; but Cestius, surnamed Macedonicus, from his having served a long time in Macedon, scorning to outlive the ruin of his country, and the miseries of his fellow-citizens, by setting fire to his own house, occasioned the total destruction of that ancient and once powerful city; for a high wind arising, the flames spread from house to house, and burnt with such violence, that in a short time the whole city was laid in ashes. Such was the end of this unhappy war, commonly called the War of Perugia (O).

The other officers who had served under Lucius, being driven with their forces out of Italy, Tiberius Claudius Nero, at the head of a few veterans, and a great number of slaves, whom he had drawn together by promising them their liberty, undertook to maintain the interest, and support the ruined party of Lucius, in the neighbourhood of

(O) Pollio, Ventidius, Plancus, and the other commanders of Antony, though they had still thirteen legions, and fifteen hundred horse, took refuge in the maritime cities, waiting there for succours from Antony; but Octavianus pursuing them, Asinius Pollio went on board the fleet commanded by Domitius Ahenobarbus, Brutus's admiral, carrying with him seven legions. Plancus, being closely pursued by Agrippa, abandoned the two legions he commanded, and went to join Fulvia at Præneste. The legions went over to Agrippa; but Plancus, together with Fulvia, fled from Præneste to Puteoli, and from thence to Brundisium, where they both embarked, and passed over into Macedon. The other commanders made their escape into Sicily, where they were kindly

received by Sextus Pompeius, who, had he not been of a slothful and indolent temper, might have improved these divisions to his advantage, and with great ease subdued all Italy. For Statius Murcus, disagreeing with Domitius Ahenobarbus, the other republican admiral, had joined him with two complete legions, and twenty-four ships, carrying with him immense sums, which he had extorted from the maritime cities of Asia. Besides, he had received a strong reinforcement from Cephalenia, consisting of veterans, who had escaped from the battle of Philippi. But the indolent Pompey, though in condition to invade Italy, and crush the party of the triumvirs, contented himself with ravaging the coasts, acting more like a pirate than a general (1).

(1) Appian. p. 672. & seq. Vell. Patercul. lib. ii. cap. 72—77. Dio, lib. xlviii. p. 362—368.

Naples (P). But his raw and undisciplined troops, at the approach of Octavianus's victorious army, immediately dispersed, abandoning their general to the mercy of his enemy. Tiberius, thus deserted by his forces, fled in disguise with his wife Livia, and his son Tiberius, not two years old, to the sea-side, hoping he should find some vessel to convey him to Sicily (Q). As for Tiberius and Livia, Octavianus pursued them close; but they, after having escaped a thousand dangers, attended only by one domestic, found a small boat, in which they were transported to Sicily (R). Octavianus now returned to Rome, which he entered in triumphant robes, and crowned with laurel. Public feasts were celebrated for several days together; and it was enacted, by a decree of the senate and people, that whenever any general should for the future merit a triumph, Octavianus should have a share in his honour 7.

During these important transactions, Antony remained at Alexandria inglorious and inactive, intent upon nothing but the enjoyment of those pleasures and diversions with which the queen entertained him, every day heightening the delusion by the charms of novelty (S). In the mean time all

Syria

Yr. of Fl.
2314.
Ante Chr.
34.
U. C. 714.

7 Appian. Dio, Vell. Patere. *ibid.*

(P) Tiberius had been honoured with great employments by Julius Cæsar, who had a particular esteem for him. Notwithstanding all the favours he had received at Cæsar's hands, he declared for the conspirators. He had, by a timely flight, avoided the fury of the proscription; and siding with Lucius at the beginning of this war, had shut himself up with him in the city of Perugia, whence he found means to make his escape into Campania, where he raised the army mentioned above.

(Q) Livia was the daughter of Livius Drusus Claudianus, who was killed in the battle of Philippi, fighting for Brutus and Cassius.

(R) Here we cannot help reflecting, with Velleius Paterculus, on the strange turns of fortune; which ought to teach

us, that as to future events, our fears are often as groundless as our hopes. Livia was flying from an enemy, whose affections she was one day to gain, and maintain to the hour of his death; and the infant she carried in her arms was to succeed Octavianus, and after him rule the Roman empire with absolute power.

(S) Nothing was talked of at court but feasts, shows, and revels. Mirth, jollity, and pleasures had banished all business, all serious thoughts. They gave their way of living a particular name, calling it the inimitable life. They treated one another by turns, on which occasion their expences were beyond all credibility.

Cleopatra daily contrived new diversions for Antony's entertainment; and the most incon-

sider-

The Parthians over-ran Syria, and gain great advantages over Antony's lieutenants there.

Syria and Palæstine being grievously oppressed with the taxes, the Aradians killed those who were sent to collect them; and joining the Palmyrenians, and several petty princes of Syria, called in the Parthians, which put the whole country into the utmost confusion. For the Parthians, on this invitation, passing the Euphrates under the command of Pacorus, their king's son, and Labienus, a Roman general (T), overcame in a pitched battle Saxa, Antony's lieutenant in Syria, and forced him to take refuge in Cilicia. After this victory, the two generals divided their army: Labienus, with one part of it, pursued Saxa into Cilicia, where he slew him, defeated his army, over-ran all Asia Minor, and forcing Antony's lieutenants into the islands, reduced all the places as far as the Hellespont and the Ægean Sea. At the same time Pacorus, with the other part of the army, subdued all Syria and Phœnice as far as Tyre, which city alone held out against him, the remains of the Roman forces in that country having got thither before him². An account of these successes was brought to Antony at Alexandria; and at the same time news came of the ill state of his affairs in Italy, and of the unsuccessful war which his brother Lucius had waged with Octavianus. When he received these tidings, recovering, as it were, from a fit of intoxication, he resolved at length to leave Cleopatra, and march against the Parthians. With this view, having assembled two hundred ships, he sailed to Tyre; but finding the adjacent country in the hands of the enemy, and receiving at the same time disagreeable letters

= Dio, Appian. *ibid.* & in Parthiis. Flor. lib. iv. cap. 9. Epit. Liv. lib. cxxvii. Plut. in Anton. Joseph. Antiq. lib. xiv. cap. 23.

siderable trifles, when managed by her, received such an air as made them agreeable diversions. They often rambled about the streets in the night hand-in-hand, Cleopatra dressed like an ordinary woman, and Antony like a slave; and in that disguise entering the public houses, mixed with the mob. Cleopatra took great delight in these expeditions, as they gave her room to display her wit and humour in retorting the raillery of the vulgar. They frequently met with rough treatment, and sometimes with blows. This

kind of behaviour, highly unbecoming a queen, and a Roman magistrate, a general, and a conqueror, who was at this time forty and upwards, seemed very strange to the grave and better sort of people; but the populace were highly pleased with their frolics, saying of Antony, that they had great obligations to him, for shewing them his comical countenance, and reserving his tragical one for the Romans.

(T) This Labienus was the son of Titus Labienus, who had been Cæsar's lieutenant in Gaul,

from

from Fulvia, he changed his resolution, and determined to sail directly to Italy. *Antony resolves to return to Italy.*

After having reinforced the garrison of Tyre, he departed for Athens, where he met Fulvia, whom he highly blamed as the chief cause of the late disorders. In this city he received certain advice, that Octavianus had secured Transalpine Gaul, and forced the son of Calenus, after the death of his father, to join him with eleven legions, which he commanded in that province. As Transalpine Gaul had been, by a private agreement between the two triumvirs after the battle of Philippi, yielded to Antony, he considered this invasion as an open declaration of war; and therefore putting to sea without loss of time, set sail for Italy, without shewing the least concern for Fulvia, whom he left sick at Sicyon. This scornful neglect completed what his infidelity had begun; for she died in that city soon after her husband's departure. *The death of Fulvia.* Antony, in crossing the Ionian Sea, was met by Domitius Ahenobarbus, the republican admiral; who, instead of opposing him, came on board his galley, and surrendered the command of his fleet, induced to this action by Asinius Pollio, who had fled from Italy after the surrender of Perugia, and taken refuge on board Domitius's fleet. The two fleets, thus joined, anchored on the coast of Epirus, and from thence sailed for Brundisium.

In this city Octavianus had stationed five legions, who shut the gates against Antony, refusing admittance, not to him, they said, but to Domitius, who was the inveterate enemy of Octavianus. Upon this refusal Antony immediately blocked up the place, and at the same time dispatched one of his officers to Pompey in Sicily, inviting that general to join with him against Octavianus, and invade Italy. Pompey readily accepted the proposal, made a descent, and took several cities on the coast, while Antony pursued the siege of Brundisium with great vigour. Octavianus, having assembled his legions, and detached Agrippa with a considerable body against Pompey, marched with the rest to the relief of the besieged city: but his veterans refusing to draw their swords against Antony, he was obliged to listen to an accommodation, which at length was accomplished by the interposition and management of Cocceius, Pollio; and the famous Mæcenas (U). This dangerous breach being made up, and all past offences and affronts mutually forgiven, the soldiers of the two armies, *Antony arrives in Italy, and lays siege to Brundisium.* *Octavianus and Antony come to an agreement.*

(U) Caius Cilnius Mæcenas, Virgil and Horace as the liberal well known from the verses of patron of the polite arts,

to make the friendship of their generals more lasting, desired it might be cemented with the ties of blood; and proposed a match between Antony and Octavianus's sister Octavia, who was lately become a widow by the death of Marcellus (W). Though the queen of Egypt had so large a share in Antony's heart, yet the match was no sooner proposed to him, than he agreed to it with inexpressible satisfaction, at least in appearance.

They divide the Roman empire.

At this juncture, the two triumvirs had an interview, in which, after mutual promises of lasting friendship, they agreed to a new partition of the Roman empire; by virtue whereof Codropolis (X), a town of Illyricum, was to be the boundary of their dominions; all from that place, westward, was allotted to Octavianus; and all eastward, to Antony: so that the former had Dalmatia, the two Gauls, Spain, and Sardinia; and the latter, all the eastern provinces, quite to the Euphrates. Africa was left to Lepidus, who had been sent by Octavianus, with six legions, into that province some time before the arrival of Antony. It was agreed, that Antony should make war upon the Parthians, and Octavianus reduce Pompey, if he refused to submit to reasonable conditions. Italy was left common to both the triumvirs for raising forces to carry on these wars. To these conditions Antony added, that Octavianus should pardon Domitius Ahenobarbus, and likewise all those who had borne arms against him in the war of Perugia. The two generals, thus reconciled, marched together to Rome, where the marriage between Antony and Octavia was solemnized with the utmost pomp and magnificence. When the ceremony was over, Antony, to give Octavianus an undeniable proof of the sincerity of his intentions, discovered that Salvidienus, one of his lieutenants, had offered him his troops, and his service, when Octavianus sent him into Spain; and that he had repeated the same offer at Brundisium. In consequence of this information, Octavianus accused Salvidienus of treachery before the senate, who de-

Antony marries Octavia, Octavia's sister.

(W) Octavianus had a great veneration and tenderness for his sister; and, to do her justice, none of her sex ever had a better claim to the esteem and veneration of mankind; for though she excelled all the women of her age, Cleopatra herself not excepted, in beauty, yet the charms of her person were far inferior to those of her mind.

(X) This city is called by Appian Scodra, the situation whereof agrees with that of Codropolis. Scodra, now known to the Turks by the name of Escodar, and to the Italians by that of Scutari, was anciently the capital of the country of the Labeates, a people of Illyricum, and is at present the chief city of Albania.

clared

clared him an enemy to the people of Rome, sentenced him to death, and ordered thanks to be publicly returned to the gods for the discovery of the treason. At the same time Manius, of whom we have already spoken, was, by Antony's order, put to death, as having been the chief author of the late disturbances^a.

Pompey, who was master at sea, keeping all the ports of Italy blocked up with his numerous fleets, Rome was reduced to the utmost extremity for want of provisions, especially of corn, which was become so dear, that the people were extremely clamorous. In this emergency Antony pressed his colleague either to make peace with Pompey, or oblige him, by a vigorous war, to recall his fleets, and leave the sea open for trade and navigation. Octavianus was more inclined to war, Pompey having lately conquered the islands of Sardinia and Corsica; but as he wanted money to carry it on, with Antony's approbation, he laid two taxes on all the inhabitants of Rome and Italy; the one of four drachmas and a half for every slave, the other on all legacies. This imposition so provoked the populace, that they assailed Octavianus in the forum, and would have torn him in pieces, had not Antony hastened to his assistance with a body of troops, which was encamped at the gates of the city. The rabble were soon dispersed, several of them killed, and their bodies thrown into the Tiber; but, as the famine still continued, the populace, notwithstanding the punishment of a few, grew daily more outrageous.

Rome in distress.

The people rise.

Antony, therefore, fearing a general insurrection, wrote to Lucius Scribonius Libo, then in Sicily with Pompey his son-in-law, inviting him to Rome, to treat of an accommodation between Octavianus, Pompey, and himself. Pompey was overjoyed at this proposal, as was also Statius Murcus; but Menas, whom some writers call Menodorus, one of Pompey's enfranchised slaves, and a sea-officer of great experience and bravery, not only opposed it, but, with groundless insinuations entirely estranged Pompey from Murcus, who pressed him, with great earnestness, to accommodate all differences with the triumvirs, and restore Italy to its former tranquility. Murcus retired to Syracuse, where he was murdered by some slaves, whom Pompey afterwards commanded to be executed, to clear himself from the murder. It was, however, commonly believed, that Menas had assassinated him by Pompey's orders. Notwithstanding Menas's opposition, Pompey allowed Libo to go to Rome,

The triumvirs agree to an accommodation with Pompey.

^a Plut. & Appian. *ibid.* Liv. *Epit. lib. cxxvii.* Dio, *lib. xlviii.* P. 373.

An interview between the triumvirs and Pompey.

where he persuaded Octavianus and Antony to come to an interview with Pompey, that they might in person discuss their pretensions, and put an end to their differences. To this proposal Pompey consented, at the earnest request of his officers; and advanced with his fleet to the promontory formed by Mount Misenus, where he and Libo in a galley, and the two triumvirs on a kind of mole made for that purpose, exhibited their mutual claims and pretensions. Pompey demanded to be admitted into the triumvirate, instead of Lepidus, whose authority declined daily. This demand seemed very reasonable to Pompey, but quite otherwise to Antony and Octavianus; so that, after a warm and long dispute, they parted without coming to any resolution. Pompey, who knew he had it in his power to reduce Rome, and all Italy, to the utmost extremity, and force the inhabitants to take arms against the triumvirs, was for breaking off the conference, and returning to Sicily; but Libo advised him to continue the negotiations, at least by deputies; with this advice he complied.

Pompey's demands.

The second day he dropped his pretensions to a place in the triumvirate, but proposed the following preliminaries: 1. That those who had been concerned in the death of Cæsar should only be banished, and be at liberty to choose the place of their exile. 2. That such as had been proscribed on any account whatever, should be allowed to return to Rome. 3. That the latter should be restored to the possession of their lands and fortune. Antony and Octavianus absolutely rejected the two first articles, and only consented that those, who were not in the number of the conspirators, should be allowed to purchase their estates. Most part of those who were about Pompey, tired with such a long and destructive war, and dreading the fate of Murcus, declared, that they were willing to return to Rome even upon the conditions proposed by the triumvirs; a declaration which so displeased Pompey, that, in a transport of passion, he tore his robe, calling those who submitted to such shameful conditions traitors, and cowardly deserters. "Menas (said he) is the only true friend I have in the world; Menas alone has given me wholesome and disinterested advice." However, at the earnest entreaties of his mother Mutia, of Julia, Antony's mother, and of Libo, his father-in-law, he consented to a second interview, in which, after three days debates, the following articles were agreed to by the contending parties.

Articles between the triumvirs and Pompey.

1. That Pompey should be left in possession of Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, and the adjacent islands; and should besides have Peloponnesus yielded to him. 2. That he should have

have the privilege of demanding the consulate, though absent, and of discharging that office by any of his friends. 3. That the dignity of pontifex maximus should be conferred upon him, and seventy thousand great sesterces restored to him out of his father's confiscated estate. 4. That such as had taken refuge with him merely out of fear, should be allowed to return, and enjoy their estates; and that the proscribed persons, who were not guilty of Cæsar's death, should have only the fourth part of their estates restored. 5. That trade and navigation should be free; that Pompey should withdraw his troops from Italy; that he should suffer no inroads or descents to be made upon the coasts, nor build more ships. 6. That he should not for the future receive the slaves who fled to him; that those who had borne arms under him should be declared free; and that his legionaries, when the time of their service was expired, should have their share in the division of lands with those of Antony and Octavianus. 7. That he should immediately send to Rome the corn he had retained, oblige the Sicilians to pay annually what corn was due to the republic out of their island, and clear the seas of all pirates.

This treaty was signed by the three chiefs, and sent to Rome, to be deposited in the hands of the Vestals^b. They then agreed to treat each other, in token of their sincere reconciliation; and it fell to Pompey's lot to make the first entertainment. Antony asked him where he designed to receive them; "in Carinis," answered Pompey pleasantly; for the word *carina*, in Latin, signifies *ships*; and was likewise the name of the ward, or part of the city, where Pompey the great had a stately palace, which Antony had seized. Antony understood the raillery, but was not very quick at repartees. On the day appointed for the entertainment, Pompey, having brought his galley near the shore, and made a bridge to it from the promontory, received his two guests with great politeness. Here Octavianus seemed to have forgot his usual wariness and circumspection; and this entertainment would have cost both him and his colleague dear, could Pompey have prevailed upon himself to violate the laws of honour and hospitality. While they were at table, and Pompey and Cæsar growing warm with wine, began to rally Antony upon his amours, and fondness for the fair Egyptian queen, Menas whispered Pompey in the ear, "You have now a fair opportunity of revenging the death of your father and brother, and making yourself master of the whole Roman empire: it is but cutting the cable;

*The tri-
umvirs
and Pom-
pey treat
each other.*

^b Appian. Dio, Plut. *ibid*.

*Pompey's
generosity.*

"leave the rest to me." The blow was sure, and the temptation violent; Pompey's fleet being drawn up in order of battle, and all the triumvirs forces ashore. Pompey, startled at the sudden proposal, replied, "This you might have done without imparting it to me; but now let us make the best of our present condition, for I cannot prevail upon myself to violate my faith once given."

*Pompey's
daughter
betrothed
to M. Mar-
cellus, Oc-
tavianus's
nephew.*

Antony and Octavianus treated Pompey in their turns, with great demonstrations of friendship; for the confirming of which, and cementing it with new ties, Pompey, who was sincere, proposed a match between his daughter and M. Marcellus, the son of Octavia by her former husband; which Octavianus consenting to, they both entered into the usual engagements, Pompey for his daughter, and Octavianus for his nephew, who was at that time but an infant. This is the famous M. Marcellus, whom Octavianus appointed his heir, failing issue male of his own, and whose virtues are so highly commended by the prince of the Latin poets^c. Before the three chiefs parted, they named consuls for the four following years; Antony and Libo for the first, Octavianus and Pompey for the second, Domitius and Sossius for the third, and Antony and Cæsar for the fourth. The consuls of this year, in which the treaty was concluded, were Cn. Domitius Calvinus and C. Asinius Pollio, who had succeeded L. Antonius and P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus; but before their year expired, L. Cornelius Balbus and P. Canidius Crassus, on what account we know not, were substituted in their room^d.

*The pro-
scribed ci-
tizens re-
turn to
Rome.*

All differences being thus composed, Pompey, taking leave of Antony and Octavianus, returned to Sicily, and the other two repaired to Rome, where they were welcomed with loud acclamations of the people, overjoyed to see themselves delivered from a cruel famine, which had begun to rage with great fury in the capital, and all the provinces of Italy. The joy of the people was increased upon the return of many illustrious citizens, who had been proscribed by the triumvirs, or forced to fly their country through fear of falling into the hands of Octavianus, after the surrender of Perugia (Y). Antony and Octavianus, after a short stay at Rome, took leave of each other, and, quitting the capital, set out, the former for Greece, and the latter for Gaul.

^c Vide Virg. *Æneid.* lib. vi. ver. 856, & seq. ^d Dio, lib. xlix.

(Y) Among these were L. Nero, M. Cicero, the son of Arruntius, M. Junius Silanus, the orator, and many other citizens of great distinction. C. Sentius Saturninus, M. Titius, M. Claudius Tiberius

Some nations beyond the Alps having attempted to shake off the yoke, Octavianus, to whose share Gaul was fallen, marched against them in person; and having easily reduced them, repassed the Alps, and stopped in Hetruria. Antony dispatched Ventidius into Asia, to stop the inroads of the Parthians; but went himself no farther than Athens, where he spent the winter with Octavia, in the same excesses of luxury, folly, and childish diversions, as he had before enjoyed with Cleopatra at Alexandria (Z).

Octavianus marches into Transalpine Gaul.

In the mean time news were brought to Antony of a signal victory gained by Ventidius over the Parthians, for which he made great rejoicings; but being informed at the same time that Pacorus was making preparations, with a design to invade Syria again, and thinking it inconsistent with his reputation to continue idle at Athens, and suffer his lieutenant to deprive him of the glory of this war, he assembled his troops early in the spring, and resumed, with the marks of his dignity, all the majesty of a Roman general. When his army was ready to march, he made himself a garland of the olive-tree consecrated to Minerva, and filled a vessel with the water of the Clepsydra, to carry along with him (A). He left Athens, after having made an entertainment for all the inhabitants of that populous city, and marched with his forces into the East. Before he reached

Resolves to march into the East.

(Z) As he loved wine, he was wonderfully pleased with the title of Bacchus, which divinity he took upon him to personate in a procession he made upon the joyful tidings of the success of his arms in the East. During these public rejoicings, the Greeks set no bounds to their flattery; they fell prostrate before the pretended Bacchus, beseeching him to marry Minerva, the tutelary deity of their city. Antony consented to the match; but asked a thousand talents for the portion of the goddess. "Your father, Jupiter, (answered one of the Athenians), required no fortune with your mother Semele." "It is true (replied Antony); but Jupiter was rich, and I

want money." Antony would abate nothing of the sum, which was levied upon all the inhabitants, who revenged themselves, according to their custom, with satires and lampoons, of which his amours with Cleopatra were the chief subjects; but he laughed at their jests and took their money (1).

(A) This was a fountain in the citadel of Athens, and was called Clepsydra, as being sometimes full of water, and sometimes empty, like those vessels which were anciently in use among the Greeks, and also the Egyptians, to measure time by the running out of the water. Antony imagined, that this water would not a little contribute to the success of his arms.

(1) Plut. in Anton. Appian. ibid. & Dio, ibid.

*Ventidius
gains great
advantages
over the
Parthians.*

the scene of action Ventidius gained a third victory, more glorious than the other two; whereby he fully revenged the death of Crassus, and redeemed the honour of the Roman name, which had suffered much since the battle of Carrhæ; for Pacorus himself, with above twenty thousand of his best men, was slain in this battle, of which we have given an account in our history of the Parthians. Had Ventidius pursued all the advantages of this victory, he might have extended the bounds of the Roman empire to the banks of the Tigris; but not thinking it prudent to push his good fortune any farther, for fear of giving Antony umbrage, he turned his arms against those who had revolted in Syria and Phœnice, during the late war.

*Is dismissed
by Antony.*

Pursuant to this design, when Antony arrived, he was besieging Samosata, the capital of Comagene, whither Antiochus, king of that country, had retired. Antony, on his arrival, dismissed this brave commander, and sent him to Rome, to demand of the senate and people the honours of a triumph, being glad to get rid of a subaltern, whose glory eclipsed that of his general. Antiochus, from the beginning of the siege, had offered to Ventidius a thousand talents for his pardon, and promised entire obedience and submission to all Antony's commands. These offers being rejected by Antony, the besieged, dreading his resentment, defended the place with such vigour and intrepidity, that the Roman general began to repent his not accepting the first offer. He was, in the end, glad to come to an accommodation with Antiochus for three hundred talents, that he might raise the siege with honour, which otherwise he should be forced to relinquish in a shameful manner, his soldiers being displeased with his dismissing Ventidius, under whose conduct they had gained so many victories. After this pacification, Antony, having appointed Sosius his lieutenant in Cilicia, Syria, and Palestine, left the army to his command, and returned to Octavia at Athens.

*He returns
to Athens.*

*New disputes
between
Pompey
and Octavianus.*

New disputes arising between Pompey and Octavianus, the latter was intent on making the necessary preparations for war, being determined to seize the first opportunity that offered to invade Sicily. The late treaty of peace had regulated their pretensions, but not their ambition; and that animosity between Julius Cæsar and Pompey the Great, which had laid waste the Roman world, still subsisted in the minds of their successors. The apparent subject of their quarrel was Peloponnesus, which had been yielded to Pom-

pey, in virtue of the treaty. Octavianus pretended, that the tributes, owing from that province to the republic before the treaty, were due to the triumvirs, and that Pompey ought to be responsible for them; Pompey maintained, that they had yielded him that country free from all charges. As a breach was likely to ensue, Pompey caused his old gallies to be refitted, and several new ships to be built. This step was contrary to the late treaty, and therefore a plausible pretence for Octavianus to invade Sicily. He therefore reinforced his army with new levies, and assembled ships on the coasts of the Adriatic and Tyrrhenian seas.

Pompey, informed of these preparations, once more blocked up the ports of Italy, and in a short time reduced the populous capital to its former distress. The people, threatened again with famine, began to complain, and seemed disposed to mutiny, if their grievances were not soon redressed. But Octavianus, who had a numerous army on foot, continued his preparations for war, both by sea and land, without listening to the complaints of the discontented populace. He urged Antony to leave Athens, and pass into Italy, that they might consult about the most proper measures for crushing Pompey, their common rival. He likewise acquainted Lepidus with his design, who was then in Africa, which had fallen to his share in the last division of the Roman dominions, exhorting him to equip his fleet with all possible expedition, that they might act in concert, and both invade Sicily at the same time. Antony, in compliance with his request, came to Brundisium; but not finding him there at the time appointed, he returned to Athens; whether out of some distrust he had of Octavianus, or because he was alarmed by certain prodigies, is uncertain (B). Whatever his reasons were, he reembarked, leaving a letter for Octavianus, wherein he exhorted him to adhere to the conditions of the last treaty. Lepidus, who was a man of an indolent disposition, spent the whole summer in making preparations, and did not leave Africa till the following year; so that the burden of the war fell upon Octavianus, whose boundless ambition would allow him no rest, till he had got rid of so powerful a rival, and made himself master of the wealthy island he possessed.

Rome reduced again to great straits.

(B) One of his centinels was devoured by wolves, no part of which was seen at break of day they had seen a wolf come out of his tent.

In

*Octavianus
marries
Livia.*

In the midst of his cares, and warlike preparations, he found no small relief in the agreeable conversation of Livia, with whose charms, and refined wit, he was so enchanted, that he divorced his own wife Scribonia (C), and married her, though then big with child, her husband Claudius Tiberius Nero not daring to oppose the inclinations of so powerful a lover. Livia had one son by Tiberius, who bore his father's name, and, three months after her marriage with Octavianus, she was brought to bed of another, named Drusus. Of these children, and their mother Livia, we shall have occasion to speak in the sequel of this history. The charms of Livia, however powerful, were not able to divert Octavianus from the pursuit of his ambitious views. He continued his warlike preparations, recalled the legions he had left in Transalpine Gaul, and assembled a great number of vessels in the ports of Hetruria, and at Ravenna, on the Adriatic sea.

*Menas
goes over
to Octavianus.*

As his fleet was not yet in a condition to cope with that of Pompey, he must have deferred his Sicilian expedition till the return of Antony, and the arrival of Lepidus, had not fortune favoured him beyond expectation; for Menas, the freedman of Pompey, an officer of great valour and experience in maritime affairs, being offended with his master for not revenging the death of some of his freedmen, killed by the senators who were about him, revolted to Octavianus; and joining him with three legions, and the numerous fleet which he commanded, delivered to him the islands of Corfica and Sardinia. Octavianus received him with real joy: allowed him the privilege of wearing a gold ring, and sitting among the Roman knights, and appointed him commander in chief of the fleet which he had brought over. This insult Pompey considered as a declaration of war; and therefore immediately sent out Menecrates, a freedman, and a mortal enemy to Menas, with a numerous squadron, to ravage the coasts of Italy; but being met on his return by a squadron of Octavianus's fleet, commanded by C. Calvisius, and his ancient rival Menas, a bloody engagement ensued, in which Menecrates and Menas distinguished themselves above the other commanders. They were both men of great courage and intrepidity; and there-

*A new
breach be-
tween Oc-
tavianus
and Pom-
pey.*

(C) Scribonia was the sister of Scribonius Libo, father-in-law to Pompey. Octavianus married her with a political view; which was, to divert Pompey, by that alliance, from siding with Antony, who seemed inclined to espouse the quarrel of his brother Lucius, and his wife Fulvia.

fore,

fore, regardless of all danger, fought with a fury hardly to be paralleled. After a long and most obstinate dispute between the two rivals, Menecrates being dangerously wounded, Menas boarded and made himself master of his galley. Menecrates, choosing rather to die than fall into the hands of his mortal enemy, threw himself into the sea and perished. Upon his death Demochares, another freedman, taking upon him the command of the fleet, attacked Calvius's Squadron so vigorously, that he forced him to give way, took several of his galleys, sunk others, and drove the rest against the rocks, where most of them were dashed to pieces; so that Calvius escaped by the favour of the night only with a few galleys, and took refuge with Menas in the bay of Cumæ.

Octavianus's fleet defeated by Pompey's.

Octavianus, who was then at Tarentum, where he had assembled a numerous fleet, immediately resolved to pass the straits of Messina, and join Calvius and Menas. Being attacked in that narrow passage by Pompey and Demochares, who were returned to Messina, most of his ships were either sunk or driven on the rocks; Octavianus himself gained the shore with the utmost difficulty, where he narrowly escaped falling into the hands of the enemy. But being well acquainted with the defiles of a neighbouring mountain, through bye-ways he reached the top of it, and there, with a few attendants, lay concealed. Having avoided one danger, he fell into another: a slave of Æmilius Paulus, whose father had been proscribed by Octavianus, seeing the triumvir without his usual guards, thought this a favourable opportunity of being revenged on him for his cruelty towards his old master; and therefore approaching him with a dagger, attempted to stab him; but missing his blow, as it was then very dark, he was immediately cut in pieces by the triumvir's attendants. While Octavianus remained on the top of the mountain, Cornificius, who commanded under him, maintained the combat with great bravery; and, having sunk Demochares's ship, continued fighting, notwithstanding the great loss he had sustained, till sun-set, when Calvius and Menas appearing unexpectedly with their squadrons, Pompey thought it advisable to retreat. Next morning Octavianus had the mortification to see most of his vessels stranded upon the coast; some half-burnt; others still in flames, and the sea, to a great distance, covered with the wreck. But what gave him the greatest uneasiness was, to perceive the enemy's fleet advancing in full sail against Menas and Calvius, who were

Octavianus is overcome by Pompey.

Octavianus in great danger.

† Appian. Dio, *ibid.*

‡ Appian. lib. v. Dio, lib. xlviii.

Octavianus's fleet wrecked.

not in a condition to withstand them ; but as they were on the point of engaging, a violent storm arose, which induced Pompey to retire into the port of Messina ; but most of Octavianus's ships were either sunk with all the men on board, or stranded on the shore. As the storm lasted all night, Octavianus, to avoid so dismal a spectacle, went early next morning to Vibonium, or Vibo, a city of Bruttium ; whence he sent orders to his lieutenants to guard with the greatest care the coasts of Italy, lest Pompey should attempt an invasion : but he was so far from improving the advantages he had gained, by attacking his rival on the continent, that, by an unpardonable negligence, he suffered the remains of his enemy's fleet to retire unmolested to Vibonium ^b.

Antony arrives in Italy.

Octavianus finding himself without ships or money, and at the same time the people at Rome being ready to mutiny for want of corn, he dispatched Mæcenas to Antony, soliciting his assistance against their common enemy. Antony, who was then in Syria, as we read in Dio, or at Athens, according to Appian, promised to assist his colleague to the utmost of his power. Accordingly having, with amazing diligence, assembled his fleet, he sailed for Italy with three hundred ships. In the mean time, Octavianus hearing of a complete victory gained by Agrippa over the revolted Gauls, would willingly have dispensed with Antony's assistance. He thought him already too powerful ; and therefore, under various pretences, would willingly have declined going to meet him. These evasions highly displeased Antony, who had for a long time been jealous of his colleague : however, as he designed to exchange with Octavianus part of his fleet, which would be of no use to him in his intended expedition against the Parthians, for land-forces, he waited a long time for him at Tarentum, though he had been refused admittance at Brundisium.

Misunderstanding between him and Octavianus.

At length he began to grow very uneasy, and to complain of Octavianus in reproachful terms. Octavia, who had attended Antony from Greece, though then big with child, prevailed upon him to send her to his colleague, not doubting that she could easily remove all their jealousies and suspicions. On her journey to Rome, she met her brother, with whom she had a conference, in the presence of his two friends, Mæcenas and Agrippa. After she had, with great prudence and address, answered the complaints of her brother against her husband, she conjured both him, and

^b Appian, Dio, &c. *ibid.*

his two favourites, with tears in her eyes, to consider her situation, and not suffer her, instead of the most fortunate of women, to become the most miserable: "For at present (said she), the eyes of the whole Roman people are fixed upon me, on account of the ties which bind me to two of the greatest men in the world, being wife to one, and sister to the other. If rash counsels prevail, and war ensues, I shall be miserable without redress; for, on what side soever victory falls, I shall be sure to be the loser."

Octavianus, softened by the intreaties of a sister whom he loved with the greatest tenderness, consented to an interview with Antony; for which a place was chosen upon a river between Metapontum and Tarentum. Antony went thither first; and, as soon as he saw Octavianus advancing, leaped into a boat, in order to receive him on the other side the river. Octavianus, not to be outdone by him in civility, embarked on the other side; so that the two boats met in the middle of the river. After they had embraced each other, they had a friendly contest on which side they should land. Antony was for landing on Octavianus's side, and Octavianus on Antony's; but Octavianus at length prevailed, under pretence of waiting on his sister, who was returned to Tarentum. They walked together to the city, where Octavianus spent the night without any other guards about his person than those of Antony, who likewise went the next day without guards, and passed the night in Octavianus's camp. All little differences between them being settled in an amicable manner, it was agreed, that Octavianus should give Antony two of his legions to be employed against the Parthians; and that Antony, in return, should leave with him an hundred armed gallies. Besides, Octavia obtained of her husband twenty small ships, or, as Appian has it, ten triremes, for her brother; and of her brother a thousand foot for her husband. That their friendship and union might be more lasting, Octavianus betrothed his daughter Julia, whom he had by Scribonia, to Antyllus, Antony's son; and they both agreed, the five years of the triumvirate being now expired, to prolong their authority for five years more, without consulting either the senate or people. After this accommodation, Antony departed once more for Syria. Octavia accompanied him to Corcyra, whence, that she might not be exposed to the dangers of that expedition, he sent her back into Italy, to remain there till he had ended that war, committing her, and his children both by her, and his former wife Fulvia, to the care of Octavianus¹.

Octavia brings her brother and husband to an interview.

Their differences made up.

¹ Plut. in Anton. Appian. p. 726, 727. Dio, lib. xlviii. p. 390. 391.

Octavianus makes great preparations for war against Pompey.

This last now began to make vast preparations, both by sea and land, for his intended expedition against Pompey. He appointed Agrippa commander in chief of his navy; and that brave officer, in a few months equipped, with indefatigable industry, a fleet able to cope with Pompey's. The sea and land-forces being ready to enter upon action, Octavianus resolved to invade the island in three different places at the same time: Lepidus, whom he had sent for from Africa, was to land at Lilybæum, on the south of the island; Statilius Taurus, who was at Tarentum, on the east side, at cape Pachynum; and Octavianus on the western coast at cape Pelorum. Agrippa, with a numerous squadron, was to cruise off Mylæ, a city on the northern coast of the island, where Pompey had assembled all his naval forces. Menas had already, induced by his natural levity, abandoned the party of Octavianus, and returned to Pompey with his squadron, not thinking himself considered, as he deserved, by his new master. Calvius, though an officer of great experience in maritime affairs, was not employed in this expedition, having incurred the displeasure of Octavianus, for suffering himself to be deceived by Menas, when he deserted to Pompey.

Menas abandons Octavianus, and returns to Pompey.

Octavianus's fleet wrecked a second time.

Lepidus lands in Sicily.

Octavianus refits his fleet.

All things being ready, the fleets, though in different ports, set sail on the day agreed on, which was that of the new moon in the month of July; both that day and month being sacred to the memory of Julius Cæsar. They had scarce put to sea, when a violent storm defeated all their measures. Statilius Taurus, foreseeing it, returned to Tarentum with the hundred and two ships he commanded; but the squadrons of Octavianus, Lepidus, and Agrippa, suffered severely; that especially of Octavianus, who lost six of the ships which Octavia had given him, twenty-six others, and a great number of light vessels, called by the Latins liburnicæ. Lepidus, who was come from Africa with twelve legions, and five thousand Numidian horse, on board eighty ships of war, and a thousand transports, after having lost some of his vessels, landed at Lilybæum, notwithstanding the opposition he met with from Plennius, whom Pompey had posted there with some legions, and a great number of slingers and archers. All the other squadrons were driven back, and forced to take shelter in different harbours.

Octavianus's principal care was to refit his fleet, recruit his forces, and prevent the disturbances which this disaster might raise in Rome. Thither he dispatched Mæcenæ, who, with his usual address, soon calmed the minds of the people. At the same time he went in person to the several ports

ports where his ships had taken shelter; and, by encouraging and amply rewarding the workmen, got his fleet refitted, and ready to put to sea again before the end of the summer. In this second attempt he was attended with better fortune than in the former; for Messala Corvinus landed safe with three legions, and encamped near Taurominium at a small distance from Lepidus; several other legions were disembarked, without any considerable opposition, in other places of the island; and Statilius Taurus made himself master of cape Scylaceum on the continent, which Pompey had seized. On the other hand, Papias, one of Pompey's admirals, falling in with a squadron, which was conveying four legions to Lepidus, attacked the transports, took some of them, sunk others, and obliged the rest to return to Africa.

Octavianus, who was then with his fleet in the port of Strongyle, one of the Æolian islands, observing all the coast of Sicily on that side lined with Pompey's forces, left the command of the fleet to Agrippa, and returned to Vibonium for the rest of his ships. Upon his departure, Agrippa, eager for an opportunity of signalizing his valour, reduced Hiera, one of the Æolian islands, a place of the utmost importance. From thence he steered his course towards Mylæ, with a design to surprise Demochares, who had in that port a fleet of forty sail under his command: but, being informed that Papias was advancing to the relief of Demochares, he thought it advisable first to engage the former, over whom he gained a complete victory. In consequence of this victory, Octavianus, who was then at Scylaceum, thinking Pompey was blocked up by Agrippa, embarked the flower of his army, and landed in the neighbourhood of Taurominium, with a design to besiege that place. In the mean time, Pompey appearing unexpectedly on the coast with his fleet, both Octavianus, and his troops, were struck with such terror, that Pompey might have easily cut them in pieces: but he, as the day was already far advanced, instead of attacking them without loss of time, retired with his land-forces to a neighbouring mountain, and there passed the night, which the enemy employed in fortifying their camp.

Next morning, by break of day, Octavianus, not doubting but Pompey would attack his camp, left the defence of it to his lieutenants, L. Cornificius, Titinius, and Carcius, and went on board his fleet. In flying from one danger he fell into another; for Pompey, not thinking it advisable to attack his camp, which was well fortified, fell upon his fleet, and soon convinced his rival, that if he wanted con-

*Hiera
taken by
Agrippa,*

*and one of
Pompey's
Squadrons
defeated.*

*Pompey de-
feats a
squadron
commanded
by Octa-
vianus.*

duct, he did not want courage. Octavianus's fleet was put to flight at the first onset; several of his ships were taken, and the rest, a small number only excepted, either sunk or burnt. As the battle was fought near the shore, such of Octavianus's men as could swim, took refuge in the camp of Cornificius; but the rest were, for the most part, either drowned or taken. Octavianus made his escape in a boat; and leaving his troops ashore to shift for themselves, made for Abala, a city on the coast of Italy, being attended only by one domestic. Quite exhausted with the fatigue he had undergone, and overwhelmed with grief and chagrin, on account of his defeat, he lay down on the open shore, and fell into so sound a sleep, that he was carried, without waking, by some officers who knew him, to a camp, which Messala had formed in that neighbourhood for the defence of the coast. His first care, after he awaked, was to provide for the safety of the troops he had left in Sicily under the command of Cornificius. With this view he immediately dispatched a messenger to Agrippa, enjoining him to send immediately a strong body of legionaries, under the command of Laronius, to their assistance. Cornificius was reduced to the utmost extremity: he could receive no provisions by sea, which was beset by the enemy's victorious fleet, and all convoys by land were intercepted by Pompey's Numidian cavalry. In this extremity he was forced to abandon his camp, without knowing what route to take: at length he resolved to march towards Mylæ, which Agrippa had seized; but was so harassed all the way by the enemy's parties, that his men began to despair, and give themselves up for lost. Cornificius made every effort to support their drooping courage, till they found themselves shut up by the enemy's troops in a narrow valley, called the Fiery Brook: the ground being entirely covered with dust and ashes, thrown out by Mount Æna, without any springs or rivulets, they must inevitably have perished with thirst, or surrendered at discretion, had not the succours sent by Agrippa disengaged them from the desperate condition to which they were reduced. At the approach of the Roman legions the Numidians retired, leaving Cornificius to pursue his march without the least disturbance. That general was so pleased with his retreat, that on his return to Rome, when he was invited to sup with his friends, he always returned mounted, as it were in triumph, on an elephant, having probably made use of that warlike animal in his retreat^k.

*His troops
in Sicily
reduced to
great
straits;*

*but reliev-
ed by
Agrippa.*

^k Liv. lib. cxxix. Vell. Patercul. lib. iii. cap. 79. Suet. in Octavio. Appian. lib. v. Dio, lib. xlix. Oros. lib. vi. cap. 18.

OCTAVIANUS returning from Sicily, had joined Agrippa in the neighbourhood of Tyndaris, where he was encamped with twenty-one legions, two thousand horse, and five thousand light-armed foot. From thence they both marched to besiege Messana, hoping to draw Pompey to a battle, who had lodged all his military stores, provisions, and treasures in that city. As they approached the place, Lepidus joined them with all his sea and land-forces; and the city was closely invested by sea and land. Pompey having assembled all his troops, posted himself at a small distance from OCTAVIANUS's camp, and at the same time drew together his squadrons, ordering them to watch the motions of the enemy's fleet, which blocked up the harbour. After several motions and slight engagements between the fleets as well as the land-forces, Pompey challenged OCTAVIANUS to end their differences by a sea-fight, with three hundred ships on a side. This proposal was no way agreeable to OCTAVIANUS, who had not hitherto been attended with any great success by sea: however, depending on the valour and experience of Agrippa on one side; and, on the other, suspecting the fidelity of Lepidus, who had, according to some, twelve, according to others, twenty, legions under his command, he accepted the challenge; and a day was appointed for the decisive action. Great preparations were made on both sides for an event which was to decide the fate of the contending parties.

Messana invested by OCTAVIANUS and Lepidus.

Pompey challenges OCTAVIANUS;

who accepts the challenge.

When the day arrived, both fleets appeared early in the morning, drawn up in battalia, between Mylæ and Naulocus: upon which the two armies ran to the shore, there being then a kind of truce between them, to behold the action on which their fate in great measure depended. The signal was given, and the engagement began with that fury which is peculiar to men who are more animated by private hatred and party rage than by motives of glory and conquest. Agrippa behaved with his usual bravery; and Pompey, knowing all lay at stake, distinguished himself from the beginning to the end of the action by remarkable feats of valour. Never was victory disputed with more obstinacy, the soldiers, as well as officers, of both parties, fighting, after the example of their generals, with incredible resolution and intrepidity. The victory continued long doubtful, but at length every thing yielding to the valour and superior conduct of Agrippa, Pompey's fleet was put to flight. and that unfortunate Roman obliged to own himself conquered. Of his numerous fleet only seventeen vessels escaped, the

A general action at sea between Pompey and the two triumvirs.

Yr. of Fl.
2317.
Ante Chr.
31.
U. C. 717.

Pompey entirely defeated.

*Pompey's
flight.*

rest being taken, burnt, or destroyed¹ (D). He might, after this defeat by sea, have joined his land-forces, and encouraged them with his presence; but he left them at the mercy of the conqueror, and taking on board his daughter and some of his friends who were in Messina, together with the treasures he had lodged in that city, he passed the streights in the night, and steered his course towards Asia with seventeen galleys, the poor remains of a fleet of three hundred and fifty sail. His design was to throw himself upon the mercy of Antony, whose mother, Julia, he had formerly received and entertained with great hospitality, when she abandoned Rome during the war of Perugia.

*Messana
and all Si-
cily submit
to the con-
queror.*

Tiscienus Gallus, one of his lieutenants, immediately submitted to the conqueror, with all the forces under his command. Plennius, who commanded eight legions in Lilybæum, upon the first news of Pompey's defeat, marched with incredible expedition to Messina, and threw himself into the place, before Octavianus or Agrippa had any intelligence of his design: but finding there were no hopes of relief, he took the advantage of Octavianus's absence to capitulate with Lepidus, who granted him honourable condi-

¹ Liv. Vell. Patercul. Suet. Appian. Dio, Oros. *ibid.* Flor. lib. iv. cap. 18.

(D) Demochares, one of his admirals, was taken prisoner, but killed himself, to avoid the disgrace of being led in triumph. Apollonphanes, his other admiral, yielded himself and his galley to Agrippa, in the beginning of the action. What became of Papias, another of his freed-men, in whom he placed great trust, we know not, none of the ancients making any mention of him in the account they give us of this great action. Menas had long before the battle, with his usual inconstancy and perfidiousness, abandoned Pompey the second time, and gone over with his squadron to Octavianus, who received him rather to weaken the enemy's party than to strengthen his own; for know-

ing he was not a man to be trusted, he gave him no command, and displaced all the officers of the squadron he brought with him. This treacherous wretch, whose courage and experience were worthy of a more noble mind, retired, if we believe Horace, with great wealth, and served afterwards in the post of a military tribune. The glory of this victory was entirely owing to Agrippa; for Octavianus, if Antony is to be credited, had not the courage even to look at the two navies drawn up in battalia; but in a great fright lay down in his galley, with his eyes lifted up to heaven, like one beside himself, and continued in that posture till Agrippa had put the enemy to flight,

tions,

tions, and incorporated the troops he commanded among his own legions. Agrippa, whom Octavianus had left to carry on the siege with Lepidus, exclaimed against this unfair conduct, intreating him to wait till the arrival of his colleague, which at farthest would be next morning. But Lepidus, without regarding his remonstrances or intreaties, received Plennius into his camp, and gave up the city to be plundered by his soldiers. Octavianus, arriving at break of day, sent some of his friends to his colleague's camp, to complain, in his name, of these proceedings : Lepidus, who had now twenty-two legions under his command, answered with great haughtiness, that he would not suffer Octavianus to take upon him all the authority of the triumvirate, when he had an equal right to his share. Upon this reply, Octavianus, having first gained over the greatest part of Lepidus's officers, repaired to his camp, attended with a strong body of horse, under pretence of settling matters in an amicable manner. He no sooner appeared, than Plennius's legions flocked to him, offering him their service. Lepidus, alarmed at this unexpected attempt, fell upon Octavianus at the head of his guards, killed his shield-bearer, wounded him, and obliged him to retire in some confusion.

*Misunder-
standing
between
Octavianus
and
Lepidus.*

Next day, however, Lepidus had the mortification to see himself abandoned by all his troops, who, with their ensigns displayed, marched out of their camp in good order, to join his rival (E). The unhappy triumvir, being thus abandoned, quitted all the marks of his authority, and, putting on a mourning robe, after having remained some time unregarded in the throng of those who made their submissions to Octavianus, threw himself at the feet of his colleague, and, with great meanness, begged his life; which was granted him, with his estate, Octavianus despising him too much to take it from him: Suetonius is the only writer who says, that Octavianus banished him to Circeii, a small town on the coast of Latium. That he attained to be one of the supreme governors of the Roman empire, was entirely owing to fortune; for he neither possessed valour nor discretion. After he had thus fallen from the high station to which for-

*Lepidus
abandoned
by his sol-
diers, and
deposed.*

(E) Appian tells us, that Octavianus went alone to the camp of Lepidus, depending on his own merit, and the authority he had gained by his victories, Pompey's soldiers looking upon him with respect, and drawing round him. Hereupon Lepidus ordered his guards to dis-

perse them, and fall upon Octavianus, who, notwithstanding the wound he received, went to the place where the eagles of the legions were kept, and, taking one of them, exhorted the legionaries to follow him; which they did accordingly, abandoning their own general.

tune

tune had raised him, he was no more regarded; but ended his life in obscurity and contempt. Thus the whole authority of the triumvirate devolved upon Antony and Octavianus, who held the Roman empire divided between them, the former having all the East from the borders of Illyricum, and the Adriatic Gulf, and the latter all the rest ^m (F).^y

*Honours
decreed to
Octavianus.*

Octavianus, having staid some time in Sicily, to settle affairs there, returned to Rome, where he was received with all possible demonstrations of joy: the senate in a body met him at the gates, and conducted him to the Capitol, followed by the people crowned with garlands; from the Capitol, after he had returned thanks to the gods for the success of his arms, they attended him to his palace. The next day he assembled the senate, according to custom, in the temple of Bellona; where, in a studied speech, which he caused afterwards to be published, he gave the fathers an account of his expedition, and assured them, that he had undergone so many toils and dangers with no other view than to restore peace and tranquility to Rome. When he had ended his speech, he withdrew; and the senators, no longer actuated by the love of liberty, or any sense of honour, meanly decreed him such honours as he was ashamed to assume. However, he allowed them to erect a statue of gold to his honour in the forum, with this inscription: "To Cæsar, for having restored peace by sea and land;" and to appoint an annual feast to be celebrated on the day of his victory over Pompey. A triumph was decreed him; but he was satisfied with an ovation, which honour he enjoyed on the ides of November". He then assembled the people; and, having returned them thanks for the honour they had bestowed on him, he reduced the taxes, and forgave those who had hired houses of the public all the rents they owed to the treasury. As the city and country had been greatly

^m Appian. lib. v. p. 741. Dio, lib. xlix. p. 398. Suetonius in Octavio. ⁿ Appian. lib. v. p. 746. Dio, lib. xlix. p. 400. Suet. ibid. cap. 22. Oros. lib. vi. cap. 18.

(F) The war in Sicily being at an end, the legionaries began to mutiny, and demand their discharge, with the same rewards which had been bestowed on those who had overcome Brutus and Cassius in the plains of Philippi. Octavianus endeavoured to appease the mutineers, by fair promises: but they refused to march, till he had satisfied their demands. He was at length obliged to dismiss those whose time of service was expired, to the number of twenty thousand. The others he pacified with large promises, and a donative of five hundred drachmas a man, which he levied upon the Sicilians.

infested,

infested, during the late troubles, with thieves and robbers; he charged Sabinus, one of his lieutenants, to pursue them with fire and sword; and established at Rome several companies for the guard of the city, under the command of an officer, whom he styled *præfectus vigilum*. By these means peace and tranquillity were restored, not to Rome only, but to all Italy; which, together with the plenty he procured, gained the affections of the people to such a degree, that some cities erected altars to their benefactor, especially after one generous action, which inspired them with a high opinion of his prudence and humanity. He had found, among Pompey's papers, a great many letters from some of the chief men in the senate: these he brought into the forum, and, before all the people, threw them unopened into the fire, protesting, that he sacrificed his private resentments to the good of the public: at the same time he solemnly declared, that his intention was, to resign his authority as soon as Antony should return from the Parthian war. This declaration, however insincere, entirely gained him the hearts and affections of the undiscerning multitude, who immediately chose him tribune of the people for life, hoping this new dignity would induce him to lay down the more odious title of *triumvir*. He readily accepted the perpetual tribuneship, which rendered his person sacred and inviolable; but delayed the suppression of the *triumvirate* till the return of Antony, to whom in the mean time he sent Bibulus to make him acquainted with his resolution. These precautions being taken, he left Rome, and marched, at the head of his army, against the Illyrians, who had shaken off the Roman yoke.

He gains the affections of the people.

Is chosen perpetual tribune.

During these transactions at Rome, Pompey occasioned great disturbances in the East. From Sicily he sailed to the island of Lesbos, where he was informed of the ill success which had attended Antony in his expedition against the Parthians. In consequence of this intelligence he began to entertain thoughts of taking Antony's post in the East, or at least of sharing with him the empire. With this view, he sent ambassadors to the kings of Pontus, Thrace, and Parthia, soliciting their friendship, and offering them very advantageous terms. At the same time he drew together a body of troops, protesting, that his design was to assist Antony, and defend himself against Octavianus. Antony, informed of these proceedings, commanded Marcus Titius to take upon him the command of the army that was quartered in Syria, and watch the motions of Pompey. Titius was ordered to receive him with all marks of honour, if he surrendered himself and his troops; but to cut both him and his

Pompey raises new troubles in Asia.

*Defeated,
taken pri-
soner, and
put to
death.*

his army in pieces, if he refused to submit. Pompey, before the arrival of Titius, had pulled off the mask, and taken several cities of Asia Minor, among the rest, Nicæa and Nicomedia : Titius, therefore, taking with him Furnius, Antony's lieutenant in Asia, marched against him, and, having defeated his little army, obliged him to surrender at discretion. When Antony had notice of his being taken, he wrote to Titius to put him to death ; but, changing his resolution, he sent a second letter, countermanning that order : but the second messenger arriving before the first, Titius perversely interpreting the last order he received to be the last that was sent him, put the unfortunate captive to death. This action rendered Titius so odious to the Roman people, who still retained a great regard for Pompey and his family, that they could never after endure to see him, but drove him out of the circus with hisses and curses, even while he was entertaining them with games and shews at his own expence *.

*The Roman
state in-
volved in
new trou-
bles.*

It was believed, that the death of Pompey would have put an end to all civil wars : but the unbounded ambition of Octavianus and Antony soon involved the Roman state in new troubles. The passion Antony had for Cleopatra, and the extravagant presents of whole provinces which he bestowed on her, served Octavianus for a specious pretence to make war upon him ; though his real motive was to destroy a competitor formidable by his valour, and the high reputation he had gained among the soldiery. Antony had left Octavia in Italy, and passed into Syria ; whither he invited Cleopatra, and bestowed on her all Phœnicie, Cœlesyria, Cyprus, and a great part of Arabia and Judæa. These profuse gifts much displeased the Roman people, who daily published scurrilous lampoons, censuring his conduct, on account of his scandalous connexion with Cleopatra. Soon after, he marched against the Parthians with thirteen legions, ten thousand Gaulish or Spanish horse, and above thirty thousand light-armed foot. This army, which made all the East tremble, served only to render his retreat more shameful, as we have related in our history of the Parthians. As all the misfortunes he experienced in that fatal expedition were owing to his passion for Cleopatra, which caused him to neglect the more proper measures, to follow those only which might hasten his return to that bewitching woman, the Romans were highly incensed against him : but what most incensed them, was his seizing Artabazes king of Ar-

*Antony's
prodigality
offends the
Roman
people.*

* Appian. p. 747. Dio. p. 402. Strabo, lib. iii. p. 241. Liv. Epit. lib. cxxxii. Vall. Patercul. lib. ii. cap. 82, & 97.

menia in a most treacherous manner, and leading him in triumph into Alexandria, the Romans considering the honour of triumphing as appropriated wholly to their city.

Octavianus took advantage of Antony's impolitic conduct, to estrange the minds of the people from him; and when he found them sufficiently exasperated, he resolved to send his sister Octavia to her husband, that he might have a plausible pretence to declare war, if he should offer her the affront of sending her back without seeing her. Antony was then returned from his Parthian expedition, and waiting at Leucopolis, or, as Plutarch calls it, Leucocome, for the arrival of Cleopatra. The queen brought with her cloaths for the soldiers, and great sums of money to be distributed among them. Almost at the same time Niger, one of Antony's particular friends, arrived from Octavia, who had already reached Athens, with letters from her to her husband; wherein she acquainted him, that she had cloathing for his soldiers, a great many horses, and rich presents for his friends and officers, with two thousand chosen men well armed, to recruit the prætorian cohorts. These were very unwelcome news to the queen, who, dreading the presence of so virtuous a rival, feigned a deep melancholy, and pretended to be dying for love: she affected to gaze upon Antony with languishing eyes, and a despairing countenance, like one transported with passion; she pretended to sigh involuntarily; she let fall tears in his presence, and dried them up in haste, as if she had been anxious to conceal them, and ashamed to have him a witness of her weakness. By these artifices the crafty queen gained the ascendant over Antony, and prevailed on him to order Octavia not to pursue her journey into Syria, but return to Rome. After this weak step, he returned with Cleopatra to Alexandria, where he passed the winter with her in all manner of luxury, pomp, and voluptuousness.

*Octavianus
stirs up the
people a-
gainst him.*

*Antony
sends back
Octavia.*

This injurious treatment of Octavia drew on him the resentment of the Romans, who were still more provoked at his conduct about this time at Alexandria; for having feasted the whole people of that metropolis, he assembled them in the gymnasium, and, causing a throne of silver to be erected there with two seats of gold, the one for himself, the other for Cleopatra, and lower seats at their feet for his children, he proclaimed Cleopatra queen of Egypt, Cyprus, Africa, and Cœlesyria; and joined with her, as her colleague, Cæsarion, whom she had by Julius Cæsar. As for his own children, by Cleopatra, he gave to Alexander Armenia, Media, Parthia, and the rest of the eastern provinces from the Euphrates to the Indus; on Cleopatra, the twin sister

*Antony
gives new
occasion of
offence to
the Ro-
mans.*

sister of Alexander, he bestowed Libya and Cyrenè; and assigned to Ptolemy, whom he surnamed Philadelphus, Phœnice, Syria, Cilicia, and all the countries of the Lesser Asia from the Euphrates to the Hellespont; finally, he conferred on each of these princes the title of King of Kings. What seemed most remarkable in this solemnity was, that Cleopatra appeared habited like the goddess Isis, and Antony like the god Osiris; and from that time both frequently gave audience to the people in the attire which was thought peculiar to those deities.

*Octavianus
accuses him
before the
senate.*

*Articles
preferred
against
Octavianus
by Antony.*

Octavianus, availing himself of the general resentment against Antony, which this division of provinces occasioned at Rome, accused him, before the senate and people, of this and several other attempts injurious to the majesty of the Roman empire; which charge Antony being informed of, he sent some of his friends to Rome to plead his cause, and accuse Octavianus in his turn. The chief articles he preferred against him, were, 1. That he had not shared with him the island of Sicily, which was lately taken from Pompey: 2. that he had not made restitution of the ships he had lent him: 3. that having abrogated the power of Lepidus his colleague, he had appropriated to himself the army, government, and revenues of that triumvir: lastly, that he had divided almost all Italy among his own soldiers, and reserved nothing for his. To these accusations Octavianus replied, that he had not dismissed Lepidus from his government, till he had made it appear that he was unfit to govern: that as to what he had obtained by the war, he would divide it with Antony, when he gave him his share of Armenia: and as for Antony's soldiers, they could not surely value or claim a few acres of land in Italy, after they had conquered all Media, and reduced the wealthy empire of the Parthians, by the mighty exploits they had performed under the conduct of their invincible general. Antony was so provoked at this sarcasm, that though he had already marched to the river Araxes, with a design to invade Parthia, he dropped that expedition, and ordered Canidius, one of his lieutenants, to march at the head of sixteen legions, to the coasts of the Ionian sea, and there keep himself in readiness to pass into Europe at a day's warning.

*Antony
resolves
upon a
war with
Octavianus.*

Antony himself hastened with Cleopatra to Ephesus, where his lieutenants had assembled eight hundred vessels, of which the queen furnished two hundred, with twenty thousand talents, and provisions for the whole army. Antony was advised by his friends to send back Cleopatra into

p Plut. in Anton. Dio, lib. xlix. p. 415, 416, & lib. l. p. 421.

Egypt,

Egypt, there to wait the event of the war; but she, dreading a peace might be made in her absence, upon condition of Antony's again receiving Octavia, and excluding her, prevailed upon Canidius, with a large sum of money, to represent to Antony, that it was not just to drive away a princess with disgrace, who bore so great a part in the charge of the war; that it would be highly impolitic to disoblige the Egyptians, who made so considerable a part of his naval forces; and finally, that Cleopatra was not inferior to any of the kings who attended him, in prudence and good sense, as was manifest from her governing so mighty a kingdom alone. It was happy for Octavianus, that this counsel took place. Cleopatra was allowed to stay; she and her paramour left Ephesus, and set sail for Samos, the place of the general rendezvous. Thither all the kings, princes, and nations, from Egypt to the Euxine sea, and from Armenia to Illyricum, were ordered to send men, arms, and provisions. It was at the same time proclaimed, that all stage-players, dancers, singers, and buffoons, should repair to the same island; so that sometimes a ship, thought to be laden with soldiers, and warlike stores, was fraught with scenes, machines for the stage, musicians, and players. Thus, while the rest of the world was in the greatest dread of the approaching war, joy, and all kinds of pleasures, reigned at Samos, as if they had abandoned all other places to reside there. Thither each city, within the limits of Antony's government, was ordered to send an ox to be offered in sacrifice; and the kings who attended him were in a perpetual dispute, who should make the most magnificent feasts; insomuch that it became a common question, among the spectators, "What will they do by way of triumph after the victory, since they make such rejoicings at the opening of a dangerous war?"

*How he
spent his
time at
Samos,*

From Samos, Antony sailed for Athens, where he lived in the utmost luxury and voluptuousness (G). While he was at Athens, C. Sosius, and Domitius Ahenobarbus, the

and Athens.

† Plut. in Anton.

(G) Cleopatra, who accompanied him, being jealous of the honours Octavia had received at Athens, insinuated herself, with all the civilities imaginable, into the favour of the Athenians, who in requital, decreed her honours beyond the condition of mortals, and de-

puted several of the citizens to wait upon her at her house with the decree. At the head of this deputation was Antony himself, he being free of Athens: and, as he was chosen their speaker, he harangued the queen in the name of the people.

consuls

*He divorces
Octavia.*

*Antony for-
saken by
several of
his friends.*

consuls of this year, were obliged to leave Rome, not thinking themselves safe in that city, after they had taken upon them to defend Antony. They both took refuge in Athens, and incensed Antony to such a degree against Octavianus, that he solemnly divorced Octavia, and sent proper officers to Rome to force her from his house.

During Antony's residence at Athens, many of his friends, being ill-treated by Cleopatra, for opposing her design of attending Antony in the war, abandoned him, and went over to Octavianus; among the rest, Plancus, and Titius his nephew. Plancus, on his arrival at Rome, accused Antony before the senate of several crimes, with so much bitterness, that Coponius could not forbear saying to him, "Surely you never observed what you now lay to Antony's charge till the evening before your departure;" reproaching him either with baseness in enduring those crimes so long, or with stupidity, in not discovering them sooner. Pollio's conduct was as generous as Plancus's was infamous. Pollio had abandoned Antony, and lived privately in Italy, ever since his first intrigues with Cleopatra; but when Octavianus pressed him to serve under him in this war, he answered frankly, "I have served Antony better, perhaps, than he has rewarded me: however, as the favours I have received from him are more known than the services I have done him, to avoid the imputation of ingratitude, I will not take up arms against him, but quietly wait the event of the war, and be at the discretion of the conqueror."

*Octavianus
uses An-
tony's will
to incense
the people
against him.*

Antony had made a will in favour of Cleopatra, highly injurious and dishonourable to the Roman people, and lodged it with the Vestals at Rome. Plancus and Titius, who had been privy to all his secret counsels and designs, gave notice of it to Octavianus, by whom it was immediately demanded. The Vestals answered, that they could not deliver it up, without a sacrilegious breach of the trust reposed in them; but that Octavianus might, if he thought fit, come and seize it in person. He took this method accordingly: having first read it over in private, and made marks upon those places which he thought most for his purpose, he called the senate, and caused it to be recited in their hearing. In this will Antony declared, that Cæsarion, Cæsar's son by Cleopatra, was born in lawful wedlock, and therefore was the true heir of Julius Cæsar. This was dispossessing Octavianus of the inheritance which he held only as the adopted son of the dictator. By the same will he bequeathed most of the Roman territories, which were under his command, to Cleopatra and her children; and ordered

Ordered his body, wherever he should die, though at Rome, to be sent into Egypt to Cleopatra, to be buried as she should direct. Octavianus artfully enlarged on that part of the will which related to Antony's funeral, and on his robbing the Roman people of their provinces, to enrich a foreign princess, who was an enemy to Rome. As these charges were undeniably proved from an authentic instrument, they alienated the minds of many, who had hitherto defended his cause with great zeal. Some of his friends, however, declared, that they thought it an extraordinary and unprecedented way of proceeding, to punish a man in his life-time for what was not to be put in execution till after his death.

Among other articles of accusation, Caius Calvisius charged him with having given to Cleopatra the famous library of the kings of Pergamus, consisting of two hundred thousand volumes; and with having suffered the Ephesians to give her the title of their queen: he affirmed that he had frequently, at the public audience of kings and princes, received love-letters from Cleopatra, and read them on his tribunal; that when Furnius, an orator of great eloquence and authority among the Romans, was pleading before him, he left him and the audience in the middle of their cause, to follow Cleopatra, who happened to pass by in her chair; and that at a solemn feast he had risen from table, and trod upon her foot, as a signal of their meeting in private. The heads of this accusation, however ridiculous they may seem at present, were seriously proposed by Calvisius, and appeared of such moment and weight to Antony's friends, that they dispatched Geminius to acquaint him, that his affairs required him to be more circumspect; and that, unless he altered his conduct, he was in danger of being-deprived of the office of consul, to which he had been named for the year ensuing, of being stripped of all his governments, and declared an enemy to the Roman people. The arrival of Geminius alarmed Cleopatra, who, looking upon him as one of Octavia's spies, made him the constant jest of the table, where she took care to have him always placed at the lower end. Geminius bore all her affronts and outrages with great patience, in hopes of finding an opportunity of talking with Antony in private. But the infatuated triumvir, instead of giving him a private audience, asked him one night at a full table, what had brought him to Athens. "The business I come upon (said he), well deserves a serious consideration, and is not to be settled over a bottle. One thing, however, I am charged by your friends to tell you, which you may hear as well

He is accused of several crimes by C. Calvisius.

The behaviour of Cleopatra obliges some of Antony's friends to forsake him.

drunk as sober; your affairs will bear a much better face, if you send back Cleopatra into Egypt." "You have done very wisely, Geminius (answered the enraged queen), to tell us this important secret, without waiting till it was extorted from you on the rack." A few days after Geminius, dreading the effects of Cleopatra's displeasure, escaped to Rome; whither he was followed by many of Antony's friends, no longer able to bear the ill usage they received from the imperious Egyptian (H).

War declared against Cleopatra.

Octavianus, finding himself in a condition to encounter Antony with equal forces, no longer delayed declaring war; but caused it to be decreed only against Cleopatra, for fear of provoking Antony's friends, who were still very numerous and powerful. However, Antony was deprived of the consulate, and his government was taken from him, for suffering himself to be ruled by a woman. The decree implied besides, that Cleopatra had so bewitched Antony with her charms and potions, as to deprive him of his senses; and that Antony was not to manage the war against the Romans, but Mardion the eunuch, Photinus, Iras, Cleopatra's waiting woman, and Charmion, another of her maids, who were become Antony's counsellors and prime ministers of state.

The forces of Octavianus and Antony.

The forces of the contending parties were answerable to the empire they shared between them. Antony had under his command all the provinces from the Euphrates and Armenia to the Ionian Sea and Illyricum, and from Cyrene to Ethiopia. Octavianus's government extended from Illyricum to the Ocean, and comprehended all the coast of Africa that was opposite to Italy, Gaul, and Spain. Many kings followed Antony's fortune, and attended him in this war; namely, Bocchus king of Mauritania, Tarcondemus or Tarcondimotus of Upper Cilicia, Archelaus of Cappadocia, Philadelphus of Paphlagonia, Mithridates of Coma-

* Plut. in Anton. Dio, p. 421, 422.

(H) Among these were Marcus Syllanus, and Dellius the historian. The latter had said at an entertainment, where the wine was not to his taste, that Antony's friends drank vinegar, while at Rome Sarmenus was served with Falernian wine. This Sarmenus is mentioned

by Horace (1), and was one of Octavianus's buffoons. Cleopatra took this raillery so ill, that she ordered Dellius to be privately murdered; but he being acquainted by Glaucus, a physician, of her design, saved himself by flight, and retired to Rome (2).

(1) Horat. lib. i. satir. 5.

p. 420.

(2) Plut. in Anton. Dio, lib. i.

gene, Adallas of Thrace. These attended him in person: but Polemon king of Pontus, Malchus king of Arabia, Herod king of Judæa, Amyntas king of Lycaonia and Galatia, only sent their quotas of forces. All these together composed an army of a hundred thousand foot, and twelve thousand horse. His navy consisted of five hundred ships of war, some whereof had eight, and some ten, banks of oars. Octavianus had no foreign princes in his army, which amounted only to eighty thousand foot, but was as strong in cavalry as the enemy. He had no more than two hundred and fifty ships, but those light and well manned with sailors, rowers, and soldiers; whereas Antony's seemed 'built for ostentation, and, besides, were very indifferently manned, his officers having been obliged, for want of mariners, to press in Greece, which had been exhausted long before, carriers, labourers, and even boys; and, notwithstanding this expedient, his vessels had not their full complement' (1).
In

* Plut. in Anton. Dio, p. 422, 423.

(1) Before these two powerful fleets and armies came to engage, a paper war broke out, on what occasion we know not, between the generals, who wrote very sharp and reflecting letters to each other. Octavianus reproached Antony with the prodigality of his entertainments, and his intrigues with Cleopatra. Antony reminded Octavianus of the famous entertainment of the twelve gods, at which he presided, dressed like Apollo, while the other guests, women as well as men, appeared in the attire of gods and goddesses, and passed the night in the most infamous debaucheries. This feast was called the Dodecatheon, because the guests personated twelve gods and goddesses, had made a great noise at Rome, and had been the subject of many satirical epigrams. Antony had never been guilty of more infamous and scandalous debaucheries than Octavianus was on this occasion. To these reflections he added Octa-

vianus's hasty marriage with Livia against all the rules of decency, his divorcing Scribonia, because she would not bear with the capricious humour of that new mistress; and on this occasion all the Roman ladies, with whom Octavianus had ever carried on intrigues, were brought upon the stage. Antony, in one of his letters, reproached him with the cowardice he had betrayed in all the engagements at which he had been present. Octavianus wrote to him, that it was childish to fight any longer with the pen; but that if he would approach at the head of his army, he should be suffered to land in Italy without molestation; that his fleet should have safe ports, and his land-forces ground enough to encamp on, and put themselves in order of battle. In return to these bravadoes, Antony challenged his rival to single combat; and sent him word, that, if he declined the challenge, he was ready to meet him at the head of his ar-

Octavianus's third consulate.

In the mean time the consular year expiring, Octavianus caused himself to be declared consul for the third time; and took M. Valerius Messala for his colleague, in the room of Antony, who was to enjoy that dignity this year, according to the agreement made between the two triumvirs and Pompey. Messala resigned the fasces on the calends of May to M. Titius, who had abandoned Antony, together with Plancus; and Titius, on the calends of October, yielded his office to Cn. Pompeius, of whose descent or services no mention is made in history.

Antony encamps at Actium near his fleet,

As soon as the season would permit, both armies took the field, and the fleets put to sea. Antony's fleet sailed into the Ambracian gulf between the islands of Corcyra and Cephalenia, and his army encamped at Actium near his fleet. Actium was a small city on the south side of the mouth of the gulf in Acarnania. While Antony's fleet was at anchor there, Octavianus, crossing the Ionian sea, surprised Toryne, a small place near Actium; and appeared next morning, by day-break, off Actium, with his ships in order of battle. As Antony's legions were not yet arrived, he had but a small number of soldiers on board his fleet, and consequently must unavoidably have been defeated, had Octavianus attacked him. To divert him therefore for the present from engaging, he armed all his rowers and mariners, placed them on the decks, and sailed up into the mouth of the gulf, as if he intended to fall upon the enemy; and Octavianus no sooner observed him advance, than he retreated, as Antony had expected.

and Octavianus on the opposite side of the Ambracian gulf.

Octavianus's land-forces were encamped on the other side of the mouth of the gulf of Ambracia, at a place where Octavianus afterwards built, in memory of his victory, a city which he called Nicopolis, or the City of Victory. While he lay in this situation, Antony, who was well acquainted with the country, found means to cut off the water from his camp, so that his army was much distressed. In the mean time Agrippa, with a squadron, and a considerable body of land-forces, ravaged the coasts of Greece,

The exploits of Agrippa.

* Plut. in Anton.

my, in battle array, in the plains of Pharsalia, where Cæsar and Pompey had formerly decided their quarrel. However, nothing of consequence was performed this year; Octavianus assembled both his fleet and ar-

my at Brundisium, and Antony came as far as Corcyra to meet him; but the summer being far advanced, and the tempestuous season of the year approaching, they both retired, and put their armies into winter-quarters (3).

(3) Plut. & Dio, *ibid.*

inter-

intercepted all the convoys that were coming to Antony from Egypt, Syria, and Asia; and, making descents, stormed several cities; among the rest Methona in Peloponnesus, where Bogud king of Mauritania, who defended the place, was killed, and the numerous garrison cut in pieces. From Methona Agrippa sailed for Leucas, at a small distance from Actium; and in sight of Antony made himself master of that island, and the ships he found there. The cities of Patre and Corinth likewise submitted to him, after he had defeated Q. Nasidius, sent by Antony to stop the progress of his conquests. Returning from the coasts of Greece to join Octavianus, he fell in with Sosius, one of Antony's admirals, who had defeated L. Taurelius, whom Octavianus had detached with a numerous squadron to watch the enemy's motions. Agrippa attacked him with his usual bravery, took some of his ships, sunk others, and dispersed the rest. In this engagement Sosius himself perished, and with him Tracondimotus king of Cilicia. At the same time a great body of cavalry, commanded by Antony in person, was defeated by a detachment of Octavianus's cavalry under the command of Titius and Statilius Taurus. These advantages, and the arrival of Agrippa with his victorious squadron, induced Antony to abandon in the night the camp which he had fortified opposite the enemy's, and retire to Actium on the other side of the Ambracian gulf, where the greatest part of his army lay.

While he continued at Actium, several persons of distinction, seeing his fleet so unfortunate in every service that was undertaken, and himself wasting his whole time with Cleopatra, abandoned him, and went over to Octavianus. Among these were the kings Amyntas and Deiotarus, and Cneius Domitius Ahenobarbus, the last year's consul, who, notwithstanding his affection to Antony, could no longer bear with the haughty and insolent behaviour of Cleopatra. The unexpected desertion of Domitius, whom Antony esteemed as one of his best friends, stung him to the heart: however, he had the generosity, much against the will of Cleopatra, to send after him his whole equipage, with his friends and servants; a circumstance which so sensibly touched Domitius, who was sick of a fever when he fled, that he soon after died, his distemper being increased by the grief of abandoning a man, who by kindness requited his infidelity and desertion. The flight of Domitius proved extremely prejudicial to Antony's interest, most men believing that a person of his understanding and penetration would never have deserted him, had he not thought the ruin of his party inevitable. Antony now

Several persons of distinction go over to Octavianus.

began to distrust his best friends, and caused some of them, upon bare suspicions, to be put to death; namely, Iamblichus, a petty king of Arabia, who expired upon the rack, and Q. Posthumius, a senator of distinction^a.

*Canidius
advises
Antony to
dismiss
Cleopatra,
and retire.*

At length Canidius, commander in chief of Antony's forces, arrived with the rest of the legions; and, soon after his arrival, as he saw the danger nearer, changed his opinion with relation to Cleopatra. He advised Antony to send her back, and retire himself into Thrace and Macedonia, there to decide the quarrel in the open fields with his land-forces; especially as Dicomus king of the Getæ was ready to join him with a great army. Antony was much inclined to follow the advice of his prudent and faithful general; but Cleopatra obliged him, against his own judgment, to hazard the empire, and his life, in a sea-fight. Being therefore determined, out of a shameful complaisance for Cleopatra, and against his own opinion, as well as that of all his officers, to try his fortune by sea, he made the necessary preparations for an action, on the success whereof depended the empire of the Roman world.

*But Antony
resolves
upon a fight
at sea.*

Well acquainted with the effeminacy of the Egyptians, he was afraid they would turn their backs as soon as the fight began; and therefore he set fire to all their ships, except sixty, which he spared, that they might serve as a guard for the queen. Out of the other squadrons from Syria, Greece, Cilicia, the kingdom of Pergamus and Phœnice, he chose the best galleys: the rest he condemned to the flames, for want of mariners.

*Burns se-
veral of his
own ships.*

Both fleets were now ready for action; but a violent storm, which continued for four days successively, prevented them from engaging. On the fifth, the sea being calm, they advanced towards each other in good order. Gellius Publicola commanded Antony's right wing, Cœlius conducted the left, and Marcus Octavius and Marcus Justeus had charge of the main body. On Octavianus' side Agrippa was placed in the center, having Larius on his right, and Aruntius on his left. Octavianus and Antony were both, according to some writers, in the right wing of their respective fleets; according to others, they chose no particular place for themselves, but went each in a light vessel from one division to another, encouraging their men, and reminding them of their former exploits and victories (K).

*The dispo-
sition of the
two fleets.*

"This

^a Plut. *ibid.* Vel. Pat. lib. ii. cap. 84. Dio, lib. l. p. 427, 428.

(K) Antony had on board his fleet twenty thousand legionaries, and two thousand archers; Octavianus eight legions, and five

" This day (said Antony to his men before the engagement) I expect the empire of the world from your valour, and promise you rewards answerable to so noble a conquest." Octavianus was no less active in the same employment, and with more confidence, having been animated by a happy omen, which he caused to be published throughout the fleet (L). Antony ordered the commanders of his ships to receive the enemy lying still as at anchor, and to keep within the mouth of the gulf. Agrippa was not for attacking him in that posture, and therefore kept about eight furlongs distant from the enemy till noon, when a gentle gale springing up, Antony's men, impatient of farther delays, and trusting to the bulk and height of their ships, put their left wing in motion. Agrippa beheld this precipitation with great satisfaction, and ordered his right wing to bear back, on purpose to draw the enemy as far out of the streights as possible, that his gallies, which were light, and nimble sailers, might have an opportunity of surrounding Antony's heavy ships, whose bulk, and want of hands in proportion to their rates, rendered them unwieldy and unfit for service.

On this side the action began; but in a different manner from what was then used in sea-fights: there was no boarding, or grappling one ship with another. Antony's ships were strong, lofty, and so fortified, that those of Octavianus must have, in boarding them, laboured under great disadvantages: his soldiers, therefore, attacked the enemy at a

Yr. of Fl.
2319.
Ante Chr.
29.
U. C. 719.
*Battle of
Actium.*

five prætorian cohorts. As to the number of the ships, Florus tells us, that Octavianus's fleet consisted of four hundred sail, and Antony's only of half that number; but what was wanting in number, adds that writer, was made up in bulk; for all Antony's ships had from six to nine banks of oars; and besides, they were so raised with turrets and decks, that they resembled castles and cities. As to the number of Antony's ships, Florus is contradicted by Octavianus himself, who left written in his commentaries, quoted by Plutarch, that he took three hundred of the enemy's ships,

(L) We are told, that as Oc-

tavianus was going out of his tent at break of day to visit his fleet, he met a countryman driving an ass. Being moved with curiosity, or rather superstition, he asked the man's name. " My name (replied he) is Eutyches, and my ass is called Nikon." The first of these names in Greek signifies *happy*, and the other *conqueror*. This seemed so lucky an omen to Octavianus, that he no longer doubted of victory; and, when afterwards he erected a trophy in that place with the beaks of the ships he had taken, he caused two statues of brass to be erected, one representing the man, the other his ass (1).

(1) Plut. in Anton. Suet. in Octav. cap. 96.

distance, with pikes, javelins, darts, and several inventions of fire, which they threw among them, while Antony's men defended themselves with showers of darts and arrows, which they discharged from their wooden towers. In the mean time Agrippa ordered Aruntius to extend his left wing, and endeavour to hem in the enemy. Publicola immediately advanced in order to prevent his being outflanked; and as by this motion he left the main body unguarded, Agrippa bore in upon it, and put it in disorder. However, the victory still remained doubtful, Antony's soldiers, who were all chosen men, defending themselves with incredible valour, and making a dreadful havock of all who attempted to approach them. The fight lasted several hours, with as fair a prospect of success for Antony as for Octavianus, the mariners and soldiers on board the two fleets being encouraged by the shouts of their respective armies, who waited the event of the engagement drawn up in order of battle, the one on the north side, and the other on the south side of the Ambracian Gulf.

*The flight
of Cleopatra;*

*who is followed by
Antony.*

While the two parties were thus contending with great fury and obstinacy for victory, Cleopatra's sixty galleys, crowding all their sails, advanced unexpectedly between the two fleets. This sudden motion equally surprised both parties. Antony, whose center was already in disorder, expected some gallant action from the queen, who had brought him into the present danger: he was therefore struck with amazement, when he saw the whole Egyptian Squadron, instead of falling upon the enemy, tack about, and with a fair wind steer their course towards Peloponnesus. Here Antony betrayed a weakness hardly to be imagined: his passion for that prostitute getting the better of his ambition, honour, and every other consideration, he no sooner saw the queen's ship under sail, than he threw himself into a galley of five banks of oars, attended only by two domestics, Scellius and Alexander the Syrian. Thus he abandoned his men, who were generously sacrificing their lives in his service, to follow a base woman, who had long since begun, and was now accomplishing his destruction. As soon as he came up with Cleopatra's galley, he was taken on board; but without so much as seeing her, he placed himself at the stern, and there, leaning his elbows on his knees, and his head on both his hands, as one confounded with anger and shame, he continued a long while in that melancholy attitude.

Plut. in Anton. Dio, lib. l. p. 439, 440. Flor. lib. iv. cap. 11. Vell. Patercul. lib. ii. cap. 85.

The

The gallant behaviour of Antony's troops on this occasion cannot be sufficiently admired and commended; for though their general had abandoned them, and the report of his flight was spread through the fleet, yet they fought with the same ardour and intrepidity as if he had been present; and disputed the victory till night, when a stiff gale springing up, they were separated, and having no leader to conduct them, fell into disorder, which was the cause of their defeat. Three hundred ships yielded to the conqueror; but the slaughter was inconsiderable. Antony's land-forces could not be brought to believe, that a general, who had nineteen legions entire, and twelve thousand horse, could basely desert them, especially such a general as Antony, who had seen and encountered fortune in all her shapes and vicissitudes. They therefore expected he would soon appear, and putting himself at their head, give them an opportunity of shewing their fidelity and zeal for his interest and service. When they were at last thoroughly persuaded that he had deserted them, they nevertheless kept in a body, though quite surrounded both by sea and land, for seven days together, without hearkening to the advantageous offers made them by Octavianus. At length, being abandoned by Canidius, and all their chief officers, who privately made their escape, they listened to the conditions which Octavianus offered them, and were incorporated among his legions. Such was the famous sea-fight of Actium, so much spoken of by the ancients, especially the poets of that time². It was fought on the second day of September, when Cæsar Octavianus and Messala Corvinus were consuls (M).

The gallant behaviour of Antony's troops.

His fleet is overcome,

and his land-forces submit.

After this defeat, the auxiliaries, who had served under Antony, retired to their respective countries, and, in the sequel, made their peace with the conqueror on the best terms they could obtain. Some of the princes he deposed, others he continued in their former state; but imposed upon them, as well as upon all the free states which had joined Antony, heavy fines; whereby those unhappy countries were reduced to a most deplorable condition. As for the Romans, Octavianus pardoned some at the earnest intreaties of his friends and his mother Mutia; others he punished with the utmost severity. Octavianus, next morning after

Octavianus's conduct towards the conquered.

² Vide Virg. lib. viii. Æneid. Ovid. Metamorph. lib. xv. Horat. epod. 9. & Propert, lib. iv. eleg. 6.

(M) As Octavianus, by this after them Aurelius Victor and ever memorable victory, became Eutropius, reckon from this sole master of the whole Roman time the years of Octavianus's empire, Dio, Suetonius, and empire or reign.

the

*Antony
pursued.*

the battle, finding his victory complete, detached a squadron of light galleys in pursuit of Antony and Cleopatra; which Antony no sooner saw rowing up to him, than he commanded his pilot to tack about, and face them. Upon this motion they all backed, except one commanded by Eurycles the Lacedæmonian, who ranging up to Antony's vessel, with great fierceness and intrepidity, shook his lance at him in a threatening manner. "Who art thou, (cried Antony from the stern) who hast the boldness to pursue me thus?" "I am, (answered he) Eurycles, the son of Lachares, brought hither by Cæsar's fortune to revenge my father's death." This Lachares had been condemned to death by Antony for a robbery. However, the Lacedæmonian not venturing to engage so renowned a commander, attacked another galley and took her, with a ship, on board of which was a great deal of rich plate and furniture. Eurycles retired, satisfied with his prize; and upon his retreat Antony returned to his former melancholy posture, and continued for three days, without seeing the queen, till he reached Tænarus in Laconia.

*He continues his
fondness
for Cleopatra.*

There Cleopatra's women brought them to see each other, and converse as formerly, Antony appearing as fond of her as ever, when he had the strongest reasons to detest and abhor her, as the only cause of his ruin. At Tænarus he received an account of the total defeat of his navy; but, believing his legions still in his interest, he wrote to Canidius to retreat with them through Macedon into Asia, proposing to renew the war in that country. As he was himself determined to retire into Africa, he gave one of his largest ships, laden with vast sums of money, and gold and silver vessels of an inestimable value, to his friends, desiring them to share it among them, and provide for their own safety; but they refusing it with tears in their eyes, and declaring they would always follow his fortune, he broke forth into complaints of his cruel destiny, which deprived him of the power of giving them such tokens of his acknowledgement and gratitude, as they had given him of their fidelity and affection. He added, that he could not, without being guilty of the highest injustice, suffer them to be involved in his misfortunes; and therefore absolutely commanded them to abandon him to his evil destiny, and consult their own safety. He ordered Theophilus, governor of Corinth, to provide for their security, and keep them concealed till they could make their peace with Octavianus. Having taken this step for the preservation of his friends, he retired to Africa, whence he sent Cleopatra into Egypt, and soon after followed her. Of the reduction of Egypt by Octavianus, of the unhappy end of Antony and Cleopatra,

*His generosity
towards his
friends.*

Cleopatra, and the affecting circumstances of their death, we have given an account in our history of the Ptolemies of Egypt, to which we refer our readers. All Antony's statues were thrown down, and entirely demolished, both in Egypt and at Rome; his memory was declared infamous by the servile senate; and a decree was passed, enacting, that none of his family should ever after bear the name of Marcus (O).

Octavianus, having reduced Egypt, and settled the affairs of that kingdom, left Alexandria in the beginning of September, in the year of Rome 720, with a design to return through Syria, Asia Minor, and Greece, to Italy. On his arrival at Antioch, he found Tiridates, who had been raised to the throne of Parthia in opposition to Phraates, and likewise ambassadors from Phraates, who were all come on the same business, to solicit the assistance of the Romans against each other. Octavianus gave a friendly answer both to Tiridates and the ambassadors of Phraates,

Octavianus settles the affairs of Egypt, Asia Minor, &c.

(O) He died in the fifty-third, or, as some write, fifty-sixth year of his age, leaving seven children by his three wives Fulvia, Octavia, and Cleopatra; for he married the queen after his divorce from Octavia. What became of Alexander and Ptolemy, his sons by Cleopatra, we find no where recorded; but for his daughter Cleopatra, the virtuous Octavia brought her up with her own children, and married her to Juba, king of Mauritania, one of the most learned and virtuous princes of his age. Antyllus, his eldest son by Fulvia, was betrayed by his governor Theodorus to Octavianus's soldiers, who, by his orders, put him to death. Julius Antonius, the younger brother of Antyllus by the same mother, became one of Octavianus's chief favourites; Octavia, whose generosity for that unfortunate family was without bounds, having bestowed on him Marcella, one of her daughters by her first husband; but he afterwards indiscreetly engaged in

a scandalous intrigue with Julia, Octavianus's only daughter, which cost him his life. Octavia had by Antony only two daughters, of whom the elder was called Antonia Major, and the younger Antonia Minor. The former married L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, by whom she had Cneius Domitius, who, by Agrippina, the daughter of Germanicus, was the father of the emperor Nero. Antonia Minor, who inherited both her mother's beauty and virtue, was married to Drusus, the son of Tiberius and Livia, and son-in-law to Octavianus. From this marriage came Germanicus, deservedly esteemed the greatest general of his time, and the most accomplished person among the Romans; and Claudius, who reigned before Nero. Caius, surnamed Caligula, the son of Germanicus, likewise governed the Roman empire; so that Antony's family, notwithstanding their misfortunes, gave three emperors to Rome.

without

without intending to assist either; but rather with a design to animate the one against the other, and by these means to weaken both, so as to render the Parthian name no longer formidable to Rome. Having appointed Messala Corvinus governor of Syria, he marched into the province of Asia properly so called, and there took up his winter-quarters. In the beginning of the next year Octavianus entered his fifth consulate, and had the following colleagues: Licinius Crassus, to the calends of July; C. Antistius, to the ides of September; and M. Tullius, the son of the famous orator, from that time to the end of the year. He employed the winter in settling the affairs of the several provinces of Asia Minor, and the adjacent islands; and in the spring passed into Greece, whence he departed for Rome, which he entered in the month Sextilis, afterwards called August, in three triumphs, which were celebrated for three successive days (P).

Returns to Rome.

Octavianus thinks of resigning his power.

Octavianus was now at the height of his wishes, sole sovereign, sole master, of the whole Roman empire; but the many dangers which attend an usurped power, appearing to him in a stronger light than ever, filled his mind with a thousand perplexing thoughts. The natural aversion of the Romans to a kingly government, their love of liberty, and the ides of March, when his father Julius was murdered in full senate by those very men whom he thought the most devoted to his person, were considerations that filled him with apprehensions concerning his personal safety. The passion of fear is said to have outweighed the attrac-

† Dio, lib. li. p. 447.

(P) The first triumph was for his victories over the Dalmatians, Pannonians, and some German and Gaulish nations, whom he had conquered before his war with Antony. The second was for his naval victory at Actium; and the third for the reduction of Egypt. In the last, which was the most magnificent of the three, were led before the victor's chariot Alexander and Cleopatra, whom Antony had by the queen; and the image of the queen was carried in a bed of state, with

an asp hanging at her arm. Rome was so much enriched with the immense treasures brought by Octavianus and his soldiers out of Egypt, that the value of money fell from ten to four per cent. and the prices of every thing else rose in proportion. After his triumph, the name of emperor was conferred upon him, not in the common sense, as it imported only a title of honour, but as it carried with it a sovereign power, and an uncontrouled authority (1).

(1) Dio, lib. lli. p. 493. 494.

tions

tions of power, and inclined him to follow the example of Sylla. Before he came to any resolution, he thought it advisable to consult his two most intimate and trusty friends, Agrippa and Mæcenas; the former no less famous for his probity than his valour; and the latter a man of great penetration, and generally esteemed the most refined politician of his age. Agrippa openly declared for a generous resignation: he enlarged on the many and almost inevitable dangers which attend monarchy, insupportable to a free people, and to men educated in a commonwealth: he did not forget the examples of Sylla and Cæsar; and closed his speech with exhorting Octavianus to convince the world, by restoring liberty to his country, that the only motive for his taking up arms was to revenge his father's death.

Mæcenas, on the other hand, remonstrated to him, that he had gone too far to recede; that, after so much bloodshed, there could be no safety for him but on the throne; that, if he divested himself of the sovereign power, he would be immediately prosecuted by the children and friends of the many illustrious persons whom the misfortunes of the times had forced him to sacrifice to his safety; and that it was absolutely necessary for the welfare and tranquility of the republic, that the sovereign power should be lodged in one person, and not divided among many individuals, whose ambitious views would still occasion a perpetual succession of miseries to the public. Octavianus thanked them both for their friendly advice, but adhered to the opinion of Mæcenas; who gave him many wise instructions and rules of government, which are related at length by Dio Cassius². Among other things he told him, that he could not fail of being successful in all his undertakings, happy in his lifetime, and famous in history after his death, if he never deviated from this maxim; to govern others as he would wish to be governed himself, had he been born to obey, and not to command. Mæcenas added, that if, in taking upon him the sovereign power, he dreaded the name of king, so odious in a commonwealth, he might content himself with the title of Cæsar, or Imperator, and, under that title, which was well known to the Romans, enjoy all the authority of a sovereign.

*Is dissuaded
from it by
Mæcenas.*

This advice Octavianus followed, and from that time laid aside all thoughts of abdicating the sovereign power; but, to deceive the people into a belief, that they still enjoyed their ancient government, he continued the old magistrates, with the same name, pomp, and ornaments, and just as much

² Dio, lib. lii. p. 464, &c.

*He courts
the people,*

power as he thought proper to delegate into their hands. They were to have their old jurisdiction of deciding finally all causes, except such as were capital; and though some of these last were left to the governor of Rome, yet the chief he reserved for himself. He paid great attention to the people: the very name that covered his usurpation was a compliment to them; for he affected to call it the power of the tribuneship, though he acted as absolutely by it as if he had called it the dictatorial power. He likewise won the hearts of the populace by taking particular care that provisions should be cheap, and the markets plentifully supplied: and he entertained them with shews to amuse their imagination, and keep them in good humour. While they thus enjoyed plenty, ease, and pleasure, they had no temptation to enquire into the title of their prince, or resent acts of power, which they did not immediately feel.

*and the
senate; but
divests
them of all
power.*

He filled the senate with his own creatures, raised the number of the conscript fathers to a thousand: he supplied several poor senators with money out of the treasury to discharge the public offices, and, on all occasions, affected a high regard for that venerable body; but at the same time divested them of all power, and reduced them to mere cyphers. To prevent them from raising new disturbances in the distant provinces, he issued an edict, forbidding any senator to travel out of Italy without leave, except such as had lands in Sicily, or Narbonne Gaul, which at that time comprehended Languedoc, Provence, and Dauphiny. To these provinces, which were near Italy, and in a perfect state of tranquility, they had liberty to retire when they pleased, and live upon their estates. Before he ended his sixth consulship, he took a census of the people; and found the number of men fit to bear arms amounted to four hundred sixty-three thousand * (Q). He likewise celebrated the games, which had been decreed by the senate for his victory at Actium; and it was ordered, that they should be celebrated every fifth year, four colleges of priests being appointed to

* Dio, lib. liii. p. 496, & Marmor. Capuana, tom. iii. Annal. Pighii, p. 495.

(Q.) Mention is made of this census in the marble tables of Capua in these words: "In my sixth consulship with my colleague M. Agrippa, I numbered the people, and made a census after forty-one years (that is, from the censorship of Cn. Len-

tulus and L. Gellius); in which four hundred sixty-three thousand citizens were numbered." Instead of this number, Eusebius, whom several modern writers have followed, has in his chronicle four millions one hundred and sixty-four thousand.

take

take care of them ; to wit, the pontifices, the augurs, the septemvirs, and quindecimvirs. In order to gain the affections of the people still more, he annulled, by one edict, the many severe and unjust laws which had been enacted during the triumvirate. He raised many public buildings, repaired those that were decayed, and added many ornaments to the city, which at this time was, if we may give credit to some ancient writers, about fifty miles in compass, and contained near four millions of souls, reckoning men, women, children, and slaves. He attended business, reformed abuses, shewed great regard for the Roman name, promoted pleasure and jollity, often appearing in person at the public diversions, and in all things studying to endear himself to the populace.

*He adorns
the city.*

In the beginning of his seventh consulship with M. Agrippa, finding all things ripe for his design, the people highly pleased with his mild government, and the senate filled with his creatures, he went by the advice of Agrippa and Mæcenas, to the senate-house ; and there, in a studied speech, offered to resign his authority, and put all again into the hands of the people upon the old foundation of the commonwealth. The conscript fathers not only interrupted him while he was speaking ; but afterwards unanimously besought him to take upon himself alone the government of the Roman empire. He, with a seeming reluctance, yielded to their request, as if he had been compelled to accept of the sovereignty. By this artifice he compassed his design, which was, to get the power and authority he had usurped, confirmed to him by the senate and people for the space of ten years ; for he would not accept of it for a longer term, pretending he should, in that time, be able to settle all things in such peace and order, that there would be no farther need of his authority ; but that he might then ease himself of the burden, and put the government again into the hands of the senate and people. This method he took to render the yoke less heavy ; but with a design to renew his lease, if we may be allowed the expression, as soon as the ten years were expired ; which he did accordingly from ten years to ten years as long as he lived, governing the whole Roman empire with an absolute and uncontrouled power. With this new authority the senate resolved to distinguish him by a new name. Some of the fathers proposed the name of Romulus, to import, that he was another founder of Rome : some offered other titles ; but the venerable name of Augustus, proposed by Munatius Plancus, seemed preferable to all the rest, as it expressed more dignity and reverence

*He makes
a feint to
abdicate
his power.*

*Is compelled
by the senate to retain it.*

verence

The title of Augustus conferred upon him.

verence than authority; the most sacred things, such as temples, and palaces consecrated by augurs, being termed by the Romans Augusta. Octavianus himself was inclined to assume the name of Romulus; but, on mature reflection, he declined it, and took that of Augustus^b, by which we shall henceforth distinguish him in the sequel of our history. Among other instances of servile adulation payed at this juncture to Augustus, one Sextus Pacuvius, a tribune of the people, devoted himself to the emperor, in the manner of the Celtes: in other words, he bound himself by a solemn oath to live and die with Augustus.

His policy in dividing the provinces with the senate.

Though the whole power of the senate and people was now vested in Augustus, yet, that he might seem to share it with the conscript fathers, he refused to govern all the provinces, assigning to the senate such as were quiet and peaceable, and keeping to himself those which, bordering upon barbarous nations, were most exposed to troubles and wars, saying, he desired the fathers might enjoy their power with ease and safety, while he underwent all the dangers and labours; but, by this politic conduct, he secured all the military power to himself, the troops lying in the provinces he had chosen; and the others, which were governed by the senate, being quite destitute of forces. The latter were called senatorial, and the former imperial, provinces (R). Over the provinces of both sorts were placed men of distinction, such as had been consuls or prætors, with the titles of proconsul and proprætor; but the government of Egypt was committed to a private knight, Augustus fearing lest a person of rank, depending upon the wealth and situation of that country, might raise new disturbances in the empire. All these governors held their employments only for a year, and were, upon the arrival of their successors, obliged to depart their provinces immediately, and not fail to be at Rome within three months at the

^b Dio, lib. llii. p. 497. Flor. lib. iv. Liv. lib. cxxxiv.

(R) The senatorial were Africa, that is, the ancient dominions of Carthage, Numidia, Asia properly so called, or the ancient kingdom of Pergamus, Greece, styled by most historians Achaia, Epirus, Dalmatia, Macedon, Sicily, Sardinia, the island of Crete, Lybia, Cyrenaica, Bithynia, Pontus, and

that part of Spain called Bætica. The imperial provinces were, the rest of Spain, comprehending the provinces of Tarracon and Lusitania, all Gaul and Germany, Cœlesyria, Phœnice, Cilicia, the island of Cyprus, and the kingdom of Egypt.

farthest.

farthest. Thus ended the greatest commonwealth, and at the same time began the greatest monarchy, that had ever been known (S).

The end of the commonwealth.



C H A P. LII.

The History of Rome, from the Settlement of the Roman Empire to the Death of Nero, the last of the Family of the Cæsars.

THE first and chief care of Augustus, now absolute master of the Roman empire, was to satisfy his soldiers, and attach them more firmly to his interest. With this view he dispersed them all over Italy in thirty-two colonies, that he might the more easily reassemble them in case of any sudden commotion. He kept twenty-five legions on foot, eight of which were on the Rhine, four on the Danube, three in Spain, and two in Dalmatia. The other eight were sent into Asia and Africa, four of them being quartered in the neighbourhood of the Euphrates, and in Syria, two in Egypt, and two in the province of Africa, consisting of the ancient dominions of Carthage. These were constantly maintained, even in the most peaceable times, by Augustus, and for some ages by his successors, their whole number amounting to 170,650 men. In the neighbourhood of Rome were always quartered twelve cohorts, about ten thousand men, nine of which were called cohortes prætorizæ, or prætorian cohorts; and the other three cohortes urbanæ, or city cohorts. They were established to guard the emperor's person, and maintain peace and tranquility in the city. The prætorian guards had, as we shall see in the sequel of this history, a great share in all the changes and revolutions of the empire, till the reign of Constantine the Great, who disbanded them all in the year 312 of the Christian æra.

Yr. of Fl.

2321.

Ante Chr.

27.

U. C. 721.

The land-forces of the empire.

* Tacit. Annal. lib. i. p. 35.

(S) It comprehended the greatest, and by far the best part of Europe, Asia, and Africa, being near four thousand miles in length, and about half as much in breadth. As to the yearly revenues of the empire, they have, by a modest computation, been reckoned to amount to forty millions of our money.

The fleets.

Besides these numerous and well-disciplined land-forces, Augustus kept constantly at sea two powerful fleets; one riding at anchor near Ravenna in the Upper or Adriatic sea, to command and defend Dalmatia, Greece, Cyprus, Asia, and the rest of the eastern provinces; the other at Misenum in the Lower or Mediterranean sea, to awe and protect Gaul, Spain, Africa, and the western provinces. Their business was to keep the seas clear of pirates, to convoy the vessels which brought to Rome the annual tributes from the provinces beyond sea, and to transport corn and other provisions necessary for the subsistence and relief of the city. As to the civil government, Augustus reformed many ancient laws, and made new regulations; but, in this respect, he affected to do nothing without the advice and approbation of the conscript fathers. The comitia were held, as formerly, in the field of Mars; but such only were chosen for the great offices as Augustus had before recommended to the centuries. The same officers of state, the same names, pomp, and ornaments, were continued with all the appearance of authority, but without the least power^u. However, the senate pretended to be so well pleased with his government, that they honoured him with the title of Pater Patriæ, or Father of his Country.

*The policy of Augustus.**He is styled Pater Patriæ.**Goes into Gaul.*

Towards the end of this year Augustus, having settled affairs in the capital, left Italy, and passed into Gaul, with a design to attempt the reduction of the British islands; but, being informed on his arrival at Narbonne, that the Salassi at the foot of the Alps, and the Cantabri and Astures in Spain, had shaken off the Roman yoke, he sent Terentius Varro against the former, and marched in person against the latter, after having entered his eighth consulship, in which he chose for his colleague Titus Statilius Taurus, one of his lieutenants. Before he left Gaul, he took a census of the inhabitants of the three provinces into which that country was then divided, and which is the first we read of made out of Italy^w.

*The first census out of Italy.**The Cantabrians and Asturians defeated.*

On his arrival in Spain, he defeated the Cantabri in a pitched battle near Vellica, at a small distance from the Iberus, and obliged them to retire, with their wives and children, to one of the highest mountains, called by the ancients Vindius, and by the moderns the mountain of Asturias; but in the mean time falling sick, the whole management of the war was committed to C. Antistius; who, having defeated the united forces of the Cantabrians

^u Dio. lib. liii. p. 511. Suet. in Octav. ^w Dio, lib. liv. p. 535. Tacit. Annal. lib. 1. cap. 39. Suet. lib. ii. cap. 26.

and Asturians in a great battle, forced them to take refuge on another inaccessible mountain, which he surrounded with a wide and deep ditch fifteen miles in compass, fortified at proper distances with castles and turrets. By this work, all the avenues and passages being shut up, those unhappy people were reduced to the utmost extremity for want of provisions; yet so great was their love of liberty, that, instead of yielding, they endured for a long time miseries hardly to be expressed, the women devouring their own children, and the young men eating the old, to support the necessities of nature. After many unsuccessful attempts to force the Roman intrenchments, the Asturians were at length inclined to throw themselves upon the clemency of the conqueror; but were opposed by the Cantabrians, who maintained, that they ought all, like brave men, to die sword in hand. This dangerous contention was carried so far, that, after a conflict, in which many fell on both sides, the Asturians, to the number of ten thousand, were driven to the intrenchments of the Romans, of whom they begged mercy and protection. Tiberius, the emperor's son-in-law, refusing to admit them into the camp, many of those unhappy wretches fell upon their own swords; others, lighting great fires, threw themselves into them, and perished in the flames; and some ended their lives by drinking the juice of a venomous herb, which grew in the forest they possessed ².

They fall out among themselves

Numbers of the Asturians perish with famine.

The consular year being expired, Augustus, who still resided at Tarracon, whither he had retired in the beginning of the campaign, entered on his ninth consulship, and chose for his colleague M. Junius Silanus ⁷. This year was remarkable for the total reduction of Spain, after it had, for more than two hundred years, given the Romans constant employment, and put them to the expence of maintaining numerous armies in that country. The Cantabrians, whom Antistius kept closely invested, were forced to surrender at discretion, to the number of twenty-three thousand. Ten thousand of these were incorporated among the Roman auxiliaries, to be employed against the Asturians; the rest were disarmed, and sold to the best bidder; but most of them laid violent hands on themselves, despising their lives after the loss of their liberty and arms ². Cantabria, now Biscay, being thus reduced, Augustus divided his army into two bodies; one he detached, under the command of Titus Carisius, into Lusitania, whither some of

*Yr. of Fl. 2323.
Ante Chr. 25.
U. C. 723.*

The Cantabrians subdued;

^{*} Oros. lib. vi. cap. 22. ⁷ Suet. in Octav. cap. 26. ² Oros. ibid. Dio, lib. liii. Vell. Pat. lib. ii.

*and also
the Astu-
rians.*

the Asturians had retired, and the other he himself conducted into their country. The Asturians in Lusitania were, in a battle, which lasted two days, entirely defeated by Carisius, who could not help acknowledging, that the Asturians equaled in valour the Romans. On the other hand, Augustus and Antistius, entering the country of those brave, but unfortunate people, cut most of them in pieces, and made themselves masters of all their cities and fortresses. Thus were the two most warlike nations of Spain forced to receive the yoke, without being ever after able to recover their ancient liberty. Augustus built several cities to keep the rebellious Spaniards in awe; among the rest Cæsar Augusta, now Saragosa, and Augusta Emerita, now Merida, so called, because it was founded by Augustus, and peopled by his veterans, called in Latin Emeriti^a. He likewise built a stone bridge over the Iberus, to facilitate the march of the Roman troops from one province to another.

*The Salassi
subdued.*

In the course of this year several wars were carried on with equal success in other parts. Marcus Crassus, one of Augustus's lieutenants, overcame the Mœsians, a fierce and savage people beyond the Danube. M. Vincius gained considerable advantages over some nations of Germany, for which the title of Imperator was conferred upon Augustus, under whose auspices Vincius had fought. Terentius Varro, surnamed Murena, reduced the Salassi, and obliged them to submit to such terms as he thought proper to impose. After they had delivered up their arms, Varro sent forty thousand of their youth to Eporadia, now Ivrea, where they were condemned to slavery for the term of twenty years. Augustus divided their lands among the soldiers of his guard, and founded in the new colony a city, which he called Augusta Prætoria, now known by the name of Aosta. The whole glory of this expedition was ascribed to Augustus, though he was then in Spain, and a magnificent monument erected, by a decree of the senate, to his honour, in the midst of the Alps, on which were engraved the names of forty-three nations inhabiting those mountains, who were said to have been subdued by him, and brought under the Roman yoke^b (T).

While Augustus was waging war with the rebellious Spaniards, Cornelius Gallus, to whom Virgil inscribed his tenth and last eclogue, was condemned to perpetual banish-

^a Suet. in Octav. Dio, lib. liii. p. 514. Oros. ibid. lib. iii. cap. 20.

^b Plin.

(T) The remains of this seen in the neighbourhood of lately monument are still to be Monaco.

ment by the senate, for having spoken with too much liberty of Augustus. He had been appointed by the emperor, who loved and esteemed him on account of his fine genius, the first governor of Egypt, which he oppressed in a very tyrannical manner, stripping the most wealthy cities of the country, particularly the famous Thebes, of all their ornaments, and laying heavy taxes on the inhabitants. Elated with pride, he ruled more like an absolute monarch than a subordinate magistrate, erecting statues to himself in the chief cities of that kingdom, and inscribing his own name and actions on the pyramids. Such extraordinary proceedings obliged Augustus to recall him, to brand him with infamy, and forbid him his house, and the provinces under his command. Gallus, thus stigmatized, uttered many disrespectful speeches against the emperor; for which, as well as for his rapines, extortions, and other misdemeanors, he was, by the unanimous suffrages of the senate, condemned to banishment; but he prevented the execution of the sentence, by falling on his own sword^c. Augustus, whose favour he had gained by his military exploits, and the elegance of his poetical compositions, is said to have wept, when he received in Spain the news of his death, complaining, that he alone was not allowed to set what bounds he pleased to his resentment: however, he returned thanks to the senate for the zeal they had shewn on this occasion for the safety of his person, and the glory of his name^d. This year died Amyntas, king of Pisidia. He had been secretary to old king Deiotarus, and raised by Marc Antony, whom he served with great fidelity, to the throne, which Augustus suffered him to enjoy, but would not allow him to transmit it to his posterity; so that Pisidia, with Galatia and Lycaonia, upon his death, were reduced to a Roman province, and first governed by M. Lollius, in quality of propretor^e.

*Pisidia,
Galatia,
&c. become
a Roman
province.*

During Augustus's residence in Spain, Agrippa, who had remained in Rome, was no less employed in adorning with magnificent structures that stately metropolis, than others were in extending its dominions. Among the many public edifices he built at his own charge, the most remarkable were the porch and temple of Neptune, the hot baths, called Thermæ Agrippæ, and the Pantheon, a celebrated temple, so named, according to Dio, from the many images of the gods with which it was embellished, or rather from its

*The Pan-
theon.*

^c Strabo, lib. xvii. p. 819. Ammian. Marcel. lib. xvii. Dio, lib. liii. p. 512. Euseb. in Chron. ^d Suet. in Octav. cap. 66.
^e Eutrop. lib. vii. Sext. Ruf. in Breviar.

arched roof, which resembled the heavens. This wonderful structure was finished this year, in the ninth consulship of Augustus, and is preserved entire to this day (U).

The Sarmatians, Scythians, &c. send ambassadors to Augustus.

While Augustus continued at Tarracon, his health not allowing him yet to set out on his return to Rome, he had the satisfaction to see the most remote nations of the North and the East, that is, the Scythians, the Sarmatians, the Indians, and the Seres (W), courting his friendship with embassies, and rich presents ^f. Florus tells us, that the Seres were four years on their journey, and that they presented Augustus with pearls, precious stones, and elephants. The following year Julia, Augustus's daughter, by Scribonia, was married to Marcellus, the nephew of Augustus, by his sister Octavia, a youth of extraordinary accomplishments, and already adopted by Augustus, who had no hopes of issue by his wife Livia, whom he passionately loved ^g.

Yr. of Fl.
2325.
Ante Chr.
23.
U. C. 725.

New honours conferred on Augustus.

In the ensuing year Augustus entered upon his tenth consulship, having C. Norbanus Flaccus for his colleague. When he returned to Rome, the servile senate passed a decree, by which he was freed from the obligation of all laws, and impowered to govern the republic according to his arbitrary will and pleasure. At the same time, by a solemn oath, they approved of all his acts, and decreed, that Marcellus, though not above sixteen years of age, should, on account of his extraordinary merit, have a place in the senate among those of the prætorian rank, and that he might stand for the consulate ten years sooner than he was allowed by the laws. It was likewise ordained in favour of Tiberius, son-in-law to Augustus, that he might stand for the curule offices five years sooner than the usual time. These decrees were no sooner passed, than Marcellus was made ædile, and Tiberius appointed quæstor ^h.

Unsuccessful expedition of Ælius Gallus into Arabia Felix.

This, or, as some assert, the preceding year, was remarkable for an expedition against the southern Arabs, undertaken by Ælius Gallus, a Roman knight, the third governor of Egypt under Augustus. The emperor, being in-

^f Flor. lib. iv. cap. 12. Sueton. in Octav. cap. 21. Oros. lib. vi. cap. 21. Eutr. lib. vii. ^g Dio, lib. liii. p. 515. ^h Dio, ibid.

(U) It is a doubt among antiquaries, whether Agrippa did any thing more than add the portico to this famous temple.

(W) The Seres, the same people whom we now call the Chinese, are thought to have been the first who made silk;

whence silk was called *serica*, and a silken garment *sericum*, by the Greeks as well as the Latins. From the country of the Seres, that is, from China, silk was brought into Persia, and from Persia into Greece and Italy.

formed

formed that South Arabia abounded in gold, silver, and other riches, resolved, either by fair means or force, to open a commerce between them and his subjects: but his views extended even to the reduction of the Troglodytes, their country being separated from South Arabia only by the narrow streights now called the Streights of Babelmandel, through which the Arabian gulf discharges itself into the southern ocean. For this expedition Augustus furnished Gallus with ten thousand men; Herod, king of Judæa, sent him five hundred, drawn out of his own guards; and Obodas, king of the Nabathæan Arabs, supplied him with a thousand more, under the command of Syllæus, his chief minister.

Syllæus undertook to be Gallus's guide in this expedition; but with no other view than to betray him, and render the enterprize abortive. Gallus had proposed to march through the country of the Nabathæans, and from thence into South Arabia, or Arabia Felix; but Syllæus falsely informing him, that there was no safe passage thither by land, he built an hundred and thirty transports at Cleopatris, a port at the bottom of the Arabian gulf, or Red Sea; and, putting his army on board of them, sailed for Leucocome, a maritime city of the Nabathæans on the other side of that sea. As this was a very dangerous navigation, on account of the many rocks and shelves in that part of the Arabian gulf, and Syllæus conducted them the worst way through it, he was fifteen days in his passage, and lost a great many ships. On his landing, his army was seized with a distemper common in that country, which obliged him to continue inactive at Leucocome, and in that neighbourhood, for the remaining part of the summer, and the following winter. Early next spring he left Leucocome; and, after a painful march of six months southward, being led by the treacherous Syllæus through ways almost impassable, he arrived on the borders of Arabia Felix.

He is betrayed by Syllæus.

Upon his approach, Sabus king of that country fled, abandoning his metropolis, called by Strabo the city of the Agrans, which Gallus took by assault. From thence he continued his march southward, and arrived on the sixth day at a river, where a numerous body of Arabs assembled to dispute his passage; but Gallus attacking them, cut ten thousand in pieces, with the loss of two men only. Without farther opposition, he made himself master of Anestus, Afca, Magufum, Tommacum, Labeccia, Mariaba, a city six miles in compass, Athrula, where he left a garrison, and Caripeta. From Caripeta he penetrated farther into the country, and, after some days march, reached Marfyabæ,

He defeats the Arabs, and takes several cities.

*He drops
the enter-
prize, and
returns to
Egypt.*

*Candace
invades
Egypt.*

a city of the Rhamanites, who were governed by a petty prince named Ilafarus: he besieged the place; but was obliged, after several unsuccessful attempts, to drop that enterprize, for want of water. His men being seized with various distempers, occasioned by the heat of the climate, and the unwholsomeness of the air, water, and herbs of the country, and great numbers of them dropping off daily, he thought it adviseable to retreat into the country of the Nabathæans, and from thence pursue his route into Egypt. Accordingly, having discovered the treachery of Syllæus, he marched homeward, under the conduct of more faithful guides; and came in six days to Anograna; whence, after having put to flight king Sabus, who attempted to harass him on his march, he pursued his journey to Negra, called also Hygra, which he reached in sixty days; whereas he had spent six months in marching from thence to the confines of Arabia. At Negra he embarked his troops, and having crossed the Arabian Gulf in eleven days, he landed at Myos Hormus, on the Egyptian side; and from thence, by the way of Coptus, led back the miserable remains of his army to Alexandria, after having spent two years in this unhappy expedition. In the several skirmishes he had with the enemy, he lost only seven men; but the far greater part of his forces perished either by famine or diseases¹ (W).

While Ælius Gallus was employed with part of the Egyptian army in this expedition, Candace, queen of Æthiopia, invading the province of Thebais in Upper Egypt with a great army, surpris'd the cities of Syene, Elephantina, and Phyllis, carried the Romans, who garrisoned them, into captivity, overthrew Augustus's statues, and laid waste the whole country. Alarmed at this invasion, C. Petronius, at that time governor of Egypt, having, with amazing expedition, got together a body of ten thousand foot, and eight hundred horse, marched against the warlike queen, and, coming up with her in the neighbourhood of Pselcha, a city of Ethiopia, on the banks of the Nile, defeated her ar-

¹ Dio, lib. liii. p. 516—524. Strabo, lib. xvi. p. 780. & lib. ii. p. 218. & lib. xvii. p. 820. Joseph. Antiq. lib. xv. cap. 12. & de Bell. Judaic. lib. i. cap. 16. Plin. lib. vi. cap. 28.

(W) Some of the medicinal the rest, treacle, which, on his compositions, which he invent- return, he presented to Au- ed against the distempers that gustus, telling him, that it had reigned in his army, are men- saved the lives of many of his tioned by Galen, and, among soldiers (1).

(1) Galen. de Antidot. lib. ii.

my, though thirty thousand strong, and made himself master of Pselcha, the key of Ethiopia on the side of Egypt. From Pselcha Petronius penetrated above eight hundred miles into the country; and, after having passed those deserts, where the whole army of Cambyfes is said to have been by a sudden storm buried in the sand, he took, without opposition, the cities of Premnis, Aboccis, Phturis, Cambyfes, Atteva, and Stadifis; which last place stood near the cataracts of the Nile. Encouraged by this success, the Roman general advanced to Napata, which Dio calls Tenape, the metropolis of the kingdom, which he took, and destroyed; and from thence pushed forwards, till at length, being unable to proceed farther, on account of the great deserts, nor remain there any longer, on account of the excessive heat of the climate, he was obliged to return. Having, therefore, put a garrison of four hundred men into Premnis, one of the strongest fortresses of Ethiopia, and supplied it with provisions for two years, he returned to Alexandria, carrying with him many thousand captives, whom he sold for slaves, except one thousand, in which number were the chief commanders of Candace's army; and those he sent as a present to Augustus. The queen of Ethiopia, upon the first notice of the departure of the Romans, having assembled new forces, attacked with great vigour the garrison they had left at Premnis; but Petronius returning with astonishing expedition, she was obliged not only to raise the siege, but to conclude a peace upon terms very advantageous to the Romans. However, Augustus afterwards remitted the tribute, and restored to her all the cities which Petronius had seized *.

Is defeated by Petronius.

The queen concludes a peace with the Romans.

During these transactions in the East, the Asturians and Cantabrians attempted to recover their liberty; and having, by a stratagem, surpris'd a considerable body of the Romans, put them all to the sword. Ælius Lamia, whom Augustus had left governor of that part of Spain, soon revenged their death, laying waste the whole country with fire and sword, and cruelly massacring most of the young men who were able to bear arms; by which means he reduced them in less than a month to entire subjection †.

The Cantabrians and Asturians rebel, but are soon reduced.

In the course of the following year, Augustus, being in his eleventh consulship, with Cn. Calpurnius Piso, fell into a dangerous distemper, which brought him to the point of death. When he thought himself past recovery, he sent for the curule magistrates, and the chief men of the senato-

Augustus at the point of death.

* Strabo, lib. xvii. p. 820. Dio, lib. liv. p. 524, 525. Plin. lib. vi. cap. 29.

† Dio, p. 523, 524.

His behaviour on that occasion.

rial and equestrian order, who had no doubt that he designed to name in their presence his successor, and entail the empire on his family. They were, therefore, greatly surprised to see the dying emperor, without uttering a single word, put into the hands of his colleague Calpurnius Piso his last will, and with it a book of his own writing, which contained a distinct and minute account of all the towns, provinces, allies, forces, riches, and taxes, of the whole Roman empire. The contents of his will, which was to be opened only after his death, were never known; but from his not naming a successor, and his delivering to the chief magistrates, in so critical a juncture, an account of the revenues and forces of the empire, they concluded, that his design was to put the commonwealth into the hands of the senate and people. His ring he delivered to Agrippa, signifying thereby, as was then interpreted, that, if they desired to be governed by one man, they could not choose a person better qualified for so great a trust than this illustrious Roman. As for Marcellus, his son-in-law, his nephew, and his son by adoption, whom every one believed he would name for his successor, he seemed to have entirely forgot him. This unexpected behaviour of Augustus at the point of death, when his sincerity could not be reasonably questioned, gained him the affections of the people above any thing he had hitherto performed: they thought him more worthy of being solemnly deified, and ranked among the gods, for the disinterested love he shewed for his country, than his father Julius on account of his warlike exploits.

Antonius Musa restores him to health.

Rejoicings at Rome for his recovery.

But the apotheosis of Augustus was deferred for many years; for Antonius Musa, a famous Greek physician, brother to Euphorbus, physician to Juba, king of Mauritania, by cooling potions, and the use of the cold bath, restored him to his health, to the unspeakable joy of the senate and people, who immediately ordered a statue of brass to be erected to Musa, opposite that of Æsculapius, a distinction never before granted to any freedman: he was also allowed to wear a gold ring; and all persons of his profession were for ever, in gratitude to him, exempted from all manner of taxes and tributes^m. The recovery of Augustus occasioned great rejoicings in the city; medals were struck, many of which have reached our times, and the most magnificent sports exhibited that had ever been seen at Rome. We are told, that some fathers, then on their death-beds, commanded their children to sacrifice victims in their name, as a thanksgiving to Jupiter Capitolinus, with this inscrip-

^m Dio, lib. liii. p. 517, & seq.

tion, "The day of our death was the day of Augustus's recovery". The emperor, as soon as he was in a condition to appear abroad, went to the senate-house, where, after having thanked the fathers in the most flattering terms for the concern they had shewn during his illness, and the joy they had expressed on his recovery, he opened his will, and offered to read it to the assembly, in order to convince them that he had appointed himself no successor; but left them at full liberty either to re-establish the ancient form of government, or choose for themselves a sovereign; but they all exclaimed, that they would not by any means suffer him to take that trouble, since they were, without any farther proof, convinced of the sincerity of his intentions, and his disinterested zeal for the public welfare.

The behaviour of Augustus during his illness occasioned a misunderstanding between Marcellus and Agrippa. The former, thinking himself injured by his uncle, who had preferred to one of his own family a man of mean descent, a mere soldier of fortune, expressed his resentment, not against the emperor, but against his favourite, treating him on many occasions with great contempt. Agrippa was not a man to bear with such usage. The emperor, therefore, to prevent the ill consequences of their mutual jealousies, thought it adviseable to separate them; and accordingly appointed Agrippa governor of Syria, who immediately left Rome, but went no farther than Mitylene, in the island of Lesbos, whence he sent his lieutenants to govern the provinces committed to his care.

Misunderstanding between Marcellus and Agrippa.

Augustus, now thinking his authority sufficiently established, resigned the fasces to P. Sestius, a man of an unblemished character, though a constant and faithful friend to Brutus, under whom he had served in the battle of Philippi, in quality of proquaestor, and whose memory he highly revered. The senate was so affected with this impartial conduct of Augustus, in preferring a man of Sestius's character to many of his own friends who aspired to the same dignity, that they heaped new honours upon him, declared him perpetual proconsul of the Roman empire, empowered him to assemble the senate when he pleased; and, what he valued above all other prerogatives, allowed him to exercise the authority of the tribuneship, and enjoy all the privileges annexed to that dignity, not only within the walls of Rome, but in the most distant provinces. Such an ample and unlimited power was without precedent; but the emperor rea-

New honours heaped on Augustus.

^a Suet. in Octavio.

dily accepted it, as it rendered his person sacred, and secured him against all outrages and insults*.

*Tiridates
at Rome.*

In the consulate of Cn. Calpurnius Piso and L. Sestius, Phraates, king of Parthia, being restored to the throne by the Scythians, Tiridates, whom the Parthians had chosen in his room, being obliged to save himself by flight, came to Rome, with the chief men of his party, to solicit the assistance of Augustus, promising to hold the kingdom of him, in case he should be restored by his means to the throne. On the other hand, Phraates sent ambassadors after him to defeat his designs, and to demand of Augustus the delivery of his rebellious slaves, as he styled them, and the release of his son, whom Tiridates had put into the emperor's hands at Antioch. Augustus introduced the ambassadors to the senate; but after they had pleaded the cause of their respective princes before the fathers, without consulting them, he declared, that he would not deliver Tiridates into the hands of Phraates, nor assist either of them against the other: however, he gave Tiridates leave to live at Rome, ordering him, out of the public treasury, an allowance suitable to his rank; and sent back to Phraates his son, on condition that he should restore all the captives and ensigns taken from Crassus and Antony. This restitution Phraates promised; but did not immediately perform[†].

*Augustus's
answer to
his ambaf-
sadors, and
to those of
Phraates.*

*Marcellus
dies.*

This year Marcellus was seized with a hectic fever, which Antonius Musa undertook to cure; but the remedies he prescribed, the same which had saved the life of Augustus, were commonly believed to have occasioned his death, in the nineteenth year of his age, to the inexpressible grief of Augustus, his mother Octavia, and the Roman people, whose hearts he had won by his extraordinary accomplishments, obliging behaviour, and uncommon modesty. His funeral obsequies were performed with the utmost magnificence in the Campus Martius, Augustus, who was his nearest relation, pronouncing, according to custom, his funeral oration[‡].

Next year, M. Claudius Marcellus Æterninus and L. Aruntius being consuls, a dreadful plague raged in Rome, and all the other cities of Italy; which, as the lands were left uncultivated, was attended with a general famine. The Tiber overflowed, and laid great part of the city under water. Lightning fell on the Pantheon, and destroyed several statues in that temple. The populace, imagining that the

* Dio, lib. liii. p. 518. Vell. Patercul. lib. ii. cap. 91. Joseph. Antiq. lib. xi. cap. 13. Suet. ibid. cap. 66. † Dio, lib. liii. p. 518, 519. Justin. lib. xlii. cap. 5. ‡ Dio, lib. liii. p. 517, 519. Vell. Patercul. lib. ii. cap. 93. Tacit. Annal. ii. Virg. Æneid lib. vi.

gods had visited them with these, and threatened them with greater calamities, because they had suffered Augustus to lay down the consulate, surrounded the senate-house, and threatened to set fire to it, unless the fathers immediately created him dictator. The conscript fathers readily complied with their request; then the people repaired in crowds to the house of Augustus, with twenty-four axes and fasces, intreating him to accept of the dictatorship; but he wisely declined the offer, having already all the power and authority, without the envy and danger, annexed to that title. However, that he might not seem to despise the favours of the people, he accepted the office of general purveyor, which had been formerly conferred on Pompey the Great, and took care to supply the city with plenty of provisions, appointing annually two persons for that purpose, who had discharged the prætorship two years before. He could by no means be prevailed upon to assume the office of perpetual censor; but named to that important employment Paulus Æmilius Lepidus, brother to the triumvir, by whom he had been proscribed, and L. Munatius Plancus, formerly one of Antony's most zealous partizans; but Lepidus dying soon after, and Plancus being a man of a most infamous character, Augustus took upon himself to perform the functions, though he declined the title, of that magistracy, and enacted several excellent laws relating to the reformation of manners (X): but all these measures taken for the advantage of the public,

Augustus wisely declines the dictatorship, and the office of perpetual censor.

Enacts several excellent laws.

(X) From the ædiles he transferred the care of the public shows and sports to the prætors, whom he reduced to ten, and would not allow them to exhibit the usual sports at their own charges; but obliged the people to contribute a small sum for their own diversions, and paid the rest out of the public treasury. He ordered, by a particular edict, that none should exhibit the show of gladiators without leave from the senate, and then only twice a year, and with no more than one hundred and twenty combatants. As many persons of rank, women as well as men, had of late debased themselves to act and dance upon the stage, Augustus

restrained such scandalous practices, by forbidding, under the severest penalties, any of the senatorial or equestrian order to appear on the stage. Augustus, in this zenith of his power, was so condescending as to appear in courts of judicature like a private person, and even to plead for his friends, or attend them when cited before the prætors, or other judges. This complaisance often drew insults upon him from the adverse parties, as it happened in the case of one M. Primus, who was accused of having made an irruption into the country of the Odrysians, while he was governor of Macedon. Primus maintained, that he had been ordered

*Conspiracy
against Au-
gustus.*

*Discover-
ed, and the
conspira-
tors punish-
ed.*

*Laws en-
acted rela-
tive to cri-
minals and
their
judges.*

public, were not sufficient to exempt him from the machinations of those who wished to see the ancient form of government restored. Murena, and Fannius Cæpio, the former a man of an unblemished character, and the latter the greatest debauchee in Rome, formed a conspiracy against him; for the execution of which a day and place were already appointed: but in the mean time Murena disclosed the whole to his sister Terentilla, and she to her husband Mæcenas, who imparted it to the emperor, after having advised his brother-in-law, and the other conspirators, to abscond, till he should be able to obtain their pardon: but Augustus would not listen to the entreaties either of Mæcenas or Proculeius, who was brother to Murena, and in such favour with the emperor, that he had been long in suspense whether he should bestow his daughter Julia on him or Marcellus. As Augustus proved inflexible, the conspirators were summoned to take their trials, and, not appearing, interdicted fire and water throughout the whole extent of the Roman empire. Cæpio was conveyed in the night-time, by a faithful slave, to the Tiber in a basket, and put on board a small vessel, which landed him at Ostia. From Ostia the slave conducted him safe to Laurentum, and from thence to Cumæ, where he was betrayed by another slave to a centurion, who cut off his head, and carried it to Rome. Murena was discovered in Rome, and put to death by the emissaries of Augustus.

As the conspirators had been absolved by the votes of some of the judges, the emperor, fearing such criminals might, for the future, escape unpunished, enacted two laws, importing, that all guilty persons, who refused to appear, should be condemned to the same punishments, which would have been inflicted upon them, if they had been regularly tried and convicted; and that, for the future, the judges, in criminal cases, should deliver their opinions, not in writing, but openly, and by word of mouth. Lest the severity he shewed on this occasion might inflame the minds of the

ordered by Augustus to make war upon the Odyssians; whereupon Augustus, appearing soon after in court, was asked by the prætor, whether Primus's plea was true or not. The emperor answered, that Primus was certainly mistaken, since he was very sure he had given no such orders. This open and positive declaration left no room for any

reply; which so provoked L. Murena, who pleaded for Primus, that he could not help asking the emperor with great boldness and anger, "What business he had there; and what had brought him to a place where he was neither expected nor wanted?" "The public good," replied Augustus, with great calmness and moderation. people,

people, he took no notice of the behaviour of old Cæpio, who not only set at liberty the slave who had conveyed his son out of Rome, but sentenced the other to be crucified, after having caused him to be led through the streets of the city, with a writing, which expressed the cause of his punishment. At this time Augustus, to gain the senate, delivered up to the fathers the provinces of Cyprus and Narbonne Gaul, which, from this time, began to be ranked among the proconsular provinces, and to be governed by magistrates sent thither by the senate. This year the Cantabrians and Asturians revolted again; but were soon subjected by C. Furnius.

*Cyprus and
Gaul de-
livered to
the senate.*

Italy, and all the provinces in the West, enjoying profound tranquility, Augustus resolved to make a progress into the East; and, with this view, set out for Sicily towards the end of the year, leaving the people at full liberty in the choice of their consuls. At the time appointed, therefore, for the great elections, the centuries met, and unanimously raised to the consulate Augustus, and gave him M. Lollius for his colleague; but he refusing to accept of that dignity, and even to name another in his room, the centuries met a second time; when such disorders were raised in the comitia by the ambition of the two competitors, L. Silanus and Q. Æmilius Lepidus, that the wiser citizens thought proper to solicit Augustus to return to Rome, and put a stop to the contests and divisions which the opposite factions had raised in the city. Augustus received the account of these disturbances with secret satisfaction, hoping they would convince the most zealous and obstinate republicans, that they were no longer capable of governing themselves as formerly: however, lest the quarrels of two such men, who had a great number of clients, and were allied to most of the chief families in Rome, should produce a civil war, he reprimanded the candidates severely, and commanded them to keep at a distance from Rome till the election should be over. This precaution did not restore tranquility to the city; the friends of the two competitors supported their respective interests with the same warmth as if he had been present; but at length Lepidus's party prevailed, and he was chosen consul. However, Augustus, to prevent such disturbances for the future, judged it necessary to create a new magistrate, whose province should be to maintain peace and tranquility in the metropolis. Agrippa seemed to him the most proper person for such an important office: he therefore dispatched a messenger to him, ordering him to quit

*Disturb-
ances in
Rome.*

*Agrippa
made go-
vernor of
Rome.*

* Dio, lib. liv. p. 533. lib. liii. p. 504.

*He marries
Julia.*

Yr. of Fl.
2327.
Ante Chr.
21.
U.C. 727.

*Augustus
passes into
Greece;*

the island of Lesbos, and repair to him in Sicily. On his arrival, he commanded him to divorce Marcella, though daughter to Octavia, and Augustus's niece, and to marry his daughter Julia, the widow of Marcellus (Y).

Augustus, having settled the affairs of Sicily, passed into Greece, where he shewed particular marks of favour to the Lacedæmonians, on whom he bestowed the island of Cythera, and five other cities, as a reward for the kindness they had formerly shewn to Livia, when she fled with her husband and son out of Italy. He punished the Athenians for having erected statues to Brutus and Cassius, and afterwards assisted Antony. He deprived them of the island of Ægina, and the city of Eretria, forbidding them for the future to sell the rights of their city, which brought them vast sums, the Romans themselves glorying in being free of Athens¹. From Greece Augustus sailed to Samos, and there wintered.

Yr. of Fl.
2328.
Ante Chr.
20.
U. C. 728.

*and from
thence into
the East.*

*Phraates
returns the
Roman
eagles and
captives.*

Early in the spring, M. Apuleius and P. Silius Nerva being consuls, Augustus left Samos, and crossed over into Asia, settling the affairs of the provinces, through which he passed. He deprived the Cyzicans of their liberty, for having scourged, and put to death, some Roman citizens. The same punishment he inflicted on the inhabitants of Tyre and Sidon, judging this the most effectual method of suppressing the factions which reigned in these cities, and were attended with frequent murders. As he drew near the borders of Parthia, Phraates king of that country, dreading a foreign war, not only sent back to him all the ensigns and captives taken by the Parthians in their wars with Crassus and Antony, but subscribed to all the conditions which Augustus imposed, giving four of his sons, with their wives and children, as hostages for the performance of articles². Augustus having thus recovered the Roman eagles and captives, commanded the senate to shut up the temple of Janus, which he had opened on his setting out for the East, and to offer sacrifices to the gods, for the success which had attended him in this expedition.

At the same time Augustus settled the affairs of Armenia. Artabazes, king of that country, having been taken prisoner by Antony, and carried to Alexandria, Artaxias, his

¹ Dio, p. 525.

² Dio, *ibid.*

(Y) We are told, that Mæcenas promoted this match, by suggesting to Augustus, when he consulted him about it, that, since he had already made

Agrippa so great and powerful, he ought either to cut him off, or unalterably attach him to his interest, by marrying him to his daughter.

son, whom Dio calls Artabazes, succeeded him: but he making himself obnoxious to his subjects by a most tyrannical and oppressive reign, they complained of him to Augustus, desiring to have Tigranes, his younger brother, who was then at Rome, to reign over them. Augustus complied with their request, and sent Tiberius, the son of Livia, with an army into Armenia, to expel Artaxias, and place Tigranes on the throne. Artaxias being killed by his own subjects before the arrival of Tiberius, and Tigranes admitted, without opposition, to succeed him, the young Roman had no opportunity of signalizing himself by any military exploits: however, he crowned the new king with great pomp and magnificence, placing the diadem upon his tribunal, and obliging Tigranes to receive it of him, as if he had been indebted to him for his kingdom * (Y).

Augustus appoints Tigranes king of Armenia.

who receives the crown of Tiberius.

This year Julia, who had no children by her first husband Marcellus, brought Agrippa a son, who was named Caius, and on whose birth day a perpetual sacrifice, with other solemnities, was decreed *. Towards the end of the summer, Augustus left Syria; and being attended by Herod, king of Judæa, to the sea-side, embarked, and sailed for Samos, where he passed the ensuing winter. The consular year being expired, Augustus was named consul in the assembly of the people, and C. Sentius Saturninus given him for his colleague. Augustus declining that office, the factions revived, and the Campus Martius was turned into a field of battle, many persons being killed in the fray; so that Augustus, to appease the disorders that were raised on this occasion by the ambitious competitors, was obliged to name a colleague to Sentius of his own authority. The person he preferred was Q. Lueretius Vespillo, who had been formerly proscribed by the triumvirs, but at this time served under Augustus in quality of lieutenant. These two magistrates, together with Agrippa, maintained peace and tranquility in the city, by punishing, with the utmost severity, the ringleaders of the late tumult †.

Caius Caesar born.

* Dio, p. 526.

† Dio, *ibid.*

‡ Dio, *ibid.*

(Y) Velleius Paterculus tells the same of his name and exploits, that they sent back to Augustus the Roman ensigns and captives (1). But all other writers ascribe the recovery of the ensigns to Augustus, and agree, that Tiberius performed nothing worth mentioning.

(1) Vell. Patercul. lib. ii. cap. 94.

Yr. of Fl.
2329.
Ante Chr.
19.
U. C. 729.

*A second
embassy
from the
king of
India.*

*Augustus
returns to
Rome.*

While Augustus resided at Samos, he received a second embassy from the king of India. The ambassadors delivered to him a letter in the Greek tongue, wherein the king of India told him, that though he reigned over six hundred kings, yet he had so great a value for his friendship, that he sent this embassy on so long a journey on purpose to desire it; that he was ready to meet him in what place he should please to appoint; and that, upon the first notice, he would assist him to the utmost of his power, in whatever was right. This letter he subscribed by the name of Porus, king of India (Z). Augustus, early in the spring, left Samos, after having declared the inhabitants free, and returned to Rome, where he was received with loud acclamations, and all possible marks of honour; his bringing back the military ensigns and prisoners taken in the Parthian wars, being what the Romans valued beyond the greatest victories (A).

(Z) The six hundred kings, whom he boasted to reign over, were the rajas, or petty princes, who governed the kingdom under him, several of whose descendants remained long after; who, paying an annual tribute to the Great Mogul, governed their subjects with an absolute authority. Of the ambassadors who first set out from India, three only reached the presence of Augustus, the others dying by the way. Of the three surviving, one was Zarmar, a gymnosophist, who, following Augustus to Athens, there burnt himself in his presence, as Calanus, another of that sect, had formerly done in the presence of Alexander. Among the presents which they brought, were huge vipers, serpents ten

cubits long, a river tortoise three cubits long, a partridge bigger than a vultur, and several tigers, the first that had ever been seen, either by the Greeks or Romans (1).

(A) In the course of this year Virgil died, at Brundisium. As he had not yet put the last hand to his *Æneid*, he ordered, by his will, that performance to be burnt; but Augustus prevented this article of his will from being performed. Virgil's body was, according to his own appointment, conveyed to Naples, and deposited in a monument erected for that purpose on the road from Naples to Puteoli. On the monument was engraved the following distich, written by the poet himself (2):

Mantua me genuit; Calabri rapuere; tenet nunc
Parthenope: cecini pascua, rura, duces.

“ Now, turn'd to dust, to Naples I belong,
Once to Calabria; but from Mantua sprung:
Of shepherds, fields, and mighty chiefs I sung.” }

(1) Strabo, liv. xv. p. 719, 720.

(2) Vide Tib. Donat. in vita

Virgilii.

As a general depravity of manners reigned at this period in Rome, the senate prevailed upon Augustus to accept the office of censor for five years. At the same time they conferred on him the consular power for life; ordaining, that he should always have twelve axes and fasces carried before him, and should sit in a curule chair between the consuls. They likewise intreated him to make new laws, offering to bind themselves by oath to the observance of them: but the emperor refused an oath, which he judged useless, intimating, that if his laws were good, they would observe them without that tie; if not, their oath would be ineffectual. The presence of Agrippa being no longer necessary in Rome, Augustus dispatched him into Gaul, to stop the incursions of the Germans, who, having passed the Rhine, committed horrible ravages in the countries subject to Rome. But at the approach of this renowned commander, they repassed the river, and sheltered themselves in their woods.

*Augustus
censor.*

*Agrippa
sent against
the Ger-
mans.*

Agrippa having left a sufficient number of troops to guard the banks of the Rhine, which was the boundary between Gaul and Germany, passed from thence into Spain, where the Cantabrians, notwithstanding their former losses, had raised new disturbances. Most of their youth had a few years before been taken prisoners, and sold for slaves to the neighbouring nations: but, having found means to break their chains, they had assassinated their masters, and, returning into their own country, fortified themselves, and attacked, with incredible fury, the Roman garrisons. Agrippa marched against them with great expedition; but he met with so vigorous a resistance from that brave and gallant people, that his soldiers began to despair of ever being able to reduce them. As the Cantabrians had waged war with the Romans for above two hundred years, they were well acquainted with their manner of fighting, not inferior to them in courage, and now become desperate, knowing, that if they were conquered, after having so often attempted to recover their liberty, they must expect the most severe usage, and cruel slavery. Animated with this reflection, they fell upon the Romans with inexpressible fury, routed them in several rencounters, and defended themselves, when attacked by the enemy, with such intrepidity and resolution, that Agrippa afterwards owned, he had never, either by sea or land, been engaged in a more dangerous expedition. That brave commander was obliged to use entreaties, menaces, and to brand some of his legion-

*His expedi-
tion against
the Canta-
brians.*

*Their bra-
very.*

7 Dio, p. 527. Suet. in Octav.

aries with ignominy, before he could bring them to engage so resolute and formidable an enemy. But having at length prevailed upon them to try the chance of a battle in the open field, he so animated them by his own example, that, after a most obstinate dispute, he gained a complete victory; which indeed cost him dear, but ended that destructive war. All the Cantabrians fit to bear arms were destroyed, their castles and fastnesses taken and rased, and their women, children, and old men, none else being left alive, obliged to abandon the mountainous places, and settle in the plain. Thus Agrippa completed the reduction of a brave nation, which had kept the Roman arms employed ever since the time of Scipio Africanus ².

Rome embellished by Agrippa.

Yr. of Fl.
2329.
Ante Chr.
19
U. C. 729.

The Garamantes subdued.

Agrippa, on his return to Rome, exerted himself wonderfully in embellishing the city with new edifices, and supplying it with great plenty of water; which proved no less ornamental to that metropolis, than convenient and useful to the multitudes of people who flocked thither from all parts of the then known world (A). Towards the end of this year Augustus granted a triumph to Lucius Cornelius Balbus, for having subdued the Garamantes, a people of Africa, hitherto unknown to the Romans. Balbus made himself master of all that country, which lay between Africa properly so called, that is, the ancient dominions of Carthage, Lower Ethiopia, and Getulia, extending, by that accession, the limits of the Roman empire as far as the river Niger. Such an important conquest Augustus judged worthy of a triumph, which was accordingly granted to Balbus. Though he was not a native of Italy, but born at Gades in Spain, and lately admitted to the rights of a Roman citizen, he had the glory of being the first foreigner who was honoured with this mark of distinction; Augustus

² Dio, p. 528. Suet. in Octavio.

(A) The waters Virgo, Julia, and Tepula, were by him conveyed, at his own expence, into the city, by aqueducts of a most magnificent structure, and, for the most part, supported by large and beautiful columns of marble. The aqueducts of the waters Appia and Marcia were by him repaired at an immense charge, and it is certain, that to Agrippa chiefly was Rome

indebted for that great plenty of wholesome water, which it enjoyed, perhaps, above all the cities in the world, at that time. To this Augustus alluded, when he pleasantly answered the people, who complained to him of the scarcity and dearth of wine, that Agrippa had taken care they should not die of thirst (1).

(1) Cassiod. lib. vii. epist. 6. Front. in Aquæduct.

tus

tus wisely overlooking ancient customs, to honour and reward valour, without distinction, in men of all nations^a.

Next year P. Cornelius Lentulus and Cn. Cornelius Lentulus, either brothers or relations, being consuls, Augustus prolonged his authority for five years more, the first ten years of his sovereign power being near expired^b. His first measure, after the prolongation of his power, was to reform the senate. Many persons of mean birth, and infamous characters, having been admitted into that body, during the confusion of the civil wars, in order to purge the senate of so many unworthy members, he agreed with Agrippa, whom he took for his colleague in the censorship, to reduce the number of the fathers from a thousand to six hundred. To avoid the odium of choosing them all himself, he named only thirty, empowering each of them to elect five: of the five each of them named, one only was to be chosen, and he by lot; so that thirty only were elected at a time; but, as soon as that election was over, five others were named by each of the thirty electors, and one of the five chosen by lot, as before. Though each of the thirty electors had bound himself by a solemn oath not to elect any of his own relations, or persons unworthy of that rank, yet, in some of their tablets, were found the names of men of most infamous characters, while others of known probity were excluded. This unjust partiality induced Augustus and Agrippa to change the method of election; and, since they could not depend upon others, to name the rest themselves, to the number of six hundred; wherein, to do them justice, they proceeded with the utmost impartiality, choosing only men of merit, and by that choice restoring the senatorial order to its former splendor.

Augustus reforms the senate.

Augustus proceeded to reform several abuses in the city. He decreed, that all individuals convicted of having purchased the suffrages of the people with money, should be excluded from all public offices for the space of five years. That the people, who used to sell their votes, might not be sufferers by this law, he caused large sums to be distributed among them, on condition that they should not require any thing of the candidates. To check the debauchery of the Roman youth, which at this time was greater than ever had been known, he laid heavy taxes upon such as continued unmarried after a certain age, and encouraged with great rewards the procreation of lawful children. He allowed the patricians and plebeians to intermarry; declar-

Reforms several abuses.

^a Fasti Capit. Dio, ibid. Plin. lib. v. cap. 5. Solinus, cap. 38.
^b Dio, p. 529.

ing, that though a patrician should marry a liberta, or freedwoman, his children should rank among the patricians: he excepted the senators, whom he would not allow to marry under their rank; and as the Hortensian family had been by the civil wars reduced almost to beggary, he presented young Hortensius with a large sum, which put him in a condition of marrying a woman of distinction. The loose behaviour of the married women was what chiefly deterred the young Romans from marriage; but Augustus, who had himself debauched many, not sparing even the wife of his friend Mæcenæ, refused to remedy that disorder; saying, that he left the care of married women to their husbands. Having reformed many abuses in the state, he applied his thoughts to religion, calling in a great many prophetic books, which were then in vogue, and causing two thousand volumes to be burnt, as spurious; reserving only those which were commonly ascribed to some of the Sibyls. These also he subjected to a strict examination, and retained such only as were, on this trial, judged genuine; the rest he committed to the flames: but those that were pronounced authentic, he ordered to be copied by the pontifices, and lodged them in two golden cabinets, which he placed in the temple of Apollo, built by him in his palace. This year Julia brought Agrippa a second son, who was named Lucius; and Augustus adopted both him and his brother Caius, declaring them his successors, in order to put a stop to any attempts that might be made by the old republicans for the recovery of their liberty^d.

Subjects the Sibylline books to a strict examination.

Yr. of Fl.

331.

Ante Chr.

17.

U. C. 731.

Lucius Cæsar born.

Augustus rejects the title of Dominus or Lord.

In the following year, C. Furnius and G. Julius Silanus being consuls, the secular games, which had not been celebrated for a hundred years, were exhibited by Augustus and Agrippa with extraordinary pomp and magnificence. In these games, one of the players giving him the title of *dominus*, that is, *lord* or *sovereign*, he expressed great marks of dissatisfaction; and next morning published an edict, forbidding all persons, under severe penalties, to give him that title for the future (B).

In

^c Sueton. in Octav. Dio, p. 531—533.

^d Dio, *ibid*.

(B) It was on occasion of these games that Horace wrote the hymn, intituled, *Carmen Seculare*; which was sung at the sacrifice that was offered to Pluto and Proserpine, before the shews and spectacles of the circus, the theatre, and amphi-

theatre. Great part of this year was spent in public games and diversions, of which Augustus was a great admirer; especially of the tournament, or warlike exercise, called *Troy*, which he thought becoming the education of the young nobility.

He

In the ensuing year, Augustus having raised L. Domitius Ahenobarbus and P. Cornelius Scipio to the consulate, resolved to march with an army into Gaul, to quell some disturbances, occasioned by the avarice of Libinius Enceladus, who being appointed to gather the taxes in those parts, had obliged the people to pay them monthly, and, by a deceitful account, reckoned fourteen months in the year. Augustus no sooner passed the Alps, than the Gauls returned to their duty; but the Sicambri, Usipetes, and Tencteri, people of Germany, having passed the Rhine, defeated a considerable body of Roman horse, and afterwards M. Lollius, proconsul of Gaul, from whom they took a standard. Lollius, though no great commander, found soon after an opportunity of retrieving his honour, by surprising the Germans, and driving them, with great loss, beyond the Rhine. Though all was now quiet in Gaul, Augustus spent the remaining part of this, and all the following year, in that province. During his residence there, the inhabitants flocked to him from all parts of the country, with complaints against Enceladus. This man was by birth a Gaul, and formerly a slave of Julius Cæsar, by whom he had been taken in the Gaulish wars; but being afterwards manumitted by him, and having found means to insinuate himself into the favour of Augustus, he had been appointed by him receiver-

Augustus goes into Gaul.

Lollius defeated by the Germans.

He was likewise a great encourager of wrestling; but would not allow women to be present at those games. He enticed to Rome, with great rewards, the best players and actors from all parts of the world, took them under his protection, and would not allow the prætors and ædiles to cause them, according to ancient custom, to be publicly whipt, when they had not performed to the satisfaction of the audience. Notwithstanding the encouragement he gave them, he severely examined their morals; not allowing the least licentiousness in their lives, or indecency in their actions. Being informed that one Stephanio, a comedian, was attended by a woman in the disguise of a

boy, he ordered him to be whipt through the three theatres, and banished the city: he likewise drove out of Rome, Pylades, a famous actor, for having behaved disrespectfully towards a Roman citizen, and because he was continually quarrelling with Bathyllus, an actor no less famous than himself, and greatly favoured by Mæcenæas: but he soon recalled him to gratify the people; and the comedian, on his return, instead of thanking the emperor, told him, that it was his interest the people should be diverted by men of his profession, lest they should watch his actions too narrowly, or seriously reflect on their own condition (1).

(1) Dio, p. 531—533.

*Augustus
refuses to
redress the
grievances
of the
Gauls.*

general of the taxes paid annually by his countrymen. In this employment he oppressed the Gauls in a most cruel manner; inasmuch that Augustus, ashamed of having employed a man of so infamous a character, was determined to inflict upon him such punishment as should deter others from the like practices: but the crafty Gaul found means to appease the emperor, by delivering up the sums he had amassed by rapine and extortion, and assuring him, that in plundering the Gauls, he had nothing else in view but to enrich the public treasury, and render his countrymen for ever unable to shake off the Roman yoke. Augustus, pleased with this defence, and more with the large sums he received, not only absolved the iniquitous extortioner, but approved of his conduct, and, deaf to the complaints of the oppressed Gauls, continued him in his office*.

*The Rhæti
invade
Italy.*

*Drusus is
sent against
them and
defeats
them.*

In the mean time the Rhæti (C), having made an irruption into Italy, committed dreadful devastations, putting all the males they met with to the sword, without distinction of rank or age; and we are told, that when they happened to take women with child, they consulted their augurs, whether the child was a male or female; and if they pronounced it a male, the mother was immediately massacred. Against these fierce nations Augustus sent Drusus, the second son of Livia, a youth of extraordinary valour, and great accomplishments. The young Roman behaved, on this occasion, with prudence far superior to his years; for he drew the enemy to a battle, gained a complete victory, and killed great numbers of them, with the loss of a very small number of his own soldiers. Those who escaped the general slaughter, being joined by the Vindelici, took their route towards Gaul, in order to invade that province. But Augustus, upon the first notice of their march, detached Tiberius, at the head of several chosen legions, to complete the slaughter which his brother had begun: and indeed Tiberius was no less successful than Drusus; for having transported his troops over the lake Brigantium, now the lake of Constance, he fell unexpectedly upon the enemy, gave them a total overthrow, took, in that surprize and confusion, most of their strong places, and obliged the whole nation to submit to what terms he thought proper to

* Dio, p. 531—533. & Senec. Lud. p. 477.

(C) According to Strabo and Pliny, whose opinion is by all modern geographers preferred to that of Ptolemy, the Rhæti inhabited only the Alps, and the valleys formed by those mountains, their country reaching no farther than the lake of Constance.

impose. Thus were the Vindelici (D), the Rhæti, and the Norici, three of the most barbarous nations of Germany, by the valour of Drusus and Tiberius, brought under the Roman yoke^f. Tiberius, to keep in awe the country he had subdued, planted two colonies in Vindelicia, and opened a road from thence into Noricum and Rhætia. One of the cities; which he built for the defence of his colonies, he called, by the name of his father Drusus, Drusomagus; the other by the name of Augustus, Augustua Vindelicorum; which cities are now known by the name of Mimminghen and Augsburgh.

Yr. of Fl.
233.
Ante Chr.
14.
U. C. 734.

The Vindelici, Rhæti, and Norici subdued.

While Augustus and his two sons-in-law were thus employed in Gaul and Germany, Agrippa was settling, with equal success, the affairs of the eastern provinces. On his first arrival in the province of Asia, properly so called, Herod, king of Judea, hastened thither to wait upon him; and having persuaded him to make a tour into Judæa, he entertained him, and all his attendants, in a most sumptuous manner. Having staid some days in that country, he sailed back into Ionia before winter, highly pleased with the reception he had met with from the Jewish king^g. Early in the spring he was obliged to quit Ionia, and advance towards the Cimmerian Bosphorus, to quell some disturbances there. Augustus, who was still in Gaul, being informed of the success which had attended Agrippa in the Cimmerian Bosphorus, ordered supplications to be made in the Capitol, and passed a decree, empowering Agrippa to enter Rome in triumph^h. This year Lepidus, the triumvir, dying, Augustus took upon himself the office of pontifex maximus, or high-priest, vacant by his deathⁱ. At the same time died Vedius Pollio, infamous for the cruelty with which he treated his slaves, throwing them often, for the smallest faults, into his fish-ponds, to fatten his murenas (E.)

Agrippa's exploits in the East.

He marches against the Bosphorans.

Yr. of Fl.
233.
Ante Chr.
13.
U. C. 735.

Augustus pontifex maximus.

^f Dio, p. 536. Suet. in Octav. Vell. Patercul. lib. ii. cap. 39. Horat. lib. iv. ode 4. ^g Joseph. Antiq. lib. xvi. cap. 2. ^h Dio, ibid. cap. 5. ⁱ Suet. in Octav. cap. 37. Dio, p. 540.

(D) The Vindelici inhabited the country extending from the lake of Constance to the conflux of the Inn and the Danube. The ancient kingdom of Noricum comprehended great part of Austria, the archbishoprick of Salzburg, and all Stiria and Carinthia.

(E) As he had been raised by Augustus from the mean con-

dition of a libertinus, or son of a freedman, to the rank of a Roman knight, he appointed him his chief heir, bequeathing to him his fine country-seat, called Paulipyus, in the neighbourhood of Patzoli, and his house in town, which was one of the most magnificent buildings in Rome. Augustus, however, caused it to be pulled down,

The Ligures Comati reduced.

Augustus returns to Rome.

In the following year, Cn. Cornelius Lentulus and M. Licinius Crassus being consuls, the Ligures Comati, who inhabited the maritime Alps, were subdued, and their country was reduced to a Roman province. Augustus, having settled the affairs of Gaul, stopped the incursions of the Germans, and subjected most of the nations inhabiting the Alps, left Drusus with an army upon the Rhine, and returned to the capital, when Tiberius Claudius Nero, his son-in-law, and P. Quintilius Varus, were consuls. Having been near three years absent, he was received by the people with universal joy and satisfaction: but he could not be prevailed upon to accept any of the honours decreed him by the fathers. He would not even allow the people to meet him; but, according to his custom, entered the city by night. Next morning the whole city waited upon him at his palace; for his house was so called, because it was situated on the Palatium, or Palatine hill. Augustus received them with great politeness and condescension; and afterwards, attended by most of the senators and knights, with numberless crouds of people, repaired to the Capitol, where, prostrating himself before Jupiter Capitolinus, he took the laurel from about his fasces, and laid it at the feet of the statue.

He regulates the salary.

He then assembled the senate; but not being able to speak, on account of a violent cold caught in his journey, he gave the quaestor a paper to read, containing an account of his transactions since he left the capital. As he was not interrupted this year by any disturbances either at home or abroad, he enacted many excellent laws, which were long observed by his successors: among the rest, one importing, that, for the future, the services of the veterans should not be rewarded with lands, but money. The emperor's guards, known by the name of the prætorian cohorts or bands, were, by this law, to serve twelve years before they could demand their dismissal, and the rest sixteen; the former were allowed about twelve pence of our money a day, and the latter five-pence; if they were refused their dismissal, when the time of their service was expired, or chose to continue in the army, they were accounted veterans, and, as such, exempted from all drudgeries, and obliged solely to fight, and that for five years only; after which term they were absolutely to obtain their discharge, together with the rewards due to veterans.

down, and a sumptuous portico his wife's name, he called Portico to be built in its room for the use of the public, which, from
ticus Livia (2).

(2) Plin. lib. ix. cap. 23. Dio, p. 540.

At

At this period, Augustus, in quality of pontifex maximus, *He corrected the calendar.* corrected a gross mistake in the Roman calendar. The pontifices having, ever since the reformation of the calendar by Julius Cæsar, made every third year a leap-year, instead of every fourth, twelve days had been inserted instead of nine; so that the Roman year consisted of three days too many. Augustus, in order to rectify this mistake, ordered, first, that for twelve ensuing years there should be no leap-year; and, secondly, that, after the expiration of the said twelve years, the leap-years should thenceforth be made every fourth year^k; by which means, the three superadded days being thrown out, and the leap-years fixed in their true terms, according to Julius Cæsar's institution, the form of this year has ever since been regularly observed, and was long, under the name of the old stile, in use among us (F).

Towards the end of this year, Agrippa, having left Sentius Saturninus and Titus Volumnius governors of Syria and Phœnicie, returned to Rome with Antipater, Herod's eldest son by Doris his first wife. Augustus received Agrippa with all the marks of sincere affection, and desired him to enter the city in triumph; but he declined that honour, ascribing all the glory of his conquests to the emperor, under whose auspices he had fought: and this was the chief cause, why the custom of triumphing, in former times of great advantage to the Romans, was laid aside, other generals following the example of Agrippa, and not valuing an honour which he seemed to despise^l. However, Augustus confirmed to him the tribunitial power for five years more, the former term being near expired; and a new war breaking out in Pannonia (G), sent him thither at the head of a powerful army, with greater power and authority than had ever been granted to any commander. Agrippa left Rome in the beginning of the consulate of M. Valerius Messala Barbatus and P. Sulpitius Quirinus, or, as others call him, Cirinus. The former, who was father to the famous Messalina, dying some months after his election, was succeeded

Agrippa refuses a triumph.

^k Suet. in Octav. cap. 31. Plin. lib. xviii. cap. 25. ^l Dio, p. 541.

(F) When Augustus made this reformation, a decree was passed by the senate and people, enacting, that the month Sextilis should thenceforth, from the emperor's name, be called Augustus; which name is still retained in all the calendars that have been formed from the Roman.

(G) Pannonia comprehended Carniola, Croatia, Windisch Marck, part of Austria, part of Hungary, all Slavonia and Bosnia, and part of Servia.

by

by Caius Valgius, a man of great learning^a, who, before the end of the year, resigned the fasces to Caius Caninius Rebilus. The Pannonians were so intimidated at the name of Agrippa, that, upon his approach, they sent deputies, offering to submit on what terms he should think fit to impose. In consequence of this submission, Agrippa, having obliged them to deliver up their arms, and give hostages for their peaceable behaviour, returned to Italy; but was taken with a violent illness as he marched through Campania, which in a few days deprived him of life.

*The death
of Agrippa.*

Yr. of Fl.

937.

Ante Chr.

11.

U. C. 737.

Augustus, upon the first news of his danger, left the sports which his two grandsons Caius and Lucius were then exhibiting in honour of Minerva, and hastened into Campania, to see, and, if possible, relieve, his dying friend. But Agrippa expired a few minutes before his arrival; an event, which he no sooner understood, than he burst into tears, bewailing, in the deceased, the loss of the greatest general of his age, the wisest minister, and the most faithful, constant, and disinterested friend he ever had. He caused his body to be conveyed to Rome, and took upon himself the office of pronouncing his funeral oration. His obsequies were performed with extraordinary pomp and magnificence, and his remains deposited, not in the Campus Martius, where the senate had allowed him a monument, but in Augustus's own mausoleum, near Marcellus, the emperor declaring, that he would not be separated, even after his death, from two persons whom he so tenderly loved in his life^a (H).

*Tiberius
chosen in
his room.*

Upon the death of this great minister, Augustus chose Tiberius in his room, as an assistant in the administration; but before he invested him with any power or authority, he obliged him to divorce his wife Agrippina, who had already brought him a son, and was then pregnant; and

^a Plin. lib. xxv. cap. 2. Tibul. lib. iv. Horat. lib. ii. ode 9.
^a Dio, p. 341.

(H) He died in the fifty-first year of his age, and left by his first wife Cæcilia Attica, the daughter of the famous Pomponius Atticus, one daughter named Agrippina, who was married to Tiberius; and by his third wife Julia three sons, namely, Caius, Lucius, and Agrippa Posthumus, and two daughters, Julia married to Lu-

cius Paulus, and Agrippina married to Germanicus, by whom she had the emperor Claudius, and Agrippina the mother of Nero; Agrippa had no children by his second wife Marcella, whom he divorced to marry Julia. He bequeathed his fine gardens, and a bath which was called by his name, to the Roman people.

to marry Julia, whose lewd and scandalous behaviour was well known to Tiberius, and to all the young debauchees of Rome, and had given great uneasiness to Agrippa some time before his death. However, Tiberius complied, without betraying the least reluctance, through fear of disgusting Augustus, who was the only person in Rome unacquainted with his daughter's infamous conduct.

The usual ceremonies were no sooner over, than Augustus dispatched his new son-in-law against the Pannonians, who, upon the news of Agrippa's death, had attempted to recover their ancient liberty. Tiberius, with the assistance of their neighbours the Scordisci, who had remained faithful to the Romans, obliged them in a short time to return to their duty, and submit to the will of the conqueror. They delivered up their arms, gave hostages, and put the Romans in possession of all their towns and fortresses. Tiberius spared their lives, but laid waste their fields, plundered their cities, and, having sent the best part of their youth into other countries, returned to Rome before the end of the year, Q. Ælius Tubero and Paulus Fabius Maximus being consuls. The senate decreed him great honours, and, among the rest, a triumph: but Augustus obliged him to reject the offers of the conscript fathers, and content himself with the marks of distinction which were granted for life to those who had triumphed; namely, to have a particular place apart from the rest at the public shews, and to appear with the triumphal robes, and a crown of laurel.

He reduces the Pannonians.

His younger brother Drusus signalized himself no less among the Gauls and Germans. Having been left in Gaul by Augustus to repel the incursions of the Germans, he had begun a second census, taking a minute account of each person's estate and fortune, the better to regulate the annual taxes and contributions. This the Gauls looked upon as a new attempt upon their liberties, and seemed disposed to take arms, and endeavour the recovery of their ancient rights and privileges. But Drusus, being apprised of their design, summoned all the Gaulish chiefs to assist at the solemn ceremony of consecrating a temple, which the Lugdunenses had built in honour of Julius Cæsar. When they were all assembled, Drusus, by his address, and insinuating behaviour, won their affections to such a degree, that they not only abandoned the design they had formed of shaking off the Roman yoke, but agreed to erect an altar to Augustus, and to pay him, even in his life-time, divine honours. Sixty different nations concurred in this design, each of them contributing its quota, and sending a statue

Drusus prevents the Gauls from revolting.

An altar erected in honour of Augustus at Lyons.

to

The exploits of Drusus in Germany.

to adorn the new altar, which was consecrated with great solemnity on the first day of August. Games were instituted in honour of the new deity.

Drusus, have nothing to fear from the Gauls, turned his arms against the Germans, who, having raised the most numerous and formidable army that had ever been seen in those parts, were advancing towards the Rhine, in order to invade Gaul. The young Roman not only defeated them as they attempted to cross that river, but, pursuing the advantage he had gained, entered the country of the Usipetes or Usipii, now known by the name of Relinchusen, and from thence advanced against the Sicambri in the neighbourhood of the Lyppe and Issel; these he overthrew in a great battle, laid waste their country, burnt most of their cities, and, following the course of the Rhine, approached the German ocean, and reduced the Frisi and the Chauci between the Amisus and the Albis, now the Ems and the Elbe. In these marches his troops suffered extremely for want of provisions, and he was himself often in great danger of being drowned, as the Romans, who attended him, were quite unacquainted at that time with the flux and reflux of the ocean. As winter drew near, he led his troops into East Friesland; and, leaving them under the command of his lieutenants, returned to Rome, where he was honoured with the prætorship, Q. Fabius, and Julius Antonius the son of the triumvir, being then consuls. Early in the spring, Drusus returning to his army quartered in Frisia, marched from thence into the country of the Tencteri, whom he easily subdued. Afterwards, passing the Lupias, now the Lyppe, in Westphalia, he brought into subjection the Catti, and the Cherusci, extending his conquests to the banks of the Visurgis, now the Weser; which he would have passed, had he not been obliged to return for want of provisions, the enemy having laid waste the neighbouring country to a great distance.

He defeats the united forces of the Tencteri, Sicambri, Cherusci, &c.

As he was retiring, the Germans unexpectedly fell upon him in a narrow pass; and, having surrounded the Roman army, a great number of them were slain. But the brave Drusus, animating his men more by his example than by speeches, after a warm conflict, which lasted almost the whole day, repulsed the enemy, and made such havock, that the ground was strewed for some miles with dead bodies. Drusus found in their camp a large quantity of iron chains, which they had prepared for the Romans; and so great was their confidence, that they had previously

• Strab. lib. iv. p. 198. Suet. Dio, Liv. &c.

agreed about the division of the booty: the Tencteri were to have the horse, the Cherusci and Sicambri the baggage, and the Usipetes and Catti the captives. Drusus was saluted emperor by his troops on the field of battle; where they erected a trophy, as a monument of so signal a victory. In order to secure the countries he had conquered, he built two forts, one at the confluence of the Lupias and the Aliso, now the Lyppe and the Alme, the other in the country of the Catti or Chatti on the Rhine; and made that famous canal, long known by the name of Fossa Drusiana. Drusus, on his return to Rome, was honoured with the triumphal ornaments, as his brother Tiberius had been the preceding year; but was not allowed by Augustus to triumph, or even to retain the title of emperor, with which he had been honoured by the army, that title being now peculiar to the sovereign^p. This same year Tiberius, being sent against the Pannonians, who had again rebelled, reduced them once more, and likewise subdued the Dalmatians, who had joined them in their revolt^s.

The joy and satisfaction which Augustus received from these successes, were greatly allayed by the death of his sister Octavia, who was a perfect pattern of all the virtues peculiar to her sex, and therefore greatly lamented by persons of all ranks and conditions. Augustus caused her body to be exposed, on a bed of state, in a temple lately erected in honour of Julius Cæsar, and he himself pronounced her funeral oration; but would not admit of the many honours which were decreed her by the senate. Her body was carried to the grave by her four sons-in-law, the husbands of the two Marcellæ, whom she had by her first husband Marcellus, and of the two Antonizæ, her daughters Antony the triumvir^r.

In the following year, Nero Claudius Drusus and T. Quinctius Crispinus being consuls, Augustus determined on the total reduction of Germany, left the capital, attended by his two sons-in-law Tiberius Claudius Nero and Nero Claudius Drusus; and, passing the Alps, advanced to the banks of the Rhine; whence he sent Tiberius against the Daci, and Drusus to complete the conquest of the rest of Germany. Tiberius easily subdued the Daci, obliged them to give hostages, and transplanted forty thousand of them into Gaul. On the other hand Drusus, passing the Rhine, and afterwards the Weser, brought under subjection all the nations from the Rhine to the Elbe. Having attempted in

Octavia dies.

The Daci subdued by Tiberius.

Conquests made by Drusus in Germany.

^p Dio, p. 544. Suet. in Claud. ^q Dio, p. 545. Vell. Patercul. lib. ii. cap. 98. ^r Dio, p. 545, Suet. in Octavio.

Yr. of Fl. 339. vain to pass this river, he erected several trophies in that neighbourhood, and began his march back to the Rhine; but, before he reached that river, he was seized with a violent fever, which carried him off in a few days. Augustus, upon the first notice of his illness, sent an express to Tiberius, who thereupon hastened to see him before he died, travelling two hundred miles in twenty-four hours. Upon his arrival, he found him alive, but just expiring. His sudden death occasioned a report, that Augustus and Tiberius had conspired to take him off by poison, and effected their wicked design by means of their emissaries; but all the best historians acquit him of this imputation*. Drusus was a man of an unblemished character, brave, honourable, just, open-hearted, and an enemy to all manner of deceit and dissimulation. He was not inferior in courage or conduct to the most experienced commanders of his time. He died in the thirtieth year of his age, and left behind him three children by his wife Antonia Minor, the younger daughter of Antony and Octavia; Drusus surnamed Germanicus, Livilla, and Claudius, which last succeeded Caligula in the empire.

U. C. 739.
His death.

His character.

Honours paid him after his death.

New regulations of Augustus.

His soldiers, to testify their grief for the loss of a general whom they loved, erected a monument to his memory on the banks of the Rhine; and, assembling yearly on the anniversary of his death, performed round it their military evolutions in honour of the illustrious deceased†. His body was conveyed to Rome, and attended the whole way by Tiberius, the chief officers and magistrates of the Roman colonies and municipia, through which it passed, meeting on the road, and following it with the utmost pomp from one city to the other. Augustus himself being now returned from Gaul, received it at Rome, and pronounced, in the Circus Flaminius, a funeral oration in honour of the deceased, in which he besought the gods with great earnestness, and many tears, "to grant him a death as glorious as that of the young hero, and make the grandchildren they had given him tread in his footsteps." Tiberius made another funeral oration in the forum, where the body was exposed, and from thence carried on the shoulders of the Roman knights to the field of Mars, where it was burnt with great solemnity: his ashes were deposited in the mausoleum of Augustus.

The emperor was in haste to return to Gaul; but nevertheless before his departure he made several new regulations.

* Suet. in Octav. & Claud.
Ex Inscrip. Citata a Lipsio.

† Tacit. Annal. lib. i. cap. 6.

The fathers, finding their authority of no weight, assembled very seldom, and in small numbers. Augustus therefore appointed certain days in each month, on which they should be obliged to meet; and at the same time enacted, with the approbation of the senators, that such as absented themselves on those days, without assigning a lawful cause, should pay a certain fine; and that their determinations, when they were but few, should not obtain the force of a *senatusconsultum*, or decree of the senate, but only be called a regulation of the senate. He granted the prætors the prerogative of voting in the senate; and extended the jurisdiction of the quæstors, giving them the superintendency of all the maritime cities of Italy.

The election of the new consuls, C. Marcus Censorinus and C. Asinius Gallus, gave rise to a new regulation. They were both accused of having purchased their dignity with money distributed among the tribes. Augustus did not oblige them to resign the fasces, but ordered, that, for the future, all the candidates should deposit a certain sum with him, which they should forfeit, if convicted of bribery, or any unlawful practices. This law was generally approved of, at least by the patricians; but another, which he published soon after, was as much disliked. The depositions of slaves had never been admitted at Rome in the courts of judicature: but Augustus, for the security of his own person, though under pretence of the public safety, enacted, that, when any person was accused of treasonable designs, the evidence of slaves should be of the same weight as that of freemen. That this law might not seem to clash with the ancient custom of rejecting the evidence of a slave against his master, it was ordained, that the slaves of the accused person should be first sold to the emperor, or the public. This innovation occasioned great complaints; but the emperor soon appeased the minds of the people by public shews and sports; by a pretended clemency and condescension; by affecting popularity, and carefully avoiding all needless ceremonies, and marks of grandeur (I).

The

(I) The ancients relate many instances of his extraordinary condescension: they tell us, that a common legionary having desired him to plead his cause in one of the courts of judicature, the emperor told him, that he was so overwhelmed with business, that he could not conveniently do it personally; but

that he would send him an orator better qualified for that purpose than himself. This obliging answer did not satisfy the soldier, who answered bluntly, "Have I thus fought for you by proxy?" The emperor, highly pleased with this unexpected answer, "Neither will I (said he) plead for you by proxy."

N

*He begins
the third
term of his
decennial
power.*

The decennial term of his sovereign power, now drawing near a close, he seemed willing to resign it, declaring he was no longer able to bear so heavy a burden; but he was easily persuaded to sustain it ten years longer. This limitation contributed, more than any thing else, to his safety, since, by receiving his power from the senate and people, he acknowledged the sovereignty to be lodged in them; so that they were not without hopes of recovering it. The term of his power being prolonged, he resolved to quit the capital, determined on the entire reduction of the many nations that inhabited Germany. He was not inclined to wage war with those barbarous nations in person, but chose to be near the generals whom he employed. The person he thought the most proper for pursuing and completing the conquests happily begun by Drusus, was his brother Tiberius; whom therefore he sent into Gaul, after having honoured him with an ovation on account of the advantages he had gained in Germany in the course of the foregoing year. Augustus, soon after the departure of Tiberius, left Rome; but, instead of passing the Alps, he took his route towards Aquileia, and spent the whole summer in the neighbourhood of that city, having with him his grandson Caius Cæsar, then twelve years old. In the mean time Tiberius, having passed the Rhine at the head of a powerful army, over-ran all the countries between that river and the Elbe, and struck such terror into the inhabitants of those northern provinces, that several of them sent deputies to Augustus at Aquileia, to sue for peace, which they could not obtain upon any terms, the emperor declaring, that he would not grant a peace to any particular nation, till they had all agreed to submit. But the Catti, or, as some authors write, the Sicambri, could not by any means be prevailed upon to lay down their arms;

*Tiberius's
exploits in
Germany.*

proxy." He fulfilled his promise; for, on the day appointed, he appeared at the bar, and pleaded his cause in person. In like manner he undertook the cause of another citizen, and gained it; which so provoked the accuser, that he behaved very disrespectfully towards the emperor, who was so far from resenting it, that he pardoned the offender, when he was accused before him, as censor, of some faults, which deserved punish-

ment. Though he was very kind and generous to his friends, yet he never allowed them greater privileges than others, nor would he by any means exempt them from the judiciary laws. Of all the criminals he rescued but one, during the whole time of his long reign, who had been very serviceable to him, and that by prevailing with entreaties on the accuser to drop the prosecution (2).

(2) Suet. in Octav. & Claud.

to that the project of peace did not take place this year. As winter approached, Augustus returned to Rome with his grandson Caius; but Tiberius remained with his troops in Germany, in order to renew the war when the season would allow him to take the field ^u. Augustus, upon his return, made a second census, in which were numbered, according to the Ancyran marbles, four millions two hundred thirty-three thousand Roman citizens ^v.

While he was thus employed, his great friend Mæcenas died; an incident which was a sensible affliction to him, though he had not of late honoured him with the same intimacy as formerly. The criminal conversation which Augustus maintained with Terentilla, displeased Mæcenas, who thought he did not deserve that treatment from one whom he had served with the utmost fidelity. On the other hand, Augustus would not bear any controul in his amours; and hence that coldness and indifference which appeared between these two great friends for some years ^x. Mæcenas was a person of great penetration, and understood the art of governing better than any man of his age. Though possessed of talents equal to the highest employments of the state, he was such an enemy to all trouble, so fond of his ease, so addicted to his pleasures, that he abhorred all business, and seemed in a manner to have attained to that enjoyment of indolence, in which the Epicureans placed happiness: Being remarkably good-natured, and slighting preferences, as capable of disturbing his quiet, and interrupting his pleasures, he employed all his credit and interest with the emperor in behalf of others, and for the most part with success (K). Horace, the prince of the Latin lyric

Yr. of Fl.
2340.
Ante Chr.
8.
U. C. 740.

Death of
Mæcenas.

His character.

^u Vell. Pat. lib. ii. Dio, p. 551, 552. Sueton. in Octav. p. 178.
^v Vid. Grut. p. 230. ^x Dio, lib. lv. p. 533.

(K) Of the ascendant, which he had gained over Augustus, and the liberty he took in correcting his faults, and curbing his cruel temper, Dio Cassius gives us the following remarkable instance: As Augustus was judging some criminals, Mæcenas, perceiving him to be in a bad humour, attempted to approach his tribunal; but not being able to break through the crowd, he wrote the following note, "Come down from the tribunal, butcher;" and threw

it into his lap. Augustus no sooner read it, than he rose, and quitted the tribunal, without sentencing any of the criminals to death. The generous protection which he afforded to men of learning, especially to Virgil and Horace, will render his name immortal. He was not only an encourager of learning, but published several works, which intitled him to a place among the best writers of that age.

*The death
of Horace.*

*Tiberius
triumphs.*

*Curatoris
vicorum
appointed
by Augustus.*

*The bold
demand of
Lucius
Cæsar.*

poets, did not long survive his great patron and benefactor; for Mæcenas died about the beginning of September, and Horace on the twenty-seventh of the following November (L).

On the calends of January of the ensuing year, Tiberius, who had returned to Rome, entered upon his second consulship with Cn. Calpurnius Piso, who was the same day honoured with a triumph, which was a new sight to the Roman people. In the beginning of the spring he left the capital, and returned to Germany; but performed nothing which historians have thought worth transmitting to posterity. This year a fire happened in Rome, which reduced to ashes many buildings, and was thought to have been occasioned by the debtors, with a design to make their escape, in that confusion, out of the houses of their creditors. To prevent the like misfortunes and disorders for the future, Augustus created new officers, called *curatores vicorum*, who were permitted, on certain days, to wear, within the verge of their jurisdiction, the robe peculiar to magistrates, and to have two lictors to attend them. To them were now assigned the six hundred slaves, who had been formerly appointed to attend the ædiles for extinguishing fires. At the same time, by Augustus's order, the city was divided into fourteen regions or wards, and these into inferior precincts, the government of which wards or precincts was committed to the *curatores vicorum*, and also to the tribunes of the people and the prætors.

In the following year, Caius Antistius Vetus and D. Lælius Balbus being raised to the consulate, Lucius Cæsar boldly demanded of Augustus in the public theatre, that his elder brother, Caius Cæsar, might be named consul for the ensuing year. The emperor, no less surprised than offended at this unseasonable demand, notwithstanding his affection for the brothers replied, that he hoped he would never lie under the necessity of raising any to the consulate under twenty years of age. The bold youth, not being satisfied with this answer, but continuing to solicit him with great earnestness in behalf of his brother, the emperor, raising his voice, told him with a grave air, "That an office of such importance

7 Dio, lib. lv. p. 556, 557.

(L) This same year died Caius Cæcilius Isidorus, famous for the immense wealth of which he was possessed; for he left to his heirs four thousand one hundred and sixteen slaves; three thousand six hundred yoke of oxen, two hundred thousand and fifty-seven head of other cattle, and above three millions of our money in specie.

ought

ought to be discharged only by a man who could bridle his own passions, and resist the desires of the giddy and headstrong multitude." However, his tenderness for the two brothers, whom he had adopted into the Julian family, and the name of the Cæsars, in some degree got the better of his reason; for he granted to Caius the priesthood, a place in the senate, and the privilege of sitting among the senators at all public shews and sports; but at the same time, to curb their ambitious temper, he conferred on Tiberius the tribunitial power for five years; an honour which was far from being agreeable to the two young Cæsars.

Tiberius had scarce received this new addition of power, when, to the great surprize of Augustus, and the whole people, he desired leave to quit the city, and retire to Rhodes (M). Whatever his motive was, notwithstanding the

Tiberius demands leave to retire;

(M) Various reasons are alleged by the ancients for this sudden resolution: Tiberius pretended a desire of improving himself in the study of philosophy and eloquence, there being then at Rhodes famous professors of both these sciences; but Suetonius is of opinion, that the infamy of his wife Julia, which was now the talk of the whole city, and reflected great disgrace on his person and family, prompted him to retire, that he might not be an eye witness of her scandalous debaucheries (1). Velleius Paterculus, a great flatterer of Tiberius, tells us, that he withdrew out of respect to the two young Cæsars, that he might not stand in their way to the highest preferments (2), following the example of Agrippa, who had retired to Mitylene, when Marcellus first entered upon public offices. Dio thinks he was piqued at the favour which Augustus shewed to his grandsons, especially at his

declaring them princes of the Roman youths; which entirely defeated his ambitious projects, and left him no hopes of ever enjoying the sovereign power, the sole object of all his wishes (3). As to the title, princes of the Roman youth, the first Roman emperors gave it to their children, or to those whom they had appointed their heirs and successors in the empire. The youth, who was honoured with this title, had all the children of the Roman noblemen under his command, and appeared at their head, when they performed their military exercises in the field of Mars, or exhibited the tournament called Troy. In the times of the republic the children of the most distinguished families were called principes juventutis, and principes equitum (4), because they were reckoned equites, or knights, till they attained the age, which the laws required in the candidates for offices. The

(1) Suet. in Tiber. cap. 10.
(3) Dio, in Excerpt. p. 662.
Juvenal. Satir. iv. ver. 32.

(2) Vell. Patercul. lib. ii. cap. 99.
(4) Vide Liv. lib. xlii. cap. 61. &

Yr. of Fl.

2342.

Ante Chr.

6.

U. C. 742.

*which Augustus refuses him**but at last yields to his importunities.**His manner of living in Rhodes.*

the remonstrances and tears of his mother Livia, he was very pressing with Augustus for his permission to retire; which the emperor not only refused, but took great pains in concert with Livia, to divert him from such an unreasonable resolution. He even complained to the senate of his being abandoned by one, from whose abilities he had promised himself great relief in the government of the republic. Tiberius, deaf to all intreaties and remonstrances, continued importuning Augustus for his permission, which he constantly refused, being unwilling to lose the only person in whom, after the death of Agrippa and Mæcenas, he reposed any confidence, his grandchildren not being yet of an age fit to be trusted. At length Tiberius, finding all other means ineffectual, retired into his own apartment; and there, shutting himself up, abstained four whole days from all kind of nourishment. The emperor, seeing he could not get the better of his inflexible temper, complied at length with his request, and granted him the so much wished-for permission to retire; which he no sooner obtained, than he set out for Ostia, without speaking a word on the way to those who attended him to the place where he embarked. From Ostia he sailed along the coast of Campania, and staid some time in that province, being informed that Augustus was indisposed: but it being reported that he waited for the news of Augustus's death, he weighed anchor, though the sea ran very high, and sailed for Rhodes, where he led at first a very private and retired life, frequenting the schools and academies without any attendants, conversing familiarly with the Greeks, and avoiding all appearance of grandeur both in his house and equipage.

Growing weary of his retirement, he publicly declared, that he had left Rome to avoid giving umbrage to Caius and Lucius; and wrote to the emperor, after they had attained to man's estate, and were promoted to the highest dignities, begging leave to return home, and visit his friends, since his presence could no longer be disagreeable to his

* Suet. in Tiber.

princeps juventutis was distinguished from the rest by a triumphal robe, as Tacitus informs us (5). On the reverse of a medal of the emperor Severus, which has reached our times, are represented three

youths on horseback, and one of them in the attitude of commanding, with this legend. Princ. juvent. which shews that the princeps, or princeps juventutis, had some command over the young nobility,

(5) Tacit. Annal. lib. xii. cap. 5.

grand-

grandchildren. This favour was denied, and he was desired to lay aside all care and thoughts of his friends, since he had been so impatient to abandon them. Thus he was obliged to continue at Rhodes, and it was not till after seven years that Augustus was prevailed upon to consent to his return*. Augustus himself was now consul, and had for his colleague Cornelius Sylla. He had resumed the fasces, after having declined the consular dignity for seventeen years, with no other view, as it is supposed, but to render the ceremony of giving the toga virilis to his grandson Caius, more solemn. He presented him in person to the senate, gave him the toga virilis himself, with the usual ceremonies, and named him consul; which dignity, as he was then but fifteen, he was to hold, after five years to be reckoned from the day he was presented to the senate. In the course of this year Augustus reduced the number of those who were supplied with corn at the public expence to two hundred thousand, corn having for some years been given indifferently to all who desired it. Two years having elapsed, Augustus again reserved the consular dignity for himself, and took for his colleague M. Plautius Silvanus, or Silanus. As Lucius, the younger of his grandsons, was now of an age to receive the toga virilis, Augustus distinguished him with the same honours he had conferred three years before on his brother Caius (N). Thus were the two sons highly favoured and honoured by Augustus; but their mother Julia met with a very different treatment.

Augustus refuses him leave to return to Rome.

Augustus's thirteenth consulship.

Her lewdness, infamy, and scandalous debaucheries, had for some years been the talk of the whole city. Augustus had the misfortune of most princes, who are, generally speaking, the least acquainted with their nearest concerns: he believed, indeed, that she did not lead a very strict life; but never imagined her capable of committing those monstrous and almost incredible excesses, of which he now found her guilty. Upon a full discovery of her actions and conduct, he was so sensibly affected with grief and confusion, that he shut himself up in his palace, and continued several days bewailing his misfortune, without seeing any even of his most intimate friends. Unable to conceal the transports of his grief and anger from the public, he communicated to

Julia's scandalous conduct.

* Dio, Suet. in Tiber.

(N) Several medals, coined on this occasion, have reached our times, on which are the heads of the two brothers with bucklers and spears, and this le-

gend on the reverse; "Caius and Lucius Cæsars, the sons of Augustus, designed consuls, princes of the youth."

She is banished;

Yr. of Fl.

2346.

Ante Chr.

U. C. 746.

and her daughter of the same name.

Magnificent shews exhibited by Augustus.

the senate the excesses of the infamous prostitute, and the disgrace of his family; an indiscretion which he afterwards said he would never have been guilty of, had Agrippa or Mæcenas been living. Overcome with shame and rage, he first resolved to put his daughter to death; but afterwards altered his resolution, and contented himself with banishing her to Pandataria, a desert island on the coast of Campania, now known by the name of Santa Maria. Her mother Scribonia, whom Augustus had divorced the same day she was born, attended her to the place of her banishment, and never abandoned her in the sequel. The emperor not only punished the infamous Julia with banishment, but at the same time forbade her the use of wine, and all delicacies whatever, either in diet or cloaths. By an express order from the emperor, no person, of what condition soever, was to visit her without his leave. Not long after, her eldest daughter by Agrippa, named also Julia, and married to L. Paulus, being convicted of the same crimes, was confined to the island of Tremera, now Tremiti, in the Adriatic Sea^b. The punishment of Julia was followed by that of all those who were accessory to her debaucheries. Sempronius Gracchus, T. Quinctius Crispinus, C. Claudius, and L. Scipio, all persons of great distinction, were condemned to perpetual banishment. But Julius Antonius, the son of the triumvir, and many others, were, by the emperor's orders, put to death (O).

Augustus, to divert his mind from his domestic misfortunes, exhibited the most magnificent and expensive shews that had ever been seen in Rome. Chariot-races in the circus, representations on the stage, and combats of gladiators, were now become common. Augustus, on this occasion, revived those sports, which had been for a considerable time laid aside, on account of the extraordinary

^b Vel. Patercul. cap. 100. Dio, *ibid.* p. 555.

(O) Her chief confidant, Phœbe, laid violent hands on herself before sentence was pronounced against her. Augustus, when news were brought him of her death, could not help admiring her courage, and wishing that Phœbe, and not Julia, had been his daughter, intimating, that he should have been well pleased, if Julia had ended her days in the same manner. Tiberius heard the news of the dis-

grace and banishment of Julia with great joy; but, as no man knew better the art of dissembling, he became her advocate; and, pretending great tenderness and compassion for her, he wrote frequent letters to Augustus, entreating him to forgive her, and reinstate her in his favour. But the emperor continued inflexible to the hour of his death; and even obliged Tiberius to divorce her.

charges

charges that attended them. He caused a canal to be dug eighteen hundred paces in length, and two hundred in breadth, conveying into it the Flaminian water, and building scaffolds quite round it, capable of holding multitudes of spectators. And indeed the concourse of people was so great, that the emperor was obliged to place guards in all the quarters of the city, lest thieves should seize that opportunity to plunder the empty and abandoned houses. He had frequently entertained the people with fights of lions, tigers, elephants, and rhinoceroses; but now the new canal appeared all on a sudden filled with live crocodiles, of which thirty-six were killed by Egyptians brought from the banks of the Nile for that purpose. The multitude were highly delighted with this sight, which was quite new: but the sea-fight, which ensued, afforded them still greater diversion; for, at the opposite ends of the lake or canal, two fleets appeared, the galleys of one being built after the Greek, and those of the other after the Persian manner. Both fleets engaged; and, as it was not a mock fight, most of the combatants being persons sentenced to death, the battle proved very bloody^c.

In the midst of these public sports and diversions, news were brought to Augustus, that the Armenians, entering into an alliance with the Parthians, had expelled Artabazes, whom he had appointed king of that country, and raised Tigranes to the throne. The emperor, dreading the consequences of an alliance between those two powers, was at a loss what measures he should take to put a stop to the war, which threatened the eastern provinces. He could not manage it in person, being now advanced in years; Tiberius had retired to Rhodè, and the emperor determined not to recall or employ him: on the other hand, he was afraid to trust any with the command of the army, except those of his own family. In this perplexity, he at length resolved to send into the East his grandson Caius, who had then entered into the nineteenth year of his age; but, before his departure, to procure him the greater esteem, he honoured him with the title of proconsul, and married him to Lollia Paulina, either the daughter or niece of M. Lollius, an officer of great experience, who was his governor, and whom he now appointed his second in command^d (P).

Disturbances in Armenia.

Yr. of Fl.
2347.
Ante Chr.
U. C. 747.

Caius Caesar sent into the East.

In

^c Suet. *ibid.* Ovid. *de Arte*, lib. i. Monument. Ancyran. apud Grut. *ibid.* ^d Zonar. *ex Dion.* Suet. in *Claud.* cap. 26. Plin. lib. ix. cap. 35. Solin. cap. 53.

(P) Before the young general nothing that might contribute to the success of this expedition, Augustus, who omitted

*Tiberius
awaits upon
him.*

*Tiberius
in disgrace.*

In the mean time Phraates, king of Parthia, being informed of the warlike preparations that were carrying on in different parts of the empire, and not doubting that they were designed against him, wrote a submissive letter to Augustus; but as he deferred, under various pretences, withdrawing his troops from Armenia, which Augustus required him to do without delay, Caius, taking leave of Augustus, set out from Rome, and hastened into Armenia. In his passage he touched at Chios^e, or, as Suetonius says, at Samos^f. Tiberius no sooner heard of his arrival, than he went to wait upon him, behaving on that occasion in a very submissive manner, and shewing the utmost respect not only to the young prince, but to all those of his attendance. Caius received him with great coldness, his governor, M. Lollius, who hated Tiberius, having filled the mind of his pupil with prejudices against him. The tribuneship of Tiberius being almost expired, his mother Livia prevailed upon Augustus to declare him his lieutenant in those parts; but apprehending his life was in danger, he retired into the middle of the island, where he lived privately, in order to avoid the compliments of the Roman officers, who passed that way in their voyage to the East^g.

From Samos Caius hastened into Syria, where all the Roman forces in the East, and those of the allies of Rome,

^e Dio, Legat. 39, in Excerpt. ab Ursin. ^f Xiph. & Zonar. ex Dion. ^g Suet. in Tib. cap. 12.

tion, sent Dionysius, a geographer of great fame, into the East before him, with orders to take an exact survey of the country which was likely to be the seat of war (1). Whether this was the famous Dionysius, whose Periegesis in Greek verse has reached us; or another Dionysius, the son of Diogenes, who published the dimensions of the earth, as we read in Marcianus Heracleota (2), we know not. This commission of Caius Cæsar is variously mentioned by

the ancients: Tacitus writes, that he had Armenia for his province (3); Velleius Paterculus, that he was sent into Syria (4); Suetonius, that he was appointed governor of the East (5); Orosius, that he was sent by Augustus to settle the provinces of Egypt and Syria (6); and Pliny quotes a book written by king Juba, in which mention is made of Caius's expedition into Arabia (7); but adds, that the young prince had only some thoughts of invading Arabia (8).

(1) Plin. lib. vi. cap. 27. (2) Marcian, Heracleota, Peripl. lib. i. (3) Tacit. Annal. lib. ii. cap. 48. (4) Vel. Patercul. lib. ii. cap. 101. (5) Suet. in Tiber. cap. 12. (6) Oros. lib. vii. cap. 3. (7) Plin. lib. vi. cap. 27. in fin. (8) Idem ibid. cap. 28.

were assembled, and ready for service (Q). He therefore put himself at the head of the army, and began his march towards the frontiers of Parthia. Upon his approach Phraates, distrusting his own subjects, who bore him an irreconcilable hatred, sent deputies to treat of peace. The young general received the ambassadors with great politeness, and it was agreed, that Caius and Phraates should have an interview in an island formed by the Euphrates. Thither they both repaired on the day appointed, each of them attended with the like number of guards, while their two armies, drawn up in battalia, lined the opposite banks of the river. In the conference Caius only insisted upon the Parthian's renouncing all pretensions to Armenia, a condition to which he readily consented; so that a treaty was soon concluded, and tranquility restored, when least expected, to the Eastern provinces. Matters being thus settled, the two chiefs entertained each other, Velleius Paterculus, who was present at these banquets, as a military tribune in Caius's army¹, tells us, that the Parthian king acquainted Caius, in a private conference, that he was betrayed by his governor, M. Lollius, who had taken large bribes of him, and had acquired immense sums by levying, without his knowledge, heavy contributions on all the provinces of the East. The same writer adds, that the king informed him of the treacherous designs and counsels of Lollius; at which the young prince being alarmed, forbid him his presence. Lollius, thus disgraced, died a few days after; but whether of a natural or violent death, our author does not take upon him to determine. Pliny and Solinus say, that he put an end to his life with poison; but none of the ancients impute his death to Caius, though he deserved to be punished with the utmost severity, if the charge, brought against him by the Parthian king, was true. Upon his death Publius Quirinius was either appointed by Augustus, or chosen, by the young prince himself, for his governor. He was a good commander, and had been rewarded by Augustus for his eminent services, first with the consulship, and afterwards with a triumph, or rather an ovation, for driving the Homonades, a people of Cilicia, out of their strong-holds². He proved a friend to Tiberius, and reconciled Caius to him, as we shall see hereafter.

Phraates sends ambassadors to Caius.

A peace concluded.

M. Lollius accused of treachery.

¹ Vel. Pat. lib. ii. cap. 101.

² Tac. Annal. lib. iii. cap. 43.

(Q) Suetonius tells us, that he passed through Judæa, but therein was approved of, and much commended, by Augustus (1).
 formed to worship at Jerusalem; and adds that his conduct

(1) Suet. in Oclav. cap. 93.

*Tigranes
appointed
king of
Armenia.*

The treaty of peace between the Romans and Parthians was scarce concluded, when Artabazes, whom Augustus had placed on the throne of Armenia, died; and then Tigranes, who had been supported by the Parthians, sent rich presents to Augustus, accompanied with a submissive letter; wherein, without styling himself king, he begged the kingdom. The emperor, glad to terminate the disturbances of the East, accepted his presents, and ordered him to attend Caius in Syria; where he received at his hands the crown of Armenia.

*Yr. of Fl.
2348.
U. C. 748.*

*The birth
of Christ.*

The temple of Janus being shut (R), and all the provinces of the Roman empire enjoying profound tranquility, our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ was born in the city of Bethlehem; for the following year Cassius Cornelius Lentulus, and L. Calpurnius Piso were raised to the consulate; and they were succeeded in that dignity by Caius Cæsar, though then absent in Syria, and L. Æmilius Paulus. During their administration nothing remarkable happened in Italy, nor in the countries subject to, or depending upon Rome, except the death of Herod, and the division of his kingdom made by Augustus, who gave one-half of it to Archelaus, and divided the other between his two brothers, Antipas and Philip.

*The death
of king
Herod, and
division of
his king-
dom.*

*Tiberius
allowed to
return to
Rome.*

It was in the course of the next year, when P. Alfenus Varus, and P. Vinucius were consuls, that Tiberius at length obtained leave to return to Rome; Caius, to whom Augustus had referred the matter, consenting to it at the earnest intreaties of his new governor Quirinius; but upon condition that he should bear no office in the common-

(R) From the time of Romulus to the reign of Augustus, the temple of Janus had been but twice shut; during Numa's peaceable reign, and after the first Punic war. Augustus shut it three times: after he had vanquished Antony; four years after, on his return from the war with the Cantabrians in Spain; and some time before the birth of Christ. Horace speaks of Augustus's victory over the Sicambri, and observes, that the temple of Janus was then shut. Orosius says, that after Augustus had shut it the third time, it continued so twelve years. F. Noris is of opinion, that it was opened on occasion of Caius Cæ-

far's expedition against the Parthians; whence he concludes, that it did not continue shut for twelve years; and that our Saviour was born before the troubles in the East broke out; for he was born, as all the authors affirm, while the world was in peace. Tacitus, however, assures us, that after Augustus had opened the gates of Janus the third time, they were never shut till the reign of Vespasian. But as no war was declared, and no hostilities committed either by the Romans or Parthians, we cannot believe, that the temple of Janus was opened on occasion of this expedition.

wealth.

wealth^a (R). Upon his return to Rome, he withdrew to Mæcenas's gardens, and led a retired life, doing good offices to some of his friends, but not interfering with public affairs^o. He was soon delivered from the objects of his envy and jealousy; for Lucius Cæsar, who was but a youth of slender abilities, died this year at Marseilles, on his journey to Spain, whither he had been sent by his grandfather, that he might be accustomed to a military life, and conciliate the affection of the soldiery^p. His body was brought by sea from Marseilles to one of the ports of Italy, and from thence carried to the capital by the military tribunes, and the decurions of the colonies and municipal towns. The emperor was sensibly affected with the loss of a youth whom he loved, and saw thus snatched away in the spring of his life; and Tiberius, by affecting an extraordinary concern for the death of his son-in-law, wrought such a change in the mind of Augustus, that he would have adopted him, had he not absolutely declined that honour, through fear of giving umbrage to Caius^q.

*The death
of Lucius
Cæsar.*

*Tiberius
returns into
favour
with Au-
gustus.*

In the following consulate of L. Ælius Lamia, and M. Servilius, the famous temple of the Mother of the Gods at Rome was reduced to ashes. In the consulate of Sextus Ælius Catus, and C. Sentius Saturninus, Numidia rebelled; but was soon reduced to obedience by Passienus and Cossus, whom Augustus honoured with triumphal ensigns; that is, he allowed them all the privileges and honours which were peculiar to triumphant victors^r, the custom of triumphing being now laid aside. But the insurrections which this year broke out in Armenia, were not so easily quelled: the

^a Suet. in Tib. cap. 13. ^o Idem. ibid. cap. 15. ^p Flor. lib. iv. cap. ult. Tacit. Annal. lib. i. cap. 3. Sueton. in Octav. cap. 65.
^q Vell. Paterc. lib. ii. cap. 103. ^r Vell. Patercul. lib. ii. cap. 104.

(R) We are told, that when the ship, which brought him the news of his being allowed to return to Rome, first appeared, he was walking by the seaside with one Thraſyllus, a famous astrologer, who assured him, though the ship was at a great distance, that it brought him joyful tidings. The sudden appearing of the ship saved Thraſyllus's life; for Tiberius had, at that very time, determined to throw him into the

sea, as one who was privy to all his secrets, and whom he now began to suspect, after he had for some years entertained him as his bosom-friend. He deferred the execution of his design till the arrival of the ship, when, finding the prediction of the astrologer fulfilled, he embraced him, and ever after had him in great esteem, though he pretended himself to a great knowledge in judicial astrology (1).

(1) Suet. in Tib. cap. 14. Xiphilin. ex Dion.

Parthians,

The Parthians invaded Armenia.

Caius Caesar wounded.

Parthians, notwithstanding the treaty concluded a few years before between them and the Romans, invaded that kingdom with a numerous army. In consequence of this invasion, Caius, who was still in Syria, having, with great expedition, assembled his forces, marched against the enemy, and, penetrating into the heart of Armenia without opposition, appeared before Artagera. Upon his arrival, one Addo, whom some call Domnes, the governor of the place, invited him to a private interview, under pretence that he had something to communicate to him of the utmost importance. Caius, not suspecting any treachery, complied with his request; but Addo, or, as Strabo calls him, Ador, having insensibly drawn the unwary youth, during the conference, close to the wall, wounded him, and retired that instant into the city. The Romans, provoked at the treachery of the barbarian, immediately gave the assault on all sides, took the place by storm, and dismantled it, after having put the traitor, and, with him, the whole garrison, to the sword * (S). The wound did not prove mortal; but nevertheless weakened the body, and sunk the spirits, of Caius to such a degree, that, after he had driven the Parthians out of Armenia, and placed Ariobatzanes, by birth a Mede, on the throne, he resigned himself to an idle and indolent life, leaving the whole management of affairs to his officers and lieutenants. Augustus, who had a great desire to see his favourite grandson, recalled him to Rome; but the youth, captivated with the delights of that soft climate, and having many flatterers about him, who made it their constant study to amuse his imagination with new pleasures, begged leave to continue in Syria, declaring, that he had rather live in the most remote and inhospitable corner of

* Idem: ibid. cap. 102. Strabo, lib. xi. p. 529. Zonar. ex Dion.

(S) Florus relates this event in the following manner: Domitrus, on whom the king of Parthia had conferred the government of Artaxata, pretending a revolt, came out to meet Caius, and delivered into his hands a writing, which, he said, contained an account of all the king's treasures; but while he was perusing it with great attention, the traitor, drawing a

poinard concealed under his garment, stabbed him (1). Sextus Rufus follows Florus, and, by an unperdonable mistake, adds, that the Parthians, by way of satisfaction for so bold and treacherous an attempt, did then first give hostages to Octavianus Caesar, and restored the ensigns which had been taken from Crassus (2).

(1) Flor. lib. iv. cap. ult.

(2) Sext. Ruf. in Breviar.

the earth, than return to Rome. This unexpected refusal stung Augustus to the heart, who insisted on his returning to Italy; assuring him, that he should there be allowed to follow his own inclinations. Caius, therefore, with the utmost reluctance, left Syria; and, sailing for Lycia, arrived at Limyra, a city of that country, where he died soon after, in the twenty-fourth year of his age^t (T). Thus was Augustus, in the space of eighteen months, deprived of both his grandsons, whom he had adopted, in order to succeed him in the sovereign power. His death, as well as that of Lucius, is, by some, imputed to the secret arts of Livia, who left no method untried to advance her son Tiberius to the empire: but this imputation is altogether unsupported by any kind of evidence.

His death.

The grief of Augustus for the death of one, whom he loved with the tenderness of a father, was great beyond expression. Livia and Tiberius endeavoured to console him; and on this occasion the artful Livia, who had gained an absolute sway over her husband, prevailed upon him to adopt her son Tiberius: however, he adopted at the same time Agrippa Posthumus, the third son of Agrippa and Julia, whom he had hitherto neglected, as a youth of no parts, and of an untractable temper: he likewise obliged Tiberius to adopt Germanicus, the son of his brother Drusus, though he had a son of his own. His nephew Germa-

Yr. of Fl.

2353;
A. D. 5;
U. C. 753.

*Tiberius
adopted by
Augustus,
and Ger-
manicus by
Tiberius.*

^t Vell. Paterc. lib. ii. cap. 108.

(T) Tacitus says, he died of his wound as he was returning from Armenia (2); and Sextus Rufus, that he returned into Syria, and died there; but Suetonius, Dio Cassius, and Velleius Paterculus, who served under Caius, assure us, that he died in Limyra in Lycia, on his return to Rome. Augustus was extremely grieved at his death, and complained of Asinius Pollio, one of his chief favourites, for inviting his friends to an entertainment, while his grief was yet fresh. Pollio answered, "I supposed after the same manner when I lost my son Arterius; and can any one require more grief of a friend than of a father (3)?" The body of Caius was conveyed to Rome, and buried there with great pomp. Bellonius tells us, that he saw the tomb and epitaph of C. Cæsar at Hama or Emesa in Syria (4); but that his bones were buried at Rome, is manifest from the following epitaph, which is still to be seen in the Church of the Apostles, behind the old temple of Minerva: "Ossa C. Cæsaris Augusti E. Principis Juventutis (5): "The bones of C. Cæsar, son of Augustus, prince of the youth."

(2) Tacit. Annal. lib. i. cap. 3.
de Controversi.
Gruter. Inscript. 235.

(4) Bellon. Observat. lib. ii.

(3) Senac. in Procem. lib.

(5) Vide

nicius was now become the emperor's grandson, while his own son Drusus was denied that honour". These three different adoptions happened on the fifth of the calends of July; and it is remarkable, that Augustus, in adopting Tiberius, solemnly swore before the people, that "he adopted him for the good of the commonwealth *." At the same time he conferred on him the tribunitial power, for five years, according to some writers; but according to others, for ten *. Thus, by the address of Livia, were the highest honours heaped upon her son, now sole candidate for the succession.

The conspiracy of Cinna.

While Augustus thus provided for the succession, a dangerous conspiracy was formed against his own person by Cornelius Cinna, grandson to Pompey by his daughter Pompeia. As several persons of the highest rank were engaged in the plot, Augustus was greatly perplexed what measures to take in so nice an affair. If he used rigour, he was afraid their friends and relations, who were very powerful, might raise dangerous disturbances to revenge their deaths; if he pardoned them, he apprehended his lenity might encourage others to the like attempts. In this anxiety he passed several nights, without being able to take the least rest, or come to any resolution. At length Livia, by her refined artifices, drew from him the true cause of his disquiet and uneasiness; and convinced him, that it was safer, in so critical a juncture, to use clemency than rigour. Pursuant to her advice, Augustus sent for Cinna; and, taking him into his closet, charged him with the conspiracy, named all his accomplices, and shewed himself thoroughly informed of the place, time, and other circumstances, on which the conspirators had agreed in their last meeting. Cinna was thunder-struck when he saw his treason thus discovered, and himself in the power of the person whom he sought to destroy, without any possible means of escaping the punishment due to his crime. His surprize was still greater, when Augustus, instead of treating him as a traitor, only upbraided him in a gentle manner with ingratitude, reminding him of the many favours he had bestowed upon him, and adding, that he was resolved to conquer his obstinacy. The emperor forgave him, and all those he had seduced into the same wicked designs: "And to shew (said he) that I am sincerely reconciled to you, I now name you consul for the ensuing year." This generous behaviour made such a deep impression upon the mind of Cinna, that he continued, from

He is pardoned by Augustus.

* Vell. Paterc. lib. ii. cap. 102.

* Suet. in Tiber. cap. 21.

x Dio, lib. lv. p. 556.

y Dio, lib. lv. p. 557.

that time to the hour of his death, inviolably attached to the interest of Augustus and his family^a. It was about this time, and perhaps on this occasion, that the people offered Augustus the title of dominus, that is, *lord*, or *master*; which he not only refused, but published an edict, forbidding any one to address him under that name; a name peculiar to masters with respect to their slaves, and therefore no less injurious to him than to the Roman people. Towards the end of this year, the people earnestly entreated him to recall his daughter Julia; but he answered, that he never would consent to their request; and, when the people were very pressing with him, he could not contain his anger, but, in a violent passion, wished they might have such wives and such daughters. They prevailed upon him at length to change the place of her confinement, and to remove her from the island to the continent; but he would not by any means suffer her to return to Rome^a.

Julia removed to the continent.

In the beginning of the ensuing year, when Cn. Cornelius Cinna, who had conspired against Augustus, and L. Valerius Messala, were consuls, Tiberius was sent into Germany, to complete the conquest of that country, and keep in awe the several nations which had been some years before subdued by him and his brother Drusus. C. Sentius Saturninus, the last year's consul, an officer of known valour and great experience, was appointed to command under him, as he was well acquainted with the country, having been formerly Augustus's lieutenant in those parts. Velleius Paterculus, the historian, attended Tiberius in this expedition, and served under him in quality of præfectus equitum, or commander of horse; which post had been held by his father. He tells us, that Tiberius, entering Germany, over-ran the country of the Caninesates, now the province of Utrecht; that, from thence, he advanced against the Attuati and Bruëteri, the people of the territory of Munster, whom he easily reduced; that the Cherusci, the inhabitants of the present duchies of Brunswic and Lunebourg, submitted at his approach; that he made himself master of all the countries lying on the Visurgis and the Lupias, now the Weser and the Lype; and that, putting his troops into winter-quarters on the banks of the Lupias, he returned to Rome towards the end of December, where he was received with loud acclamations^b.

The exploits of Tiberius in Germany.

In this and the following year, Rome was afflicted with a dreadful famine, insomuch that all foreigners, gladiators,

A famine in Rome.

^a Senec. de Clemen. lib. i. cap. 9. p. 318, 319.

Ost. cap. 53. Xiphil. lib. iv.

104, 105, 106.

^a Suet. in

^b Vell. Paterc. lib. ii. cap.

athletæ, or wrestlers, and slaves, except physicians and school-masters, were driven out of the city, and ordered to remain at eighty miles distance from the capital, Augustus himself sending away the greater part of his own slaves and attendants. On this occasion he doubled his usual largesses, ordering a certain quantity of corn to be weekly distributed among the indigent citizens, and provisions to be brought from Sicily, Sardinia, and the neighbouring countries, at the public expence, and sold at a low rate. These regulations still more endeared him to the people, who were for decreeing him new honours, which he absolutely refused; but the glory which accrued to him from a solemn embassy sent this year to Rome, in the name of the Parthian nation, is greatly celebrated by all the writers of those times. The Parthians, tired with the troubles that were daily raised in their country by pretenders to the crown, had at length recourse to Augustus, entreating him to give them a king. The emperor, highly pleased with this embassy, named Vonones, one of the sons of Phraates, who had been sent to Rome, as we have formerly observed, commending him both to the Parthian ambassadors, and the Roman governors in the East. The Parthian nobility received him with great joy, and placed him on the throne of the Arsacides^c.

*Augustus
appoints
Vonones
king of
Parthia.*

Next year, M. Æmilius Lepidus and L. Arruntius being consuls, Tiberius, returning to Germany, pursued his conquests with surprising rapidity, if Velleius his historian, or rather panegyrist, is to be credited. He first subdued the Chauci (U), the most flourishing and numerous nation of Germany, and then the Langobardi or Lombardi, who surpassed in fierceness all the inhabitants of that vast continent. He over-ran, and brought under subjection, all the countries between the Rhine and the Albis, or the Elbe, while his fleet struck terror into the warlike nations bordering on the ocean; and the Roman ensigns and eagles were revered and adored by numberless nations, who, till the arrival of Tiberius, had never heard of the Roman name^d.

*Tiberius
over-runs
great part
of Ger-
many.*

*The Getuli
revolt, and
are sub-
dued.*

While Tiberius prosecuted the war in Germany, Cornelius Cosus was employed in Mauritania against the Getuli, who, revolting from king Juba, massacred all the Romans

^c Strab. lib. xvi. p. 748. Tacit. Annal. lib. ii. cap. 2. Joseph. p. 620. ^d Vell. Paterc. lib. ii. cap. 104, 105, 106.

(U) The Chauci inhabited di, that part of the marquisate East Frieland, the counties of Oldenburg, and Hoya, and part of the bishoprick of Bremen: between the Elbe and the the Longobardi, or Langobar-Oder.

settled

settled in his country, and committed most dreadful ravages in the provinces subject to that prince. But Cossus, marching against them, defeated the rebels with great slaughter, and obliged them to submit. This year Agrippa Posthumus, having incurred the displeasure of his grandfather Augustus, was banished to the island of Planasia, now Pianosa, in the Mediterranean sea (W).

Agrippa disgraced and banished.

Next year, when A. Licinius Nerva and Q. Cæcilius Metellus were consuls, Rome had three dangerous wars to maintain; one in Germany, another in Pannonia, and the third in Dalmatia. In Germany, Maroboduus king of the Marcomanni (X), a prince of extraordinary strength, uncommon address, great personal courage, and experience in military affairs, having raised a formidable army, consisting of seventy thousand foot, and four thousand horse, threatened the countries lately subdued by Tiberius, nay, Italy itself, with an invasion. Against him was sent Tiberius, who, arriving in Illyricum, divided his numerous forces into two bodies: one he put under the conduct of C. Centius Saturninus, who, by Tiberius's orders, taking his route through the territories of the Catti, and opening himself a passage through the Hercynian forest (Y), brought his legions to the confines of the Marcomanni, called by the ancients Boiohæmi. Tiberius seemed to be unwilling to enter the lists with the king of the Marcomanni; for, under various pretences, he delayed his march, and continued in Illyricum, as if he were afraid of the enemy, or designed to protract the war. Augustus was old, and Tiberius knew how much it would be for his interest to have, at his death, an army under his command ready to second his ambitious views; and therefore passed great part of the summer in a state of inaction, at the head of a numerous and well-disciplined army.

Tiberius sent against Maroboduus.

(W) Some writers tell us, that Augustus conceived an irreconcilable hatred to him, on account of his irregular and scandalous life, which he thought a disgrace to his family. Tacitus ascribes the disgrace of young Agrippa not to any vices of his own, but to the arts and ambitious views of Livia, who was glad to remove the only person who stood in her son's way to absolute power.

(X) The Marcomanni inhabited first that country which lies between the Rhine, the Danube, the Cochera, and the Neckar. From thence they passed with the Harudes and Sedusii into Boiohæmia, now Bohemia, and, driving out the Boii, settled there.

(Y) The Black forest, and forest of Bohemia, were once parts of this Hercynian forest, which extended from the Rhine as far as Muscovy.

The Pannonians and Dalmatians revolt.

M. Valerius Messalinus having, by the emperor's order, led the troops he commanded in Dalmatia and Pannonia into Illyricum, to reinforce Tiberius, the inhabitants of those countries conspired to shake off the yoke, and recover their ancient liberties, under the conduct of two chiefs of the same name. The two Batos raised each in his own country an hundred thousand foot, and nine thousand horse, slew all the Romans who had settled in Pannonia or Dalmatia, over-ran the neighbouring countries subject to the Romans, and, penetrating into Macedon, committed the most dreadful ravages. The two chiefs had agreed to act jointly or separately, as occasion should require, and not to lay down their arms till they had delivered their respective countries, and all Germany, from the Roman bondage. This general and unexpected insurrection filled Rome with terror and confusion. The emperor, having assembled the senate, instead of lessening, magnified the danger; assuring the conscript fathers, that, unless a new army was raised with all possible expedition, they might in ten days see the enemy at the gates of Rome. Levies were therefore made without delay, the veterans were ordered to return to their colours, and not only freed-men, but great numbers of slaves, were admitted into the legions. By these means a numerous army was raised, and the command of it given to Germanicus the son of Drusus, and nephew of Tiberius, a youth of extraordinary accomplishments. Augustus left the capital, and went to reside at Ariminum; whence he could, with more ease and expedition, dispatch orders to the two generals, and assist them with his advice in carrying on a war, which he considered as the most dangerous he had yet been engaged in, the enemy's troops being very numerous, well disciplined, and at no great distance from Italy, which, if any misfortune should happen either to Tiberius or Germanicus, they would not fail to invade, and might over-run, before another army could be raised.

Germanicus appointed to make head against them.

Tiberius leads his army against them.

The transactions of this campaign.

Germanicus was no sooner appointed to command against the revolted Pannonians and Dalmatians, than Tiberius turned his arms against them, hoping he should be able to reduce them before the arrival of Germanicus, whom he now beheld as his rival, and therefore would have willingly deprived of the glory which might accrue to him from that expedition. With this view, quitting Illyricum, he encamped in the country which parted Pannonia from the kingdom of Maroboduus, to prevent the conjunction of the Pannonians and the Marcomanni; but Bato, the Panno-

* Dio, lib. lv. p. 569, & seq.

nian, laid siege to Sirmium (Z); and, though defeated by Cæcina Severus, governor of Mœsia, had again recruited his army, and obliged Cæcina to quit the field. On the other hand Bato, the Dalmatian, laid siege to Salona (A), and though wounded in the attack of the place, yet marched at the head of his troops to meet Messalinus, whom Tiberius had detached against him, gave battle, and defeated him. The Roman general being obliged, in his retreat, to pass through certain defiles, was there unexpectedly shut up, and surrounded on all sides by the enemy. The two Batos soon after united their forces, and, encamping on Mount Almus, in the neighbourhood of Sirmium, kept that place blocked up, and laid the country under contribution. Tiberius detached Rhymetalces, a petty king of Thrace, against them, who gained some inconsiderable advantages, but was not able to dislodge them, though joined by A. Cæcina, governor of Mœsia, at the head of a considerable body of Roman troops. At length Tiberius marched against them in person; but the enemy, upon the news of his approach, abandoned their post, and, dividing their numerous forces into several small bodies, retired by different ways into Macedon, committing dreadful ravages in all the countries through which they passed. As winter drew near, Tiberius did not pursue them; but Rhymetalces, and his brother, Rascipolis, at the head of the Thracian auxiliaries, coming up with them on the confines of Macedon, gave them a total overthrow^f.

At the approach of winter, Tiberius returned to Rome, where M. Furius Camillus and Sextus Nonius Quincilianus were soon after raised to the consulate. During their administration, ambassadors came to Rome, both from the Jews and Samaritans, to accuse Archelaus, to whom Augustus had given the half of his father Herod's kingdom, under the name of ethnarchy, of mal-administration, tyranny, and oppression. Archelaus being cited to Rome, to answer the charge brought against him, and not being able to justify himself before the emperor, he was deposed, and banished to Vienne in Gaul, where he ended his days. Archelaus being banished, Augustus appointed Publius Sul-

*Archelaus
deposed and
banished.*

^f Dio, lib. lv. p. 569—571. Vell. Patercul. lib. ii. cap. 114, &c.

(Z) Sirmium, now Sirmisch, was, in former times, the metropolis of Pannonia Inferior, and the place which the emperors chose for their residence, when the affairs of the empire

called them into those parts. (A) Salona, one of the chief cities of Illyricum, stood on the Adriatic sea, at a small distance from the present city of Spalato.

Judæa reduced to a Roman province.

pitius Quirinius to be president of Syria; and sent him into the East to seize on the countries of Judæa, Idumæa, and Samaria, which were now reduced to a Roman province. Coponius, a Roman knight, was sent to take upon him the government of them, with the title of procurator of Judæa. These officers, arriving at Jerusalem, seized all Archelaus's effects and treasures, pursuant to the sentence passed against him by Augustus, and, having abolished the Jewish polity, introduced the Roman in its stead. Coponius assumed, in the name of Augustus, the administration, but in subordination to the president of Syria, Judæa being made a part of that province. Thus was the power of life and death taken from the Jews, and placed wholly in the Roman procurator and his subordinate officers. All taxes were henceforth paid immediately to the Roman emperor; and the Jews might now say with truth, what they were heard to say some years after; "We have no king but Cæsar &c."

Germanicus gains advantages over the Dalmatians.

Early in the spring Tiberius and Germanicus took the field, the former against the Pannonians, and the latter against the Dalmatians. We read of no great advantages gained by Tiberius; but Germanicus obliged the Dalmatians to quit the field, and shelter themselves behind the walls of their cities and castles, some of which he besieged and took.

The Dalmatians subdued.

While they were thus pressed by Germanicus, a famine began to rage all over the country, and was attended by various distempers, arising from their feeding on herbs and roots to which they were not accustomed. In this extremity Bato, chief of the Dalmatians, began to think of submitting; and accordingly sent deputies to treat with Tiberius, who received both them and Bato himself, when he appeared before him the next day, in a very obliging manner. The Roman asked him from his tribunal, what had reduced him to revolt, and persist so long, and with such obstinacy, in his rebellion against Rome: "The Romans, (answered Bato) instead of shepherds to protect and defend us, send wolves to devour us." The kind treatment he met with from Tiberius made such an impression upon his mind, that he was easily prevailed upon to turn his arms against his name-sake and ally, whom he defeated, and inhumanly murdered, having persuaded the garrison of a castle, to which the unfortunate Pannonian had fled after the battle, to betray him into his hands. Upon his death the greater part of the Pannonians submitted ^a.

^a Vide Strab. lib. xii. p. 569. Dio, lib. lv. p. 561. Joseph. Antiq. lib. xvii. cap. 15. & de Bell. Judaic. lib. ii. ^b Dio, lib. lvi. p. 570, 571. Vell. Patere. ibid.

When Augustus heard of the submission of one Bato, and the death of the other, he left Ariminum, and returned to Rome, where great complaints were made to him by the knights, against the law which he had published some years before, concerning unmarried persons, and such as had no children. The knights, whose aversion to marriage proceeded from the looseness of their lives, were very pressing with the emperor to get this law abolished. Thus solicited, Augustus assembled the whole body of knights, and declaimed with great vehemence against celibacy. Far from complying with the desires of those who had an aversion to marriage, he doubled the rewards and privileges of such as had children, and laid heavy fines on all unmarried persons; allowing them, however, the term of a year, in which space, if they complied with the law, they were to be free from the penalty. This edict obliged all men to marry at a certain age, established great exemptions and privileges to such as had children, and laid heavy fines on all who, after a certain age, continued single. It was called the Papian-Popæan law, because enacted by the consuls M. Papius Mutilus and Q. Popæus Secundus, to whom the consuls of this year, C. Sulpitius Camerinus and C. Poppæus Sabinus, had resigned the fasces, after having held them only six months. It was also called the Julian law, having been published by Augustus's order, who was of the Julian family. For the farther encouragement of marriage, Augustus abrogated the Voconian law (B), forbidding married women to receive any

The Papian-Popæan law.

(B) Nothing was more common, before the publication of this law, than for men to give excessive legacies to women, and to leave them by will the whole estate of a wealthy family. One of the laws of the Twelve Tables empowered all citizens to appoint whomsoever they pleased to be their heirs, without regard to sex or relations. This law was attended with inconveniences; debauchery was increased, and it became more easy to debauch a sex who are not always deaf to their interest. Besides, it was no uncommon thing to see women, who were by legacies become richer than their husbands, insulting them, and be-

having themselves in their families with great haughtiness. To remedy this evil, Q. Voconius, tribune of the people, drew up a new law, which he at last got passed in the comitia. The chief heads of this law were: 1. Every citizen was forbidden to make any woman universal legatee, even an only daughter not excepted. 2. A daughter's fortune, after the death of her father, was to be proportioned to his estate, or to be pro rata of what he had left, according to the estimation of prudent men; and, generally speaking, the daughter was allowed only one fourth of her father's estate. 3. It was enacted,

any legacies above a certain sum; yet, that he might not seem to discourage even the appearance of virtue, he bestowed upon such women as had vowed perpetual virginity the same rewards and privileges as upon mothers¹.

New troubles in Dalmatia and Pannonia.

During these transactions at Rome the war broke out again in Dalmatia and Pannonia; Bato, who had submitted the year before, being the ring-leader of the revolt, whether upon some new provocation, or merely from the fickleness of his temper, we know not. Germanicus, who had acquired a perfect knowledge of the country, and of the manner of fighting in use among the rebels, was ordered to lead the same legions against them which he had before commanded. He opened the campaign with the siege of Rhætium, a strong city in Dalmatia, where he was in imminent danger of perishing, with the greatest part of his army; for the inhabitants having, after a faint resistance, abandoned the town, and retired into the citadel, Germanicus, at the head of his legions, entered the place, in order to attack the citadel; but while the Romans were planting their machines and ladders, they saw themselves suddenly surrounded by flames, the inhabitants having filled

Germanicus's troops in danger.

¹ Dio, lib. lvi. p. 573—578.

ed, that all the legacies of the testator should not exceed one half of his estate (6). This testamentary law had been preceded by another, which C. Furius, tribune of the people, had got passed, and which was thence called the Furian law. It forbade, according to Ulpian, Pomponius, and Justinian, any Roman citizen to leave, by legacy, above the value of one thousand asces to any one person, and, at the same time, condemned the legatee to pay four times the sum which was given him above what the law stipulated; so that the Voconian law ought to be looked upon as a supplement to this, which was probably grown out of use in the time of Q. Voconius. Cato, the censor, made a speech in

favour of the Voconian law, which he inserted in his book *De Originibus*, and which was in being in Livy's time. There are some fragments of it still extant in Aulus Gellius. Cicero fixes the passing of the Voconian law to the year of Rome 584, when Quintus Marcius Philippus, and Cneius Servilius Cæpio were consuls (7). From that time it continued in force to the reign of Augustus, who revoked it in favour of Livia, to whom he was resolved, as Dio Cassius informs us, to devise by will great part of his estate; but that historian speaks so ambiguously of the Voconian law, that he has given the civilians occasion to put different interpretations upon it.

(6) Cic. de Finibus, & Verrina i. Aul. Gell. Noct. Attic. lib. xx cap. 10. Pædian in Varr. i.

(7) Cic. de Senect.

their

their houses with all sorts of combustible materials before they abandoned them, and appointed some resolute persons to set fire to them when the Romans should have entered. The legionaries, to avoid the fire, surrounded the citadel, which stood at some distance from the houses: in avoiding one kind of death they met with another; for the besieged discharged so many darts, arrows, and stones, that the ground was in an instant covered with heaps of dead bodies. In this extremity the Romans attempted to scale the fortress; but met with such a vigorous resistance as disheartened them: nothing, therefore, now remained, but to attempt a retreat through the flames; and this they effected, though with great loss, many of them being crushed by the ruins of the houses, suffocated by the smoke, or destroyed by the fire, which, with great violence, flamed out of the houses on either side the streets through which they passed.

In the night the besieged abandoned the fortress, which began to take fire, and concealed themselves in the neighbouring woods. Germanicus, having waited till both the city and citadel were reduced to ashes, led his legions against Seretium, another city of great importance in the same country, which he invested, and reduced in a short time, though Tiberius had in vain attempted the reduction of it the year before. Being encouraged with this success, and no enemy appearing in the field, he divided his army into several bodies, and, laying siege to different places at the same time, made himself master of most of their fortified towns. In the mean time Augustus, impatient to see this war ended, ordered Tiberius to march likewise into Dalmatia, and hasten the final reduction of that country. Tiberius immediately went in search of Bato, who had under his command a considerable body of Pannonians and Dalmatians; and finding him in the neighbourhood of Andetrium, or Andetrium (C), a strong castle, situated on a steep and inaccessible rock, offered him battle; but Bato, declining an engagement, retired into the castle, and posted his troops on the tops of the neighbouring mountains.

Tiberius boldly advanced through the narrow passages, among the mountains, to the foot of the rock on which Andetrium stood, with a design to besiege it; but was greatly alarmed when he saw himself surrounded by the enemy, who, descending from the mountains, had seized on the defiles, and by that means cut off his retreat. He expected to find at Andetrium the Caudine Forks; and he must have inevitably perished with his whole army, had the Dalma-

He reduces several cities.

The siege of Andetrium by Tiberius;

who is reduced to great straits.

(C) Now Clissa,

tians

*Bato sub-
mits.*

*Andetrium
taken.*

*Arduba
taken by
Germani-
cus.*

Yr. of Fl.
2256.
A. D. 8.
U. C. 756.

*The war
ended.*

tians shewed as much bravery and resolution as the Samnites displayed on the like occasion ; but while Tiberius despaired of being able either to retire or advance, the Dalmatians, seized with a panic, abandoned their posts, and, retreating in disorder to the tops of their mountains, left all the avenues open to the Roman general, who advancing without opposition to the foot of the rock on which the castle stood, summoned it to surrender. Bato, finding he could not depend upon his men, resolved to capitulate. Leaving the castle in the night, he delivered himself up to Tiberius, who received him with great demonstrations of kindness, and allowed him to retire, after he had solemnly promised never to bear arms against the Romans. But the garrison of Andetrium still resisted, and the place was not taken till after repeated assaults, in which great numbers of the Romans lost their lives. At length they surrendered upon honourable terms, which Tiberius religiously observed ¹.

At the same time Germanicus reduced Arduba, a town not inferior in strength to Andetrium, and defended by as numerous a garrison ; but the reduction of that important place was more owing to the disagreement which reigned among the inhabitants, than to the valour of the Romans ; for the greater part of the citizens being for surrendering, and submitting to the yoke, the women, more fond of their ancient laws and liberties than the men, joined some Roman deserters, and falling upon their husbands, made a great slaughter of them. At last, the men prevailing, they submitted ; and the unhappy women, disdaining to outlive the loss of their liberty, either threw themselves headlong from the walls, or, setting fire to their houses, consumed themselves and their children in the flames. Then the two Roman generals, uniting their forces, over-ran all Dalmatia and Pannonia, restoring every where peace and tranquillity, and obliging the inhabitants to deliver up their arms, and return to their former employments.

The war being ended, to the great satisfaction of Augustus, Tiberius and Germanicus returned to Rome, where they enjoyed triumphal honours ; and two triumphal arches, by a decree of the senate, were to be erected in Pannonia, and adorned with magnificent trophies. Germanicus was allowed to stand for the consulate before he attained the age required in other candidates, and to vote in the senate before the senators of consular dignity. As for Tiberius, it was decreed, that his son Drusus, though he had no share in the war, should be admitted into the se-

¹ Dio, lib. lvi. p. 578-581.

nate, and have the privilege to deliver his opinion, after he had executed the office of *questor*, before those who had been *prætors* *.

The joy which the total reduction of *Pannonia* and *Dalmatia* occasioned in *Rome* was changed into the deepest melancholy, by the dismal news of the entire defeat of *Quintilius Varus* by the Germans under the conduct of *Arminius*. The Germans, before the arrival of *Varus*, had begun to bear the yoke with less reluctance; they had quitted their forests, built some cities, where they lived in a social manner, under the protection of the Roman laws; and, forgetting their native ferocity, had for some time applied themselves to the peaceable arts of husbandry. But the extortion and rapine of this new governor revived in that warlike nation their ancient love of liberty, estranged their minds from *Rome*; and inspired them with an eager desire of shaking off a tyranny which they could no longer endure.

Quintilius Varus provokes the Germans by his extortion.

Among the Germans was a young nobleman of extraordinary parts, and great valour, named *Arminius*. He was the son of *Sigimer*, one of the most powerful lords of the *Catti*, had served with great reputation in the Roman armies, and been honoured by *Augustus* with the privilege of a Roman citizen, and the title of knight. But the love of his country prevailing over all other considerations, he resolved to improve the general discontent which reigned in the nation, to the advantage of his countrymen, and deliver them from bondage. With this view he engaged, by means of his friends and emissaries, in a conspiracy against the Romans, the chief lords and leading men of all the nations between the *Rhine* and the *Elbe*. In order to draw *Varus* to a distance from this last river, by which he could always receive succours from *Gaul*, he suggested to him the necessity of shewing himself to the inhabitants of the more distant provinces, of administering justice, and accustoming them, by his example, to live after the Roman manner. *Varus* readily came into the proposal of the crafty *Arminius*; and, quitting the neighbourhood of the *Rhine*, marched into the country of the *Cherusci*. There he made it his whole business to civilize the Barbarians, by introducing among them the Roman laws and manners. He was continually employed in hearing causes, and deciding civil controversies; insomuch that his tent looked more like the tribunal of a *prætor* than the *prætorium* of a general. This was, indeed, a more suitable employment to the genius of *Varus*, than military expeditions; not that he wanted

Arminius undertakes to deliver the Catti from the Roman yoke.

He stirs up the Germans against the Romans.

His treachery.

* Dio, & Vell. Patercul. *ibid.*

courage, but because he loved his ease, and thought he could better tame the Barbarians by acting as a lawgiver than as a general. In the mean time, the conspiracy being ripe for execution, and the Germans ready to rise upon the first notice, Arminius, under pretence of clearing the high-ways of robbers, and keeping some places in awe, persuaded Varus to send out several detachments; by which means his army being weakened, some distant nations in Germany rose up in arms, by Arminius's directions, while those, through which he was to pass in marching against them, pretended to be in a state of profound tranquility, and ready to join the Romans against their rebellious countrymen.

*Varus and
his legions
surprised
and sur-
rounded.*

Varus upon the first news of the revolt, marched with three legions, a considerable body of horse, and six cohorts, to reduce the rebels, attended by Arminius and his father Sigimer, as guides, who led him into a thick forest, surrounded on all sides with steep hills, and marshy grounds. There, while the legionaries were employed in cutting down trees to open themselves a passage through the forest, and entirely off their guard, a great body of Germans unexpectedly appeared, and, discharging upon them a shower of darts, killed a great number before they could rally, and put themselves in a posture of defence. They formed themselves, at last, in order of battle, as well as the ground would allow; but a heavy rain falling, which rendered their arms almost useless, and the Barbarians pouring upon them hourly in crowds, they attempted to retire to a neighbouring valley. Finding all the avenues blocked up with numerous bodies of the enemy, they were forced to continue all that night, and the next day, exposed to the darts and arrows of the Barbarians.

*Varus and
most of the
officers de-
stroy them-
selves.*

In this extremity Varus, being dangerously wounded, put an end to his life; and most of the chief officers, scorn- ing to outlive their general, or to be made prisoners by the Barbarians, followed his example. The greatest part of the cavalry cut their way through the enemy sword in hand, and made their escape; with them Vala Numonius, one of Varus's lieutenants, abandoning the foot, which he com- manded, arrived safe at the Rhine, where he soon after per- ished as a deserter, but of what kind of death our author has not thought fit to acquaint us. Cesonius, another of Varus's lieutenants, after the retreat of the cavalry, the death of Varus, and most of the other officers, was for surrendering at discretion. This motion cost him his life; for he was immediately tried as a coward by the surviving officers, sentenced to death, and executed. A very small number of the legionaries, and scarce any officers, being left

left alive, the enemy fell upon the baggage. In the mean time the Roman trumpets sounding, probably to call those together who were dispersed in the forest, the Barbarians imagined that Asprenas, who was quartered at a small distance from that neighbourhood, was come to the assistance of his countrymen; and therefore they retired in the night, and gave the few legionaries, who outlived that fatal day, an opportunity of saving themselves by flight. Thus were three complete legions, and six cohorts, almost entirely cut off; the greatest overthrow, if Velleius is to be credited, the Romans had received ever since the defeat of Crassus by the Parthians¹.

*Most of the
legionaries
killed.*

The legions that perished on this occasion were the best of the whole empire for valour, discipline, and experience; so that the news of this loss threw the city into the utmost consternation. Augustus, upon the first advice of so dreadful and unexpected an overthrow, tore his garment, and, in a phrenzy, beat his head against the wall, crying out, "Restore the legions, Varus!" This ejaculation he repeated occasionally in the transports of his grief for several months, letting his hair and beard grow, and abandoning himself entirely to grief and sorrow: however, he did not forget to provide, with all possible care, for the safety of Rome and Italy; he placed guards in all quarters of the city, to prevent tumults and disturbances; he raised new levies, obliging all the Roman youth, who were able to bear arms, to lift themselves, confiscating the estates of such as refused to give in their names, and even threatening the most refractory with death: Augustus vowed the great games to Jupiter, a step which had been formerly taken in the wars with the Marfi and Cimbri; and never forgot this fatal day, but observed it for the remaining part of his life as a day of mourning.

*Yr. of Fl.
2258.
A. D. 10.
U. C. 752.*

*The concern
of Augustus.*

As the emperor ascribed this fatal overthrow to the anger of the gods, and gave credit to several pretended prodigies (D), his fears were not quite removed till the ensu-

¹ Dio, p. 582—585. Vel. Patere. lib. ii. cap. 117. Tacit. Annal. lib. i. cap. 62.

(D) The temple of Mars was struck with lightning: a swarm of grasshoppers appeared near the city, and were dispersed by the swallows: great rocks fell from the top of the Alps, and fire was seen to issue out of the ground in various places: a statue of Victory, on the confines of Germany, with its face turned to-

wards that country, changed its posture, and turned its face towards Italy. These pretended prodigies gave the old emperor great uneasiness, which was not removed till the next year, when Tiberius entered Germany at the head of a numerous army.

ing

*Tiberius
sent into
Germany.*

ing year, when Tiberius, after the election of the new consuls, P. Cornelius Dolabella and C. Junius Silanus, leaving Rome, passed the Alps, and, entering Germany, obliged the rebels, though elated with their late success, to retire from the neighbourhood of the Rhine, and lay aside all thoughts of raising disturbances in Gaul. In the latter end of the year he celebrated the birth-day of Augustus in his camp with public games, and then retired to Rome^m.

*The poet
Ovid banished.*

This year the poet Ovid was banished to Tomos (E), on some account which we cannot explain; probably for impudent intrusion into the privacies of Augustus, as he himself hints in his *Tristia*ⁿ. The pretence Augustus made use of for banishing him, was, the lascivious books he had written of the Art of Love; whence Sidonius Apollinarius, and others, ascribe his disgrace to the lewdness of his muse, as he does himself, in several places of his works, out of complaisance to Augustus, and to prevent any farther inquiries. It is very certain, that he was in high favour with Augustus long after he had published his books of love; for which we cannot believe that the emperor would have inflicted so severe a punishment, after himself had written verses of that nature, some of which have reached our times, and are more scandalous than any we read in Ovid. Whatever was the true cause of his disgrace and banishment, he was confined to an inhospitable climate, and there lived to the hour of his death, without ever being able to prevail upon the emperor, either by his friends, or his affecting letters, to mitigate the rigour of the first sentence, by removing him to a more friendly climate.

*Several
laws published
by
Augustus.*

Next year, M. Æmilius Lepidus and T. Statilius Taurus being consuls, Augustus published an edict, forbidding all augurs, astrologers, and fortune-tellers, to utter, either in private or in public, predictions concerning the death of any person whatever; not that he was under any apprehension himself, says our historian, for he had caused his nativity to be calculated, and publicly exposed, but on account of the disturbances which those impostors had occasioned in some noble families. He likewise revived the edict for-

^m Dio, *ibid.* p. 586.

ⁿ Ovid. *Trist.* lib. ii. ad August.

(E) Tomos, Tomi, or Tomis, stood on the Euxine sea, and was the metropolis of Lower Moesia. The ancient city of Tomos is at present, according to Niger, called Constantia; according to Coelius Calpurnius, Terneswaer; according to Giosanius, Kiow or Kiovia; there being, in the neighbourhood of this last city, a lake called by the inhabitants Ovidue-jezero, that is, Ovid's lake.

bidding

bidding any of the equestrian order to fight in the arena; threatening such as should dare to transgress it with infamy, the confiscation of their estates, and even death. He extended his care to the distant provinces, ordering that no public honours should be bestowed on the governors sent thither, during the time of their administration, nor within sixty days after their departure. The haughty and imperious behaviour of some proconsuls and prætors gave rise to this edict; the emperor judging, that extraordinary honours inspired them with pride, and made them look upon those over whom they were placed with an eye of contempt. As there were this year sixteen persons of distinction who stood for the prætorship, Augustus, unwilling to disgust any of the candidates, named them all to that dignity; but next year reduced their number again to twelve. He raised Drusus, the son of Tiberius, by his first wife Vipsania Agrippina, to the quæstorship, though he had not yet attained the age required for the discharge of that employment; and named Germanicus consul for the ensuing year*. He afterwards sent both Tiberius and Germanicus into Germany, at the head of two very numerous armies; but, during the whole campaign, they did nothing which historians have thought worth recording; they passed the summer on or near the banks of the Rhine, contenting themselves with keeping the Germans at a distance, and preventing them from invading Gaul. About the middle of the autumn they repassed the Alps, and returned to the capital, without having even attempted the reduction of the provinces which had shaken off the yoke, and brought so dreadful a calamity upon Rome. Upon their return, Augustus honoured Tiberius with a triumph, which had been refused, when he had a better claim to it†.

Tiberius and Germanicus sent into Germany.

Tiberius triumphs.

Yr. of Fl.
2260.
A. D. 12.
U. C. 760.

Is associated with Augustus in the sovereignty.

Augustus, not being able, on account of his great age, to bear the whole burden of public affairs, named Tiberius for his colleague in the sovereign power; investing him with a much more ample and extensive authority than he had ever granted to his son-in-law and faithful minister Agrippa. The decree, which the conscript fathers passed in favour of Tiberius, was couched in the following terms: “At the request of the people of Rome, we grant to Caius Julius Cæsar Tiberius the same authority over the provinces, and all the armies of the Roman state, which Augustus has held, which he still retains, and which we pray the gods he may long enjoy‡.” This decree, which put

* Dio, *ibid.* p. 586. † Dio, p. 586. ‡ Vell. Patercul. lib. ii. cap. 121.

*Libels
brought
under the
law of ma-
jesty.*

Tiberius upon a level with Augustus, was proposed, according to Suetonius[†], by the consuls, no doubt, at the request, or rather by the command, of Augustus. Next year, Germanicus Cæsar and Fonteius Capito being consuls, Augustus, by a special edict, declared the authors of all lampoons, and satirical writings, attacking or blackening the reputation of any person whatever, guilty of high treason, and punishable with death. In the times of the republic, actions indeed were punished, says Tacitus, but words were free; Augustus was the first who brought libels under the penalties of the law of majesty, or of treason.

*Augustus
renews his
term of ten
years the
fifth time.*

Towards the end of this year, Augustus wrote two letters, one to the senate, recommending Germanicus to the conscript fathers, and another to Tiberius, recommending the senate to his respect and attention. In his letter to the senate, he begged the fathers not to be at the trouble of waiting upon him, according to their custom, at his house; adding, that he hoped they would dispense with him for not attending in the senate-house as formerly, such an attendance being very inconvenient to him on account of his age: he desired, they would appoint him twenty counsellors out of their body, with whom he might advise in matters of importance relating to the state. The senate readily granted his request, and decreed, that whatever he should resolve upon with the twenty senators assigned him, the consuls for the year, the consuls elect, and his adopted son and nephew, should have the same force as if voted and passed in the senate[‡]. In the following year, when C. Silius and L. Munacius Plancus were consuls, the fourth term of his ten years being near ended, he accepted, with seeming reluctance, of the government of the republic for ten years longer; and, at the same time, renewed the tribunitia power in favour of Tiberius, for the same term[§]. He impowered Drusus, the son of Tiberius, to stand for the consulate after two years, though he had not yet discharged the office of prætor; but, as both he and Germanicus had places in the senate, and it was natural to suppose, that their sentiments were those of Augustus, which none of the conscript fathers would venture to contradict, he ordered them not to vote, or declare their opinion, in such matters as were debated by the conscript fathers. Augustus, having thus settled matters at home, and made his will, which he delivered to the Vestal virgins, resolved once more to attempt the reduction of Germany.

[†] Suet. in Tiber. & Tacit. Annal. lib. i. cap. 3.
p. 588.

[‡] Idem, *ibid.*

[§] Dio, *ibid.*

With this view, he raised two numerous armies, one to be commanded by Tiberius, and the other by Germanicus. The latter was ordered to march this year into Gaul, and from thence to invade the countries, which, at the instigation of Arminius, had withdrawn their obedience from Rome. Tiberius was appointed to lead his army into Illyricum, and penetrate on that side into the kingdom of Maroboduus, which the Romans had not yet subdued. Augustus, however, kept him at Rome all this, and part of the following year, when Sextus Pompeius, and Sextus Apuleius were raised to the consulate: the former was grandson to the famous Sextus Pompeius, whose war with Augustus we have related: his colleague Apuleius was one of the emperor's chief favourites, and is said to have prevailed upon him to change the sentence of death, which he first pronounced against Ovid, into that of perpetual banishment. During their administration, Augustus, taking Tiberius for his colleague in the censorship, made a third census, by which it appeared, that the number of the Roman people amounted to four million one hundred and thirty-seven thousand, counting women and children as well as men *. While the ceremony was performing in the field of Mars, an eagle was observed to fly several times round Augustus, and then alight on a neighbouring temple over the first letter of Agrippa's name. This incident was looked upon not only by the multitude, but by Augustus himself, as an omen of his approaching end. He therefore ordered his colleague Tiberius to make the vows which were usual at the time of the census, for the safety of the Roman state, and the prosperity of the citizens; saying, that he would not make vows which he should not live to perform † (F).

Sends Germanicus into Germany.

A third census.

Prodigies presaging his death.

It

* Suet. lib. ii. cap. 97. Gruter. Inscript. p. 136. † Suet. ibid.

(F) He was confirmed in this opinion by several other prodigies: the first letter of his name, in an inscription on the pedestal of one of his statues, was struck off with lightning; and the soothsayers, who were consulted on that occasion, declared, that he had only an hundred days to live, the letter C standing for that number among the Latins: they added, that after his death he would be ranked among the gods; the word *æsar*, which was the remaining part of his name, signifying a *god* in the Hetruscan language. To these two omens Dio adds a third, which, in his opinion, plainly presaged his imminent death. It had been customary, ever since the death of Julius Cæsar, to place his chair, with a crown upon it, at the public sports. In this chair Augustus used to sit, when he

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P

assisted

*Augustus
goes to
Naples.*

It being now time for Tiberius to leave Rome, and set out for Illyricum, Augustus, to the great surprize of the whole city, declared his intention of accompanying him as far as Beneventum, and pursuing his journey from thence to Naples in Campania, in order to assist at the solemn sports which were to be exhibited on his approaching birthday. As he found his strength decaying apace, he promised himself no small benefit from the wholesome air of Campania, especially of Naples, whither many Romans used to resort for the recovery of their health; and this was the true motive of his sudden and unexpected resolution. He performed the journey with uncommon cheerfulness and alacrity, attended by his beloved Livia. At Beneventum he parted with Tiberius, and pursued his journey to Naples, where he was received with all possible demonstrations of joy. After he had spent some time at Naples very agreeably, and assisted at the public sports, he was seized with a diarrhoea, a dangerous distemper in a person of his years. He therefore resolved, before his strength failed him, to return to Rome; and accordingly, leaving Naples, set out for his capital; but his illness increasing, notwithstanding all the remedies prescribed by the physicians who attended him, he was obliged to stop at Nola in Campania.

*Is taken ill
on his re-
turn.*

*Tiberius
sent for by
Livia.*

Livia, apprised that his end was near, dispatched messengers repeatedly to Tiberius, acquainting him with the state of the emperor's health, and pressing him to return with all expedition. Tiberius, upon the receipt of his mother's letters, immediately left Illyricum, and flew to Nola, where he found Augustus alive, and received his last instructions *.

The old emperor looked upon death with great intrepidity. He discoursed very cheerfully with his intimate

* Vell. Paterc. lib. ii. cap. 128.

assisted at the shews; but it happened to be empty while the sports were exhibiting this year in honour of Augustus, a fool placed himself in it, and, taking up the crown, put it upon his head; and hence it was concluded, that the sovereign power, signified by the crown, would soon pass into other hands (1). In the mean time,

Augustus wrote a short account of the chief actions of his life, which he caused to be engraved on brass, and placed over his tomb (2). Great part of this valuable monument has been transmitted to us in the Marmor Ancyrannum, and is to be seen in the inscriptions of the learned Gruter (3).

(1) Dio, lib. lvi. p. 589.

(2) Suet. lib. ii. cap. ult. Dio, p. 590.

(3) Gruter, Inscript. p. 210.

friends,

friends, giving them many wise and useful instructions relating to the management of their private affairs, and those of the public. In speaking of his own actions, he told them, that "he had found Rome of brick, but left it of marble;" alluding, by this expression, says Dio Cassius, not so much to the beauty and stateliness of the buildings, as to the majesty, grandeur, and firmness of the empire. In his last moments he called for a mirror; and, having caused his hair to be adjusted, and his wrinkled cheeks to be smoothed, as was customary among the stage-players, he asked his friends with a languishing voice, "Whether he had acted his part well?" They answering in the affirmative, "Dismiss me, then, with a plaudit (said he), for I am going off the stage." Finally, fixing his eyes on Livia, who held him in her arms, he desired her to "remember their marriage, and the ties which had kept their hearts so long united;" and then quietly expired.

He dies at Nola.

Thus died the celebrated Augustus, on the nineteenth of August, which month was so named from him, the same day on which he had entered upon his first consulship. He had lived seventy-five years, ten months, and twenty-six days; and reigned, from his first consulship, fifty-six years, but, from the battle of Actium, only forty-three. Livia was suspected of having hastened the emperor's death, fearing he might be reconciled, on his return to Rome, with his grandson Agrippa Posthumus, whom he had privately visited some months before, in the island of Planasia. He made this little excursion attended by Fabius Maximus alone, without the privy of Livia; Tiberius, or any other of his most faithful and trusty favourites. Fabius disclosed the secret to his wife Martia, and she to Livia; and thence the emperor knew, that the secret was betrayed; a circumstance which so provoked him against Fabius, that when he came to wait upon him the next morning, he bade him "eternally farewell." Fabius did not long survive his disgrace; but soon after destroyed himself¹. The suspicion, however, that Livia hastened the death of Augustus with poisoned figs, seems to be mere calumny.

*Yr. of Pl.
236.
A. D. 14.
U. C. 764.*

Livia suspected of having hastened his death.

The body of the deceased emperor was borne from Nola to Bovillæ, in the neighbourhood of Rome, on the shoulders of the chief magistrates of the colonies of the municipal towns on the road. At Bovillæ it was received by the Roman knights, and by them conveyed to Rome, and exposed in the porch of the imperial palace on Mount Palatine.

His body conveyed to Rome.

¹ Suet. in Octav. cap. 98. Vell. Patercul. lib. ii. cap. 128. Dio, p. 590. ² Tacit. Annal. lib. i. cap. 5.

*His will,**and legacies.**Four writings left by him.*

Tiberius, in virtue of the tribunitial power with which he was invested, appointed the senate to meet next day; but would suffer no other business to be transacted, than what related to the funeral of his deceased father. In the first place, his last will was brought in by the Vestal virgins, and read aloud by Polybius, one of Augustus's freedmen. It began thus: "Since the gods have been pleased to deprive me of my grandchildren Caius and Lucius, I declare Tiberius my heir," &c. By the same will Tiberius and Livia were appointed his first heirs, his grandchildren, and their children, his second, and the great men of Rome his third heirs: Livia was adopted into the Julian family, and honoured with the title of Augusta. To the Roman people he left, as a legacy, four hundred thousand great sesterces; to the populace thirty-five thousand; to every common soldier of the prætorian guards a thousand small sesterces; and to every soldier of the Roman legions three hundred (H).

His last will being read, Drusus produced to the conscript fathers four small books, written by the deceased emperor; the first of which contained regulations relating to the ceremony of his obsequies; the second was a journal of the most memorable actions of his life, which, by his last will, he ordered to be engraved on the pillars of brass, which supported the frontispiece of his stately mausoleum. Great part of this journal has been preserved in an ancient marble, found about an hundred and fifty years since in the city of Ancyra^a. The third book contained a summary of the strength and income of the empire, the number of the Romans and auxiliaries in pay, the condition of the navy, of the several kingdoms paying tribute, and of the various provinces and their revenues, with the state of the treasury, the expences of the empire, and the demands upon the public. This register was all written with Augustus's own hand. The fourth book was a collection of instructions for the use of Tiberius, and the other governors and magistrates of the republic, whom he advised to abandon all thoughts of extending the limits of the empire by new conquests^b.

^a Vide Gruter. Inscript. p. 130.^b Suet. in Tiber.

(H) From several expressions in private letters of Augustus, quoted by Suetonius, it plainly appears, that Augustus had a real value and sincere affection for Tiberius; that he looked upon him as the only person capable of supporting with dig-

nity the title of emperor; and consequently, that he did not adopt him out of complaisance to Livia, nor a secret ambition of enhancing his own reputation with posterity, by giving the Romans an emperor of such a bad character.

The

The funeral honours were next considered, when Alfinius Gallus moved, that the funeral should pass through the triumphal gate; Lucius Arruntius proposed, that the titles of all the laws he had made, and the names of all the nations he had conquered, should be carried before the corpse. Some were of opinion, that, on the day of his funeral, all the magistrates and knights should, in token of their grief, wear iron, instead of their gold-rings; and that, to eternize his memory, not only the month Sextilis, but the whole time he had lived, should bear his name, and be styled *seculum Augustum*, that is, *the age of Augustus*. Valerius Messala, departing from the matter in question, added, that the oath of allegiance to Tiberius should be renewed every year. Tiberius, surprised at this unexpected proposal, asked him, whether he had made that motion at his instigation? "I spoke it (answered Messala with a new turn of flattery) as my own opinion; nor will I ever be controlled by any man in things which concern the welfare of the public, let who will be provoked at my freedom." The senators at length agreed to carry the body of the deceased emperor to the funeral-pile on their shoulders: but this ceremony Tiberius would not suffer; he even commanded the people to restrain their zeal, and not to insist upon having his body burnt, as Julius Cæsar's had been, rather in the forum than in the field of Mars, which was the place appointed. However, his funeral was performed with the greatest pomp and magnificence that had ever been seen in Rome: Drusus read from the rostra a short elogium of the deceased emperor; and Tiberius pronounced his funeral oration in the forum, which was received with the applause it deserved, as a masterly composition^d. When fire was set to his pile, an eagle was let loose from the top, to carry his soul to heaven. Livia, and with her some of the chief men among the knights, continued for five days together in the field of Mars, collecting the ashes and the bones which the flames had spared. These Livia enclosed in an urn of gold, which she deposited in the magnificent mausoleum, which Augustus had long before built in a grove between the Tiber and the Flaminian Way. It was decreed, that men should mourn for him according to custom, that is, about three weeks; but women a whole year, probably from respect to Livia.

Opinions of the senators relating to his funeral honours.

His body burnt in the Campus Martius.

As soon as the funeral was over, divine worship was decreed him, with a temple and priests: the house in which he was born, that in which he died, and most of the houses

Divine honours decreed him.

^c Tacit. Annal. lib. i. cap. 11.

^d Dio, lib. lvi. p. 598.

in which he had lived, were changed into sanctuaries. Livia, now Julia Augusta, assumed the office of chief priestess of the new deity, and made a present of ten thousand great sestercies to a senator, named Numerius Atticus, who solemnly declared, upon oath, that he had seen the soul of Augustus ascend to heaven. This fable, which was a copy of that which Julius Proculus had many ages before published concerning Romulus, was soon spread abroad, and credited in all the provinces subject to Rome: temples were every where erected in honour of the deified Augustus, and a new order of priests was instituted. Tiberius consecrated a sanctuary to his deceased father in his own palace, and chose twenty-one priests from among the senators, naming himself, his son Drusus, and his nephew Germanicus, among the first *.

His character.

It is generally agreed that Augustus was no great hero in the field of battle; but he undoubtedly possessed a species of courage much more uncommon and important, than a contempt of personal danger, in which the greatest warrior is often equalled by the meanest soldier in his army. As for the charge of cruelty which hath been so severely urged against the character of Augustus, it is a just reproach equally applicable to all his contemporaries, with this difference, that none of them lived to manifest a change of disposition; whereas, after he had established his authority and safety on a solid foundation, he exhibited numberless proofs of clemency and good-nature. If we consider him as a sovereign, it must be owned that no prince ever understood the art of reigning better than he, nor ever made a better use of these talents. Dio Cassius justly observes, that Augustus would have been deservedly esteemed one of the best princes that ever swayed a sceptre, had he not usurped, but received the sovereign power lawfully conveyed to him from his ancestors: but whether the wise laws he published, and the mildness with which he governed, after his sovereignty was thoroughly established, sufficiently atoned for his usurpation, is what we submit to the judgment of our readers (H).

The

* Dio, p. 598—600. Tacit. lib. i. cap. 11, 15, 18.

(H) As we have not attempted to excuse his vices, it is but justice to acknowledge his good qualities; and the reader has a right to be made acquainted with some remarkable particulars of his life and conversation,

which do not fall within the province of general history.

In the first place, when his authority was once thoroughly established, he made it his whole study to redress the public grievances; to suppress the disorders which

The first measure that distinguished the reign of Tiberius, was the murder of young Agrippa, whom he caused to be dispatched

Yr. of Fl.
2262.
A. D. 14.
U. C. 762.

which had been introduced by the licentiousness of the soldiery, during the civil wars; to settle, in all the provinces, a lasting peace, and to promote the happiness and welfare of his subjects. Some writers have thought, that he would have resigned after his first illness, or at least left Rome free at his death, had he not been persuaded, that other pretenders would have risen up, and involved the republic in new troubles. He enacted many excellent laws for the reformation of manners, and extirpation of vice; and it may be truly said, that virtue was never more countenanced than in his reign. His sumptuary laws, and those against bribery, adultery, unnatural lust, and all kind of incontinence, wrought a great change in the city, where vice had long appeared bare-faced, and triumphed. After he had reformed the manners of the citizens, he applied himself to the embellishing of the city. He raised many public buildings, among which the chief were, the forum, or court of justice, the temple of Mars the Avenger, the temple of Apollo in Palatio, the temple of Jupiter the Thunderer in the Capitol, the portico of Lucius and Caius, the palaces of Livia and Octavia, and the theatre of Marcellus. He repaired many old temples, and rebuilt others, which had been destroyed either by time or fire; enriching both them and the rest with most magnificent presents. In order to secure the city, thus embel-

lished, against fires and inundations, to which it was subject, he divided it into fourteen regions or wards, appointed a peculiar magistrate for each ward, and committing the care of each street to some citizen of distinction. These had under their command guards and watchmen, who were to patrol all night to prevent fires, robberies, and other disorders: against the inundations of the Tiber, which often laid the lower parts of the city under water, he cleansed and enlarged the bed of that river, which had been long choaked up with rubbish; and that the city might be the more accessible on all sides, he took upon himself the reparation of the Flaminian Way as far as Ariminum, leaving the rest of the public ways to be mended by such as had triumphed, and the charges to be defrayed out of the spoils of the enemy.

As he had a particular veneration for the memory of those heroes who had contributed to the advancement of the Roman empire, he repaired all their monuments, retaining their old titles and inscriptions, and dedicating their statues in the two porticoes of his forum; on which occasion he declared in an edict, that his design was to propose them as a pattern and example, by which he himself, and the princes who should succeed him, might frame themselves, and regulate their conduct.

He held it for an infallible maxim, that war was never to be undertaken, nor a battle fought, but when the advantage

dispatched by a military tribune, in whose custody he was at that time, before he suffered Augustus's death to be made public.

hoped for was apparently greater than the loss feared; "for those who hazard much (said he) to gain but little, are like men who fish with hooks of gold, the loss of which will hardly be repaired by what they catch." He used to observe, that rashness and precipitancy were the greatest faults in a general; whence he had this saying frequently in his mouth, "*Festina lente*," which is much the same in sense with our common proverb, "No more haste than good speed."

He was no less careful in administering justice, than severe in exacting military discipline; for he not only appointed such judges as were men of known integrity, but was himself very assiduous in hearing causes, often sitting up with great patience the greatest part of the night: when he was, by any indisposition, confined to his palace, he used then to hear causes in his own room, lying on a couch, thinking the administration of justice the chief and indispensable duty of a prince. Notwithstanding his assiduity in hearing causes, and continual application, he was at all hours ready to give audience even to the meanest of the people, to hear their complaints, and receive their petitions; and because one presented him his request somewhat timorously, he pleasantly rebuked him, saying, "That he had delivered his petition to him as if he had been presenting something to an elephant." To encourage persons of all ranks to recur freely to

him, he carefully avoided all outward appearance of grandeur. He never went to the senate without saluting all the senators, in the order they sat, each of them by his own name; and, at his departure, took his leave of them in the same manner. He assisted in person at all public and private feasts and entertainments, till he began to be in years, and could no longer bear the inconveniences of a croud. He had so great an aversion to the title of dominus, or lord, that he looked upon it as a reproach; and even published an edict, forbidding any one, his own children and grandchildren not excepted, to give him that title. In the assemblies held for the election of magistrates, he gave his vote in his own tribe, as if he had been one of the people; and, in the courts of judicature, he not only suffered himself to be interrogated, but allowed the judges and advocates of the adverse party to object against his deposition. How great and powerful soever his favourites were in Rome, he would not allow them any exemption from the judiciary laws, nor even recommend them to the judges. Of all the criminals and accused persons, in his time, he saved but one, by whose means he had discovered a conspiracy formed against him; and him he preserved by prevailing upon his accuser to withdraw his accusation. The ancients give us several instances of his clemency, even after his authority was thoroughly established. Ju-

nus

public. Tiberius avoided mentioning this transaction in the senate; in hopes the world should have believed that it was

nius Novatus published a letter full of bitter invectives against him in the name of young Agrippa, for which offence Augustus only laid a small fine upon him. Cassius Patavinus having declared boldly, at a public entertainment, that he neither wanted will nor courage to rid Rome of her new monarch; Augustus contented himself with ordering him to depart Rome. Æmilius Ælianus being accused, among other things, of speaking of him with great contempt, the emperor, turning to the informer, and pretending to be in a great rage, "I wish, with all my heart, you could prove it (said he): if you did, I would make Ælianus know, that I have a tongue as well as he, and can say twice as much of him." He resented it no farther. Tiberius, likewise, complaining in a letter to him of the insolence of Ælianus, he returned him this answer: "Do not, my dear Tiberius, indulge too much in this case your passion: let us despise words, and think ourselves happy if they can do us no greater harm."

As for his liberality it knew no bounds; he constantly supplied with corn above a hundred thousand families. He frequently presented the people with large sums, giving them sometimes two, sometimes three, and sometimes four hundred sesterces a head, not excluding even the children. He was always ready to lend, without interest, any sum to such persons as were able to secure him his principal. When he pub-

lished the law, excluding from the senate such as were not worth twelve hundred thousand sesterces, from compassion for many noble families, he made up that sum with his own money. He exhibited, at an immense charge, twenty-four shews in his own name, and twenty-three for other magistrates, who were either absent, or not able to bear the expence. Thus far of Augustus as a public magistrate: as to his domestic and private life, Suetonius represents him as a tender and careful parent, a constant friend, and both a severe and gentle master. He educated his daughter and her children with the utmost care, not allowing any but persons of unblemished characters to have access to them. His friendship, when once acquired, was firm and constant: he not only rewarded his friends' services, but patiently bore with their faults. His favourites flourished in honour and riches to the end of their lives. As to his domestics, he conferred honourable employments, and heaped riches upon such of them as behaved well; but Proculus, a freedman, and one of his chief favourites, he caused to be put to death for carrying on intrigues with married women. Thallus, another freedman, and his amanuensis, having betrayed some secrets for five hundred denarii, had his legs broken by his order. Several of his grandson Caius's attendants he commanded to be thrown headlong into a river, and drowned, for levying money

was done by the command of Augustus, as if he had transmitted orders to the tribunes who guarded the youth, to dis-
patch

ney in their master's province without his knowledge. He chose rather to turn into mirth the timorousness of Diomedes, another of his freedmen, than to impute it to any malicious design, when, walking with him alone, a wild boar coming suddenly upon them, Diomedes, to secure himself, made bold to thrust his master to the boar.

He applied himself from his youth to the study of eloquence, and other liberal arts. During the war of Modena, he is said to have passed no day, in the midst of his most important affairs, without reading, writing, and declaiming. He wrote several books upon different subjects; to wit, An answer to Brutus's Cato; Exhortations to the Study of Philosophy; the History of his Life to the Cantabrian War, in thirteen books; an epic poem, intituled Sicilia; and a book of Epigrams, which he composed for the most part in his baths: he began a tragedy in a lofty style, but finding he could not proceed, he expunged what he had written; and being asked by his friends what was become of Ajax, who was the subject of the performance, he answered, "Ajax has dispatched himself with a sponge." Though he was well acquainted with the Greek tongue, yet he neither spoke it readily, nor ever ventured to compose any thing in it; when he was obliged to use that language, he first wrote down his thoughts in Latin, and then gave them to another to translate into Greek. His gener-

sity to men of learning was unlimited; hence so many famous writers flourished in his time, that the age of Augustus will ever be looked upon as the age of genius, elegance, and politeness.

The writers that flourished in the reign of Augustus are so well known, that it is almost superfluous to mention the names of Titus Livius, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Strabo, Asinius Pollio, Cornelius Gallus, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Tibullus, and Propertius, who adorned this distinguished period. We shall only observe, that Titus Livius, who was a native of Patavia, now Padua, wrote the Roman history, from the foundation of the city to the death of Drusus, in one hundred and forty books, thirty-five of which only are extant, and even those not successive; for the second decade is wanting.

Dionysius Halicarnassensis, after the civil war, came to Rome, where he wrote in Greek twenty books of the Roman antiquities, of which we have only the first eleven remaining.

Strabo was a native of Amasia, a city of Cappadocia. He composed diverse works; but nothing remains except his geography, in seventeen books, written in Greek, and still much in esteem.

Asinius Pollio raised himself from an obscure origin to the consular dignity. He was very familiar with Augustus, and a great friend of Virgil, Horace, and other men of genius. He wrote a history in sescentena
books,

patch him upon the first intelligence of his death. The better to support this story, when the tribune, according to the

books, and some tragedies; but none of his works have reached our times.

We have, in the course of the history, given some account of the life and death of Cornelius Gallus, who was a native of Fregus, of the equestrian order, and an excellent poet; but none of his works are extant.

It is well known, that Virgil was a yeoman or farmer of Mantua; that Horace had served as a tribune in the army of Brutus; that the great friend and patron of both was the celebrated Mæcenas; and that Ovid was banished by Augustus to Pontus, from whence he never returned, though the real cause of his exile is not known. As for the works of those three poets, they are in every body's hands, and too well understood to require any critique in this place.

Aulus Albius Tibullus, who was a Roman knight, will ever be admired for the elegance and tenderness of his elegies, in which he has no equal.

Sextus Aurelius Propertius was a native of Umbria, of equestrian rank; but his family being ruined in the war of Perugia, betwixt Octavianus and the brother of Antony, he repaired to Rome, where, on account of his talent for epigrams and lyric poetry, he was much favoured by Mæcenas, and lived in friendship with Gallus, Ovid, Tibullus, and other men of genius. The first book of his elegies acquired the epithet of *Monobiblos*, signifying the *only book*. His elegies are very pas-

sionate, though not always decent. His language is pure, his wit terse, and he has made a very happy use of fable in animating his verses.

In the midst of all his virtues, he was shamefully lewd, and scandalous in his amours with married women. He did not even spare the wife of his own favourite Mæcenas, as has been already observed. His own wife Livia, out of policy, indulged his vicious inclinations so far as to make it her business to bring him acquainted with such women as she thought he might like: he employed many of his friends in the same vile purpose; which gave occasion to several lampoons and sharp satires. He was likewise accused of unnatural lust, and avarice: but the first is an improbable imputation, thrown upon him by his bitterest enemies, unfurnished by any proof; and the other charge is an absurd falsehood, contradicted by the whole tenor of his life. Suetonius observes, that the furniture of his house was not rich enough for a private person of any taste; and at the taking of Alexandria, of all the queen's rich furniture, he reserved for himself only a porcelain cup. He was addicted to gaming, and took great pleasure in playing at dice; but Suetonius tells us, that he played only for his diversion, and not out of a desire of winning his friends' money. He was naturally very superstitious, a great observer of dreams, and looked upon the sight or chattering of birds as

the custom of the army, acquainted Tiberius, that his commands were executed, he answered, that he had given no such commands; and that he should be answerable to the senate for what he had done. This circumstance alarmed Crispus Sallustius (I), who was privy to all the secret counsels of Tiberius, and had sent the tribune the warrant: he knew it was equally dangerous to confess the truth, and charge the emperor; or to clear the emperor, and accuse himself. In this perplexity he had recourse to Livia, advising her, "by no means to divulge the secrets of the palace, the counsels of the ministers, or the services of the soldiery; adding, that Tiberius should beware of weakening the sovereign authority, by referring all things to the senate, the nature of absolute power being such as could not be preserved entire but in one person*." Livia followed the advice of Sallustius, and no farther mention was made of the murder of the young prince (K).

As

* Tacit. Annal. lib. i. cap. 6. Dio, lib. lvi. p. 590.

infallible presages. If, in the morning, his shoes were given him wrong, or the right-foot shoe presented to him for the left, he counted it ominous: if it rained when he was setting out on a journey, he reckoned it a sign of a speedy and happy return: he would never begin a journey the day after the nundinæ, nor undertake any business of consequence upon the nones: he was so afraid of thunder and lightning, that he carried a seal's skin always about him; imagining, as was then generally believed, that it had some secret virtue against thunder; but nevertheless, for his greater security, upon the least apprehension of an extraordinary storm, he used to seek for shelter in a vault or cellar underground (1).

(I) Crispus Sallustius was born of an equestrian family, great-nephew by a sister to the famous historian Caius Sallustius, and by him adopted. He

might have risen to the greatest honours of the state; but, in imitation of Mæcenas, whom he proposed to himself for his pattern, he contented himself with the title of a Roman knight, though he had excelled in power many who had been distinguished with consulships and triumphs. In Mæcenas's life-time he was next in favour with Augustus, and, upon the death of that faithful counsellor, he became the chief confidant, first of Augustus, and afterwards of Tiberius, who reposed an entire confidence in him. He was extremely nice in his dress, expensive in his manner of living, and not inferior in luxury and magnificence to Mæcenas himself; but could, upon any exigency, exert a vigour equal to the greatest affairs, which he concealed under the appearance of indolence and sloth.

(K) Though the assassin, charged with the execution of

(1) Tacit. Annal. lib. i. Dio, p. 600. Sueton. in Aug.

this

As soon as the death of Augustus was known at Rome, the two consuls, Sextus Pompeius and Sextus Apuleius, took first the oath of fidelity to Tiberius, and then administered it to the senate, the people, and the soldiery; for Tiberius affected to derive all his authority from the consuls and senate, as if the ancient republic still subsisted, and he were yet in suspense about accepting or rejecting the sovereign power: he even ordered, in his edict for summoning the senate, that he issued it in virtue of the tribunitial power granted him under Augustus, and that he claimed no other authority, no other title, for having a share in the public administration. Notwithstanding this pretended modesty, from the moment Augustus expired, he assumed all the prerogatives of an absolute prince, gave the word to the prætorian cohorts, placed guards about his person, went so attended into the streets, and to the senate, and wrote letters to the several armies in the undisguised style of one who was already master of the Roman empire.

Tiberius affects modesty.

With the senate he proceeded in a quite different manner: when the fathers offered him the government, he pretended to refuse it, though he had already secured it to himself. He began to discourse of the greatness of the Roman empire, and, in modest terms, of his own insufficiency; telling them, that the divine genius of Augustus alone was equal to so great a charge; that, as for himself, he knew by experience how many difficulties, contingencies, and dangers, are inseparably annexed to rule and sovereignty; and that, since the city was so happily replenished with great numbers of illustrious patriots, they ought not to lay the whole burden of the administration upon one person, but divide it among many. At this declaration, the senators, who dreaded nothing so much as to seem to understand him, burst into tears, and, throwing themselves at his feet, embraced his knees, begging him, in the most servile manner imaginable, not to abandon them, but to take upon him a charge, to which none but himself was equal. Then Tiberius pretending to yield to their importunity, "I am (said he) unequal to the weight of the whole government; but if you think fit to entrust me with any single part, whatever it be, I am ready to undertake it." Asinius Gallus (L)

He affects to decline the sovereign power.

this cruel order, was a bold and resolute centurion, or tribune, as Suetonius calls him, and found young Agrippa unarmed, and little apprehending such a destiny, yet it was with the utmost difficulty that he dispatched

him. In him ended the family of Augustus.

(L) Asinius Gallus was the son of the famous Asinius Pollio, the favourite of Augustus, and great patron of learning.

rising

Several senators incur his displeasure.

rising up, "I beg to know, Cæsar, (said he), what part of the government you desire for your share." This unexpected demand startled Tiberius, who for a while stood mute; but, recovering himself, answered, that "it ill became his modesty to choose or reject any particular branch of the administration, when he desired to be excused from the whole." Gallus, perceiving him offended, as readily replied, that he did not offer that question, as if he designed to divide what was in itself indivisible, but to convince him, by his own confession, that the commonwealth was but one body, and consequently could not be governed but by the wisdom of one person: then, continuing his speech, he made a long descant upon the great merits and accomplishments of Tiberius; of his many victories and conquests; and of the civil employments he had long borne with great credit and reputation: but all this flattery did not calm the wrath of Tiberius, who had long hated Gallus for having married Vipsania Agrippina, the daughter of Agrippa, whom Tiberius had been obliged by Augustus to divorce, to make room for his daughter Julia. He suspected that Asinius Gallus, by this match, designed to raise himself above the rank of a subject; and therefore, upon this new provocation, resolved to seize the first opportunity of delivering himself from his fears by the death of his supposed rival. Lucius Arruntius, Quintus Haterius, and Mamercus Scaurus, likewise incurred, on this occasion, the displeasure of Tiberius; Arruntius, by a speech not much unlike that of Gallus; Hirtius, by asking him, "How long, Cæsar, will you suffer the commonwealth to remain destitute of a head?" and Scaurus, for saying, by way of raillery, "There is room to hope, that Tiberius will at length yield to the entreaties and prayers of the senate, since he has not opposed, as he might, in virtue of his tribunitial power, the motion of the consuls in his behalf." The ill-timed pleasure which these illustrious citizens took in shewing themselves well apprised of Tiberius's real intentions, cost them dear; for he afterwards sacrificed them all, under various pretences, to his jealousy and suspicions.

The boldness of some senators.

Some other senators spoke still more boldly; and yet we do not find, that Tiberius ever resentèd the liberty they had taken: they were not, in all likelihood, so considerable, either for their birth or talents, as to give him any umbrage. Of these one, no longer able to bear the ambiguity of his answers, with which he held the senate in suspense, who were all the while at his feet, cried out, "Let Tiberius either accept of the empire, or declare in plain terms, that he rejects it." Another boldly addressing him, "Other men (said

(said he) perform slowly what they readily promise; but you promise slowly what you have already performed¹. In this mysterious way of dealing with the senate, he had two things in view; the first was, to make the world believe, that he had been by the commonwealth chosen and called to the empire; a circumstance which would have been more glorious for him, than to owe it to the intrigues of a woman, or to the adoption of a superannuated prince: the second thing he had in view was, to discover the designs and intentions of the great men, and thence be able to distinguish his friends from his enemies². At length, pretending to be overcome by the importunities of the fathers, and complaining of the heavy burden they laid upon him, he yielded by degrees to their request, and in the end accepted the government, but so as to give them hopes, that he would one day resign it. "I accept the empire, (said he), and will hold it, till such time as you, conscript fathers, in your great prudence, shall think fit to give repose to my old age." Thus was Tiberius Claudius Drusus Nero (M), in the

Tiberius takes upon him the empire.

¹ Tacit. Annal. lib. i. cap. 11, 12. Suet. in Tiber. cap. 24. Dio, lib. lvii. p. 602.
² Tacit. *ibid*.

(M) Tiberius was of the patrician family of the Claudii, both by the father's side, who was descended from Tiberius Nero, the son of Appius Cæus, and by the mother's, who was the daughter of Appius Pulcher, brother to the said Tiberius Nero. He was also allied to the family of the Livii, by the adoption of his mother's grandfather. The Livian family was indeed plebeian, but nevertheless honoured with eight consulships, two censorships, one dictatorship, and three triumphs. The father of Tiberius was quaestor to Julius Cæsar, and commanded his fleet in the Alexandrian war; after which he was, by the dictator, rewarded for his eminent services, and appointed first pontifex in the room of Publius Scipio, and afterwards honoured with the command of the colonies which

were sent into Gaul. However, when the dictator was slain, and most of the senators, apprehensive of new troubles, were for passing an act of oblivion, Tiberius moved, that rewards might be bestowed on the tyrannicides. In the Perusian war he joined Lucius Antonius against Octavianus; and though the rest abandoned Lucius, yet he could never be prevailed upon to forsake him; so that he was the only person who continued with him to the last. When the city of Perugia was surrendered, he made his escape to Præneste, and from thence into Campania, where he armed the slaves with a design to oppose Octavianus; but his undisciplined troops flying at the approach of Octavianus's victorious legions, he was forced to shelter himself in Sicily, where he staid a very short time, being disgusted with

Pompey,

the fifty-sixth year of his age, raised to the empire, and invested by the senate and people with the same unbounded power which Augustus had enjoyed.

His ingratitude to his mother Livia.

Tiberius had no sooner accepted the empire, than the senators, in order to ingratiate themselves with their new sovereign, were for heaping extraordinary honours on his mother: some proposed decreeing her the general title of Mother; others that of Mother of her Country; and almost all moved, that to the name of Tiberius should be added, the son of Livia. But Tiberius, jealous of his mother's glory, answered, that public honours ought to be conferred on women warily, and with a sparing hand; adding, that he would use the same moderation in receiving the honours which should be offered to himself. He could not be prevailed upon to suffer so much as a licitor to be decreed her, though every Vestal enjoyed that mark of distinction; nay, he prohibited the raising her an altar in memory of her late adoption into the Julian family, or paying her any honours of the like nature. Thus, from the very beginning of his reign, he requited, with the utmost ingratitude, the infinite obligations he owed his mother; being ashamed, as was commonly believed, to acknowledge himself indebted for the empire to the intrigues of a woman^b. He proved a no less cruel husband than an undutiful son. Julia had been long since banished by her father into the island of Pandataria, on account of her scandalous lewdness, and from thence, some years after, removed to the city of Rhegium, on the Straights of Sicily, where she suffered a less painful exile. Tiberius, in Augustus's life-time, had professed great tenderness and compassion for his unhappy wife; and often solicited that prince to reinstate her in his favour: but he was no sooner declared emperor, than he stopped the small pension which her father paid her yearly for her support; so

Cruelty to his wife Julia.

^b Tacit. Annal. lib. i.

Pompey, who neither deigned to admit him into his presence, nor allowed him to have the fasces carried before him, though the time of his prætorship was not expired. From Sicily he retired into Greece, where he was kindly received by Marc Antony, and entertained by him in a manner suitable to his rank, till a peace being concluded between Antony, Octavianus, and Pompey, and a general am-

nesty granted, he returned to Rome with the rest of the exiles; where Augustus falling in love with his wife Livia Drusilla, obliged him to yield her to him, though she had already borne several children, among the rest Tiberius, and was then pregnant. He died soon after, leaving behind him two sons, Tiberius and Drusus, surnamed *Neroes*.

that

that the unfortunate princeess, after a long series of miseries, died of want in the fifteenth year of her banishment ¹.

who dies of want.

At the same time Sempronius Gracchus, one of her chief favourites, was, by Tiberius's order, put to death in the island of Cercina, to which he had been confined by Augustus. He was descended of one of the most illustrious families in Rome, had a lively wit, great eloquence, and an engaging address and behaviour. With these parts he had captivated the heart of Julia, and debauched her while she was yet Agrippa's wife; neither did he break off his intrigues with her, after she was married to Tiberius; nay, he is supposed to have inspired her with contempt and aversion for her new husband, and to have dictated the letters which she wrote to her father, full of bitterness against Tiberius. He had therefore been banished by Augustus to the island of Cercina, where he suffered great miseries for fourteen years. But Tiberius, not judging banishment an adequate punishment for the injuries Sempronius had done him, ordered Lucius Asprenas, proconsul of Africa, to send a band of assassins to dispatch him; and this order was punctually executed.

Sempronius Gracchus, one of her chief favourites, murdered by Tiberius's orders.

But the principal object of Tiberius, in the beginning of his reign, was, to engage in his interest his nephew Germanicus, who, on account of his extraordinary parts, and sweet temper, was equally adored by the people and soldiery. Though he hated Germanicus in his heart, yet, pretending a tender affection for him, after he had forbid the senate to confer any particular honours on Livia, he recommended to them his nephew, and even asked for him the proconsular power; which being granted, he immediately dispatched into Germany persons of the first rank to acquaint him therewith, and condole with him, in his name, on the death of Augustus ² (N). He then named twelve candidates for the prætorship, among whom were Velleius Paterculus the historian, and his brother. The senate desired him to appoint more; but as that number had been settled by Augustus, he not only refused to comply with their request, but bound himself by an oath never to depart from the regulations of his predecessor. The people

He endeavours to engage Germanicus in his interest.

¹ Tacit. Annal. lib. i. cap. 53. Suet. lib. iii. cap. 50. ² Tacit. Annal. lib. i. cap. 53.

(N) In virtue of this new dignity, Germanicus had an almost absolute authority over all the Roman forces both in the provinces and the city, and was

every where to be acknowledged as commander in chief, and, under Tiberius, generalissimo of the empire.

The privilege of creating magistrates given to the senate.

had hitherto enjoyed the privilege of creating magistrates, or at least shared it with the emperor, one half of the magistrates being named by him, and the other by the tribes, assembled in the field of Mars; but Tiberius, in the first elections, deprived them of their ancient rights, which were transferred to the senate. The people complained of this innovation, but no disturbances ensued, the senate being pleased with the change, since it delivered them from the charge of buying votes, and the shame of begging them¹.

The army in Pannonia mutinies.

Tiberius had scarce taken possession of the sovereign power, when news were brought him, that the armies in Pannonia and Germany had mutinied. In Pannonia three legions being allowed by their general Julius Blesus a relaxation for some days from their usual duties, either to mourn, according to the Roman custom, for the death of Augustus, or to rejoice for the accession of Tiberius, they grew wanton and turbulent; began to listen to seditious discourses, to be fond of an idle life, and to have an aversion to the toils and discipline of the camp. They were headed and inflamed by Percennius, a common soldier, who, before he served in the army, had made it his whole business to raise disturbances, and form parties, in the theatres and playhouses. In the dusk of the evening, when those whom he distrusted were withdrawn to their tents, he used to assemble the most turbulent, inflame them against their officers, and encourage them to lay hold of the present occasion, while the emperor's authority was wavering, to prevail upon him, either by force or intreaties, to redress their grievances.

Percennius inflames them.

They resolve to choose a new general.

His harangues were received with great applause by the soldiery. Some of them proposed incorporating the three legions into one; but every one claiming, for his own legion, the prerogative of denominating the other two, this project was defeated; however, they agreed to place the three eagles of the legions with the standards of the cohorts all together, and to raise with a turf a tribunal, according to the Roman custom (O), for the new general they designed

¹ Tacit. Annal. lib. i. cap. 53. Dio, lib. lvii. p. 634.

(O) The tribunal, from whence the emperors used to harangue their troops, was at this time, and many ages after, raised with turf. Flavius Vopiscus, speaking of the elevation of the emperor Probus, "The whole army (says he), cried out una-

nimously, Probus! we salute Probus our sovereign: the gods save you! Then they erected a tribunal of turf, and proclaimed him emperor." This custom obtained likewise among foreign nations, especially in Britain, as Xiphilinus informs us; who, in speaking

designed to choose. While they were thus employed, Blæsus arrived; and, having severely rebuked some, and threatened others, "Dip your hands rather in my blood (cried he with a loud voice): to murder your general will be a less crime than to revolt from your prince; for I am determined, if I fall not by your hands, to keep you in obedience. If you think fit to murder me, I hope, at the sight of my blood, you will repent of your crime, and return to your duty." This address did not affect the mutinous soldiery, who continued their work, till it was breast-high, when at length, being overcome by the constancy and intrepidity of their general, they forbore. When their fury was abated, Blæsus remonstrated, that sedition and mutiny were not the proper means of conveying their claims to the emperor; that their demands were new and extraordinary, such as no armies had in former times made to their generals, nor even themselves to the deified Augustus; besides, that they were ill-timed, since princes, in the beginning of their government, are taken up and embarrassed with various cares. However, if they expected to gain in peace what the conquerors, even after the civil wars, had never the confidence to demand, why should they use violence, and trample upon the rules of military discipline; when they might appoint deputies, and, in his presence, give them their instructions? At these words they cried out with one voice, that they were willing to send deputies; and that the son of Blæsus, who was a tribune, should be immediately dispatched to the emperor, to demand, in their name, that they might be absolutely discharged after sixteen years service: adding, that, when they should have obtained this indulgence, they would trust him with their farther pretensions^m.

Blæsus endeavours to appease them.

In the mean time some manipuli, or companies, which had been sent, before the sedition, to Nauportum, to mend the roads, being informed of the tumult in the camp, plucked up their standards, and, falling upon the neighbouring villages, plundered them, and Nauportum itself. The centurions endeavoured to restrain their violence; but the mutineers, instead of listening to their remonstrances, or betraying any fear at their menaces, first derided, afterwards

^m Tacit. Annal. lib. i. cap. 31. Dio, lib. lvi. p. 604, 605.

speaking of the famous queen after the Roman manner." Fre-Boadicea, says, that "the ascent-quent mention is made of these ed a tribunal reared with turf tribunals by the ancient poets(1).

(1) Vide Stat. in Syl. Lucan. lib. v. & Claud. de Bel. Getic.

*The muti-
neers fall
upon Ru-
fus.*

abused them with most outrageous language, and at length came to blows. They were chiefly incensed against Aufidienus Rufus, who, as he had been long a common soldier, and had raised himself by his courage and bravery to the post of præfectus castrorum, equivalent to quarter-master-general (P), was a severe observer of the primitive discipline. Upon him the soldiery vented their rage; he was dragged from his chariot, loaded with baggage, and, being driven before the first ranks, asked, how he liked such burdens? Upon the arrival of these mutinous companies in the camp, the sedition broke out anew with more fury than ever: the soldiers, casting off all obedience, roved about the country without control, ravaging it on all sides. Upon their return, Blæsus, who was still obeyed by the centurions, and the legionaries of any reputation, caused those who were most loaded with plunder to be scourged, and cast into prison. But the furious multitude, flying to the relief of the criminals, rescued them from the lictors, and, breaking open the prison, set all the prisoners at liberty.

*They are
stirred up
by Vibu-
lenus.*

After so bold an attempt, the mutineers grew more outrageous, and the mutiny more general. Vibulenus, a common soldier, being raised on the shoulders of his comrades, before the tribunal of Blæsus, addressed those who had delivered the prisoners, thus: "I cannot sufficiently commend the zeal you have shewn for these innocent and unhappy sufferers: you have restored them to their liberty: but who will restore life to my brother? who will give me back my brother? He was sent from the army in Germany

(P) This was, without all doubt, a new office, instituted probably by Augustus; for no mention is made of the præfectus castrorum by any author who wrote in the times of the republic. It was his province to pitch upon the ground for encamping, and lay it out; to distribute the quarters and pavilions, and to direct the workmen in raising the ramparts, digging the ditches, &c. He had also under his care all the military engines, carriages, and iron tools belonging to the

army (1). Each legion had a præfectus castrorum, at least when they encamped separately; for Tacitus, speaking of one Poenius Posthumius, calls him præfectus castrorum secundæ legionis (2). The same writer seems to place them in rank above the tribunes; for, in describing Vitellius's entry into Rome, he tells us, that before their several eagles marched first the præfecti castrorum, next to them the tribunes, and, after the tribunes, the chief centurions (3).

(1) Vide Veget. lib. xi. cap. 10.

(2) Tacit. lib. xiv.

(3) Tacit. Histor. lib. ii.

with

with proposals for our common good; but our cruel general caused him to be butchered last night by his gladiators (Q), whom he entertains and arms for our destruction." Then turning to Blæsus, "Tell me, Blæsus (said he), where have you thrown his mangled body? Even the most cruel enemies do not deny burial to the slain. When I shall have satisfied my grief with a thousand kisses, and a flood of tears, command me also to be massacred, that our fellow-soldiers may bury my brother and me together, both inhumanly murdered for consulting the common good of the legions."

When Vibulenus had ended his speech, he threw himself at the feet of his companions; and, beating his breast, tearing his face, and shewing all the symptoms of the deepest sorrow, he endeavoured to raise, at the same time, both fury and compassion in the minds of the multitude, who fell immediately upon Blæsus's gladiators and domestics, and, having bound them, dispersed themselves about the camp and the neighbouring fields in quest of the supposed corpse; which if they had found, Blæsus himself would been in great danger; but as they could find no such dead body, and it manifestly appeared from the depositions of Blæsus's slaves upon the rack, and of other credible witnesses, that the whole was a calumny maliciously invented, and that Vibulenus never had any brother, they spared their general. Nevertheless, in the height of their rage, they fell upon the præfectus castrorum, and the tribunes, drove them out of the camp, and plundered their baggage: they put to death the centurion Lucilius, whom they hated above all the rest, on account of his severity. The other centurions withdrew, and all absconded, except Julius Clemens, whom, as he was a man of parts, the mutineers detained, with a design to invest him with the management of their affairs.

They fall upon their officers.

Tiberius no sooner received intelligence of this mutiny, than he dispatched his son Drusus to the rebellious legions, at the head of the prætorian cohorts, the prætorian horse, and the main body of the German horse, which at this time constituted the emperor's guards. The prætorian cohorts were, on this occasion, reinforced with an extraor-

Drusus sent to quell the tumult.

(Q) Most of the governors of provinces, generals, and other great men, maintained vast numbers of gladiators, at an immense charge, for the public shows. We must not, there-

fore, imagine, that the gladiators, mentioned in this place, were listed in the legions: they belonged to the general, and not to the army.

*How re-
ceived.*

*Tiberius's
letter to
them.*

*Their de-
mands.*

*Drusus's
answer
inflames
them.*

inary addition of chosen men. Among the persons of distinction ordered to attend and assist Drusus in bringing the revolted legions to their duty, were Cneius Lentulus, an officer of great fame and experience, and Ælius Sejanus, who had lately been joined with his father Strabo in the commission of præfectus prætorii, that is, in the command of the prætorian guards (R). Sejanus was appointed governor to the young prince; and as his credit with the emperor was known to be great, it was hoped he might, either by promises or intreaties, bring the seditious to a sense of their duty. When news were brought to the camp, that Drusus approached, the legions, in token of respect, marched out to meet him, not with their usual gaiety, and shouts of joy, but in sullen silence, exhibiting in their countenances marks of sadness, mixed with rage and ferocity. As soon as Drusus entered the camp, he placed guards at all the gates, and parties under arms, in several quarters, to be ready against any surprize. Then ascending the tribunal, he read aloud to the assembled soldiers his father's letter, importing, that he would take particular care of the brave legions, with whom he had successfully carried on so many wars; that as soon as his grief was allayed, he would treat with the senate about their demands; that, in the mean time, he had sent them his son; and impowered him to make them forthwith such concessions as could be made without farther consultation; but as to other demands, they should be referred to the senate, whom he would not deprive of the right of distributing rewards and punishments.

When Drusus had read his father's letter, the assembly appointed the centurion Julius Clemens to be their speaker; who began with proposing their demands, which were, that they should be discharged, after sixteen years service; that they should, upon that discharge, receive the rewards which they claimed; that their pay should be increased to a Roman denarius; and that the veterans should be no longer detained under their ensigns. To these demands Drusus answered, that they exceeded his power; and therefore ought to be laid before the senate, and his father. The

(R) The præfectus prætorii was the chief commander of the emperor's guards called prætorians, from the Latin word *prætorium*; which at first signified the general's quarters in the camp, the word prætor be-

ing, in the first ages of the republic, common to all magistrates, whether civil or military. In the times of the emperors, by prætorium were meant the emperor's quarters in the camp, and his house in the city.

mutineers,

taunters, enflamed at these words, could no longer restrain their indignation; they insulted him and the emperor with abusive sarcasms and execrations; they assaulted divers officers who had incurred their displeasure; and even threatened the person of Drusus, who passed the night in the most dreadful apprehension.

But ignorance and superstition put an end to the revolt, restored calmness to the alarmed camp, and quieted the minds of the soldiery, after they had so long continued deaf to reason, and trampled upon all the laws of military discipline. The moon all on a sudden began to darken, in the midst of a clear sky, till she was by degrees totally eclipsed. The soldiery, ignorant of the natural causes of this phenomenon, and imagining that the gods were angry with them on account of their revolt, and the crimes attending it, began to shew some signs of repentance. Drusus did not fail to improve this disposition: he immediately sent the centurion Julius Clemens, and other officers and soldiers, in whom he could confide, to mix with the mutineers, and try whether they could, while they were thus alarmed, bring them back to their duty. These, pursuant to the prince's orders, going round from tent to tent, and insinuating themselves every-where, first prevailed upon the legionaries to abandon the veterans, and then persuaded the three legions to separate. Thus a sense of duty and obedience returning by degrees, those who guarded the gates to keep Drusus, as it were, besieged, retired from their posts; the eagles, and other ensigns, which, in the beginning of the tumult, had been thrown together, were carried back, each to its proper place; and, after so dreadful a storm, tranquility was restored in every quarter of the camp.

Frightened by an eclipse of the moon, they return to their duty.

Early next morning Drusus, having summoned a general council of officers, great debates arose; some advising him to suspend all proceedings till the return of the deputies, whom he had allowed them to send with their petitions to Tiberius, while others were for immediately condemning and executing the ringleaders of the sedition. Drusus, naturally inclined to severity, followed the advice of the latter, and having summoned Vibullenus and Perennius before his tribunal, he condemned, and caused them immediately to be executed. The other ringleaders of the sedition were discovered skulking about the camp, and either slain by the centurions and prætorian guards, or delivered up to Drusus by their comrades, as a proof of their sincere repentance. After this execution the soldiers were terrified with dread-

The authors of the revolt were immediately condemned and executed.

ful storms, and such violent rains, that they could not move from their tents; which they looking upon as sent by the angry gods, resolved to abandon a camp which they had polluted with so many crimes, and return to their several garrisons. Drusus, seeing tranquility thus restored, returned to Rome^o.

*The legions
in Germany
revolt.*

Almost at the same time, and for the same causes, the legions in Germany revolted. On the Rhine were quartered two armies, the one called the Upper, commanded by Caius Silius, the other the Lower, by Aulus Cæcina; but the chief command of both was vested in Germanicus, who was then busy in collecting the tribute in Gaul. The legions under Silius, however discontented, waited for the success of the revolt which the lower army had begun. The latter, consisting of four legions, were encamped on the borders of the Ubii (S); where they no sooner received the news of Augustus's death, than the recruits lately raised in Rome, accustomed to the effeminacy of a town life, and impatient of military labour and discipline, began to inflame the rest with seditious harangues, insinuating, that a favourable opportunity was offered for the veterans to demand an absolute discharge, for the soldiers who had not served their time to insist upon larger pay, and for all to obtain a mitigation of their miseries. As Cæcina, instead of exerting his authority, betrayed fear, and gave way to their fury, they fell at once upon the centurions, the chief objects of their resentment, whom, after having beaten with rods, they drove ignominiously out of the camp, or drowned in the river. One Septimius fled for refuge to the tribunal of Cæcina; but the general was forced to deliver him up to the incensed multitude. Cassius Chærea, another centurion, afterwards famous for the murder of the emperor Caligula, boldly opened himself a way, sword in hand, through the croud. The mutineers, despising the authority of their tribunes, and their præfecti castrorum, set and relieved the centries themselves, appointed the guard, and gave such orders as they judged proper, in the present conjuncture^p.

Their demands.

*They fell
upon their
centurions.*

*Germanicus
evidently
wishes to
appease
them.*

Germanicus no sooner heard of this insurrection than he flew to the camp. The legions, as he drew near, marched out to meet their general, expressing their dissatisfaction with hideous clamours; and some, taking him by the hand, as if they designed to kiss it, thrust his fingers into their

^o Tacit. *Annal.* lib. i. ^p Idem. *ibid.* Dio, *ibid.*

(S) The Ubii, in Cæsar's time, dwelt on the other side of the Rhine.
mouths,

mouths, to convince him they had with age lost all their teeth; others desired him to behold their hoary heads, and the wounds they had received. Germanicus, instead of returning any answer to particulars, as soon as he had entered the entrenchments, ordered them to range themselves into manipuli, and place before them their several ensigns, as was customary when the general assembled and harangued his troops. They obeyed slowly, and with reluctance: then Germanicus, beginning his speech with an encomium upon Augustus, proceeded to the many victories of Tiberius, enlarging on the glorious exploits he had atchieved in Germany with those very legions. He then acquainted them, that all Italy, both the Gauls, and every province of the empire, had received and acknowledged Tiberius for emperor, without betraying the least disaffection.

Thus far they listened to him with attention; but when he began to expostulate with them on their seditious behaviour, he was interrupted with loud clamours, and a general uproar. Some, stripping themselves, shewed him the scars of the many wounds they had received; others displayed the marks of the stripes inflicted on them by the merciless centurions: they urged their scanty pay, their great labours, and the hardships attending a military life. Above all, from the veterans arose a dreadful cry: they enumerated thirty years of service and upwards; and begged, that to men quite worn out, he would, at length, grant some respite; that he would not suffer them to be indebted to death for their relief, but discharge them forthwith, and allow them a comfortable maintenance. Some demanded the money which had been bequeathed to them by Augustus, mixing with their demands zealous vows, and omens of happiness, for Germanicus; and some declared, that they would support him to the last, if he would assume the empire. At these words Germanicus, struck with horror, leaped from the tribunal, and attempted to make his escape, lest he should be stained with their treason: but the seditious legionaries, drawing their swords, threatened to kill him if he attempted to withdraw. Then the generous Germanicus, protesting that he would rather die than betray the trust reposed in him, drew his sword, and would have sacrificed his life to his fidelity, had not those who stood next to him seized his hand, and restrained him by force. There were not, however, some wanting in the assembly who cried out to him strike, and not spare himself; nay, one Calpurnius, a common soldier, offered him his naked sword, saying, "Take this, Germanicus; it is perhaps sharper than your own."

They lay their complaints before Germanicus;

and offer him the empire;

which he generously refuses.

an insult which was condemned by all his companions, even in the transports of rage and vexation.

*Is conveyed
by his
friends out
of the crowd.
Germanicus feigns
letters from
Tiberius,
granting
their de-
mands;*

In the mean time the friends of Germanicus conveyed him out of the crowd to his tent, and there consulted about the most proper measures to be taken in so critical a juncture. Various measures were proposed, and at last it was agreed, that letters should be feigned from Tiberius, with directions, that those who had served twenty years should be finally discharged; that such as had served sixteen should be deemed veterans; and that the legacy which they demanded should not only be paid but doubled. But the mutineers, suspecting these concessions to be forged purely to gain time, insisted on their being forthwith executed. The tribunes, therefore, were obliged to discharge immediately the veterans; but, as to the payment of the legacy, Germanicus wished to defer it till they should be in winter-quarters: indeed, the first legion and the twentieth trusted him upon his word; but the fifth and the twenty-first refused to stir from the camp till they were satisfied. So that he was obliged to raise the sum out of the money which he and his friends had brought with them to defray the expences of their journey. This the legions no sooner received, than they retired quietly to their winter-quarters. Germanicus then hastened to the upper army, under the command of Silius, and easily prevailed upon the second, the thirteenth, and the sixteenth legions, to swear allegiance to Tiberius: the fourteenth shewed some hesitation; but Germanicus discharging forthwith the veterans, and paying the rest the money bequeathed them by Augustus, cut off all occasion of complaints.

*and satis-
fies some
with his
own money.*

A party of veterans (T), belonging to the mutinous legions, and then in garrison in the country of the Chauci (U), began a sedition there, which was, at first, quelled by

† Tacit. Dig, *ibid.*

(T) The veterans formed a corps apart, and had their peculiar standard called vexillum; whence they are commonly stiled by the ancients vexillarii, and also emeriti, from their being exempted from all manner of drudgery, and only obliged to fight the enemy. In this condition they continued, till they received the rewards due for their service, and their final discharge; which the emperors used, under various pretences, to put off for many years, in order to defraud them of the promised lands or money.

(U) The Chauci inhabited East Frisland, the counties of Hoy and Oldenburg, the duchy of Bremen, and part of Lawenburg.

Memmius,

Memmius, præfect of the camp, who put instantly two of the ringleaders of the sedition to death : but the tumult breaking out afterwards with fresh fury, Memmius was obliged to withdraw himself from their rage, and lie concealed. The mutineers discovered him ; then Memmius declaring, that these outrages were not offered to him, but to Germanicus and Tiberius, who would not fail to resent them, he snatched the colours, faced about towards the Rhine, and, threatening those who should dare to abandon their ranks with the punishments due to deserters, led them back to their winter-quarters.

Some veterans revolt, but are quelled by Memmius.

In the mean time, deputies sent either by Tiberius, or the senate, meeting Germanicus near the altar of the Ubii (W), gave occasion to new disturbances. The first and the twentieth legions encamped there with those legionaries, who had been lately placed under the standard of the veterans, apprehending that these deputies were come to revoke the concessions which they had extorted by their sedition, resolved to wreak their vengeance upon Minutius Plancus, who had been consul the year before, and was at the head of this deputation : he being aware of their design, fled for refuge to the quarters of the first legion ; and there, embracing the eagle, and other ensigns, hoped the veneration which the soldiers paid them would restrain their fury. But had not Calpurnius, the eagle-bearer, with great bravery and resolution, repulsed the audacious multitude, the Roman camp would have been stained with the blood of an ambassador of the Roman people. Early next morning Germanicus, entering the camp, ascended the tribunal, and, placing Plancus by his side, inveighed against the horrible disorders of the preceding night ; acquainted the soldiery with the true purposes of that embassy ; and complained, in an affecting manner, of the unheard-of outrages offered to Plancus, without any provocation. As the assembly shewed no great tokens of repentance, he dismissed the deputies, under a strong guard of auxiliary horse ; and then, at the motion of his friends, desired his wife Agrippina, who had attended him with her son Claudius, at that time an infant, into Germany, and was with child, to withdraw out of the camp, and not expose herself to the fury of an outrageous multitude.

The disturbances revived.

Germanicus sends away his wife and his son.

As she was attended by many women of distinction, wives of the chief officers, their tears, cries, and lamentations, in parting with their husbands, occasioned a great

(W) This altar was probably and seems to have been at a raised in honour of Augustus, small distance from Cologne.

com-

Their departure affects the soldiery.

commotion in the camp, and drew together the soldiers from all quarters. This was so moving a scene, that the most obdurate among the rebellious legionaries were touched with it. They could not behold, without being seized with shame and compassion, so many women of rank travelling, without a centurion to attend, or a soldier to guard them, and their general's wife among the rest, carrying in her arms her little child, and repairing, like an exile, for shelter against the fury of the Roman legions, to Treves, as if she reposed greater confidence in foreigners than in her own countrymen. This circumstance made so deep an impression on their minds, that some ran to stop her, while the rest, recurring to Germanicus, earnestly conjured him to recall her, that it might not be said, to their eternal shame and disgrace, that the daughter of Agrippa, the grand-daughter of Augustus, the daughter-in-law of Drusus, whose memory they adored, had been driven from the Roman camp, and obliged to seek sanctuary among foreigners.

Germanicus improves this opportunity.

Germanicus observing their sentiments and countenances altered, resolved to improve their present disposition: in a long and affecting harangue, which, in the height of his grief, he uttered with great vehemence, he painted the blackness of their guilt in such lively colours, that they not only confessed, that all his reproaches were true; but, their minds being quite changed, they earnestly besought him to punish the authors of the late sedition, by whom they had been misled; and offered to march forthwith against the enemy, provided he would recall his wife and son. Germanicus, finding them entirely reclaimed, answered, that his son should return; but, against the recalling of Agrippina, he alleged the season already far advanced, and her approaching delivery: as to the authors of the sedition, he left it to them to determine, and inflict what punishment they deserved. He had scarce uttered these words, when the legionaries ran to seize the chief authors of the mutiny, and dragged them in chains to Caius Cetroneus, commander of the first legion, who judged and punished them in the following manner: the legions, with their drawn swords, surrounded the tribunal, from whence the prisoner was exposed to their view: if they pronounced him guilty, he was immediately thrown down headlong, and cut in pieces by his comrades. The veterans followed the example of the legionaries, punishing the most seditious of their corps in the same manner. Notwithstanding these signs of remorse, and pledges of fidelity, Germanicus ordered them to march into Rhætia, to defend that province against the Suevi, who

They punish the ringleaders of the revolt.

were

were said to be in motion. He now made a strict inquiry into the conduct and characters of the centurions, who were all cited before him, to give each an account of his country, rank, the years of his service, his exploits in war, and military presents. If the tribunes, or his legion, were satisfied with his conduct, he kept his post; if they charged him with cruelty or avarice, he was immediately discharged. Thus were the first and the twentieth legion entirely reclaimed, and brought back to a sense of their duty: but the fifth and twenty-first, who were in winter-quarters, at the distance of sixty miles, in a place called Vetera, continued obstinate in their revolt; nor was there any enormity which they did not commit. Against them, therefore, Germanicus resolved to lead the legions that had returned to their duty, and give them battle, if he could not reclaim them by gentle means. With this view he prepared vessels and arms, and assembled his troops: but, before he embarked them on board the vessels which were to convey them down the Rhine, judging it proper to allow the mutineers time to return to their duty, he wrote a letter to Cæcina, who commanded them, acquainting him, that he approached with a powerful army, resolved to put them all to the sword, without distinction, if they did not prevent him, by taking vengeance themselves on the guilty. This letter Cæcina communicated only to the chief officers, and such of the soldiers as had from the beginning disapproved of the revolt, exhorting them, at the same time, to enter into an association against the seditious, and redeem themselves from death and ignominy, by putting those to the sword who had brought them into the present danger. The officers accepted of the proposal, and, having, by sounding the legionaries and veterans, found that the majority disapproved of the conduct of their comrades, they privately communicated the contents of Germanicus's letter, and easily prevailed upon them to concur with their commanders, in sacrificing the chief authors of the sedition.

Two legions continue their revolt.

Germanicus proposes to march against them.

The time therefore was settled for falling sword in hand upon the most notoriously guilty and turbulent. When it arrived, upon a signal previously agreed on, the faithful legionaries, rushing into the tents of the most seditious, massacred them without mercy, before they were aware of their danger. Nothing was to be heard but outcries and groans, in all the quarters of the camp; nothing to be seen but streams of blood, and heaps of dead bodies. The execution was scarce ended, when Germanicus arrived, who, as he was naturally inclined to pity and mercy, could not behold the camp streaming with blood, and filled with dead

But they prevent him, by punishing the seditious.

dead bodies, without bursting into tears, and crying out, "This is not a remedy, but slaughter and desolation." After he had thus given vent to his grief, he caused the bodies of the slain to be burnt, and celebrated their obsequies with the usual pomp*. Thus was this dangerous sedition entirely quelled, and discipline re-established, by the address and intrepidity of the brave Germanicus, who, had his unbounded greatness of mind, and unshaken loyalty, suffered him to second the ardent wishes of the military, might have easily seized upon the sovereign power; for he was the darling of the soldiers, and adored by the people, both on account of his own merit, and that of his father Drusus, whose memory was dear to every true Roman, nobody doubting that he would have restored the republic to her former state, had he succeeded to empire.

The sedition quelled.

The generosity of Germanicus.

Yr. of Pl.
2363.

A. D. 15.
U. C. 763.

He invades Germany.

Makes a dreadful havoc of the Marfi.

Such of the veterans and legionaries as had not been concerned in the late sedition, in order to give Germanicus farther proofs of their fidelity, begged him to lead them against the enemy, who had enjoyed some respite, first by the death of Augustus, and afterwards by the intestine tumult in the camp. Germanicus complied with their request; and, laying a bridge cross the Rhine, marched over twelve thousand legionaries, twenty-six cohorts of the allies, and eight alæ (X) of horse. With these he traversed the Cælian forest (Y), and other woods lying between him and the enemy. Being informed on his march, that the Germans were celebrating that night a festival, with great mirth and revelling, he advanced with such expedition, that he reached the villages of the Marfi, before the inhabitants had recovered from their debauch. Here he divided his army into four bodies; and detached them into different quarters of the unhappy canton, that no part of it might be exempt from ravage and devastation. It is not difficult to imagine what slaughter was made of those unfortunate wretches, whom they found in a very defenceless state: no sex or age was spared; places sacred and profane were equally plundered, and laid in ashes, and among

* Tacit. Annal. lib. i. cap. 40.—51. Dio, lib. lvii. p. 604, &c.

(X) An ala, which we may call a squadron, consisted of three hundred horsemen, and was divided into turmae and decuriae, each turma consisting of thirty men, and each decuria of ten; so that there were, in every ala, ten turmae, and,

in every turma, three decuriae.

(Y) The Cælian forest was part of the Hercynian, and is placed by Cluverius partly in the duchy of Cleves, partly in Westphalia, between Wesel and Koesfeld.

them,

them, the temple of Tanfana (Z), the tutelar god of the German nation. The country was wasted with fire and sword for fifty miles, without the wound of a single man on the side of the Romans.

This general massacre roused the Bruçteri (A), the Tubantes (B), and the Uſipetes (C), who, securing the paſſes of the foreſt through which the Roman army was to return, fell upon their rear, and put the light-armed cohorts into diſorder; but Germanicus, riding up to the twentieth legion, and crying out, that this was the time to redeem their reputation, and cancel the memory of their late ſedition, by falling upon the enemy, they attacked them ſo vigorously, that the Germans were broken at the firſt onſet, and driven out of the wood into the neighbouring plain, where great numbers of them were cut in pieces. Mean while the vanguard penetrating the foreſt, had time to form a camp, whither the reſt of the army retired to reſt themſelves that night, after ſo fatiguing a march. Next day they purſued their route uninterrupted, and arrived, loaded with booty, at the place appointed for their winter-quarters. The fame of theſe exploits ſoon reached Rome, and filled the city with the greateſt joy. Tiberius was highly pleaſed to hear that the ſedition was ſuppreſſed, and the beginning of his reign ſignalized by ſo remarkable a victory. But his joy was not without alloy: Germanicus, by finally diſcharging the veterans, by ſhortening the term of ſervice for the reſt, and by liberally diſtributing money among them, had gained the affections of the army, and, beſides, acquired great glory by his late expedition. This gave the

Several German nations, falling upon the Romans in their retreat, were defeated.

* Tacit. Annal. lib. ii. cap. 5—25.

† Tacit. Annal. ibid.

(Z) Gronovius derives the name of this German deity from the words *tan*, or *thán*, ſignifying, in the German language, a fir-tree; and *facna*, or *fan*, which in the ancient Gotho-Teutonic tongue, ſignifies lord, or god; ſo that the import of Tanfana is, the lord or the god of fir-trees. Lipſius derives the name of Tanfana from the Flemiſh word *taenfaet*, ſignifying the principal, or firſt cauſe, of things; ſo that the Germans, under the name of Tanfana, adored, according to him, the ſupreme Being.

(A) The Bruçteri are placed, by moſt geographers, next to the Friſii, between the Amifia, now the Ems, and the lake Flevus, now the Zuyderſee.

(B) The Tubantes poſſeſſed great part of Weſtphalia. Cluverius places the ancient city of Teclia, mentioned by Ptolemy, now Teklenburg, on the borders of the Tubantes and Chamavi.

(C) The Uſipetes, Uſipii, or Uſipetæ, are placed by Rhénanus between the Rhine and the mountains of Heſſe.

jealous

*Tiberius
jealous of
Germani-
cus.*

jealous and suspicious emperor great uneasiness, which, however, he artfully disguised, giving the senate a pompous account of the exploits of his nephew, and bestowing upon him the highest encomiums. He commended, at the same time, the address of his son Drusus, in quelling the sedition of the Pannonian legions; and spoke of Germanicus like an orator, but of Drusus like a father. However, he approved whatever Germanicus had done; and, to gain the affections of the Pannonian legions, extended to them all the privileges which Germanicus had granted to his own.

*Tiberius's
excellent
behaviour.*

These disorders in Germany and Pannonia, and the great veneration which the soldiery, as well as the people, had for Germanicus, were a great restraint upon Tiberius, who at this time, with wonderful art, disguised those vices which afterwards displayed themselves so openly. He acted, on most occasions, like a truly generous, good-natured, and clement prince. Of the many and extraordinary honours that were offered him, he accepted but few, and those of the meanest sort. He forbid any priests, or temples, to be decreed for him, or statues erected but by his own permission, which he granted sometimes, upon condition that they should be placed, not among the images of the gods, but the ornaments of their houses. He refused the title of Father of his Country, and never took upon him the name of Augustus, though it was hereditary, but in his letters to foreign potentates. For flattery he had an utter aversion: if, in private conversation, or public speeches, any thing was said in his praise, he immediately not only interrupted, but rebuked the speaker. Being called *dominus*, or *lord*, he desired the person not to mention him any more in derision. Another declaring his employments *sacred*, he intreated him to change his epithet, and to style them *troublesome*. He would not permit the senate to swear to the observation of his acts, urging against it the instability of all mortal things, and that the higher he was raised, the more he was exposed to danger. All slanderous reports, libels, and lampoons upon him and his administration, he bore with extraordinary patience, saying, that, in a free city, the thoughts and tongues of every man ought to be free: and when the senate would have proceeded against some, who had published libels against him, he would not consent to the prosecution^u.

*His extra-
ordinary
patience.*

*His respect
for the se-
nate;*

His carriage towards the senate was very respectful; nothing of moment was transacted without their advice and

^u Tacit. Annal. lib. i. cap. 6—13. Suet. in Tib. cap. 22—24. Dio, lib. lviii. p. 602.

approbation. To them were referred the collecting of the taxes and tributes, the building and repairing of all public edifices, the raising or disbanding of forces, the mustering of the legions and auxiliaries, the prolonging or granting commissions upon any extraordinary war, the returning of answers to the letters of kings and foreign states. He never entered the senate with any attendants but once, when he was brought in, on account of an indisposition, in a litter; and then he immediately ordered them to withdraw. In the senate he allowed every one to deliver his sentiments with great freedom: having one day dissented in his opinion from Q. Haterius; "Pardon me, I beseech you, (said he), if, as a senator, I speak against you with more freedom than ordinary." Then turning to the whole assembly, he addressed them thus: "Most venerable fathers, what I say now I have often said before; a good and prudent prince, to whom you have given so great and absolute a power, ought to be serviceable not only to the senate, and the body of the city, but to every particular citizen: nor do I repent of any thing I have said of this nature, having always accounted you, as I still do, my good, just, and most gracious lords." If, in the senate, any thing was decreed against his judgment, he did not complain, nor seem the least displeased.

He allowed the consuls so much power, that certain ambassadors from Africa had recourse to them, desiring they would return a speedy answer, since Cæsar, to whom they had been sent, deferred it from day to day. He often assisted at the trials in the courts of justice, especially if any criminal was reported likely to escape by favour or connivance; he then appeared unexpectedly, and, with a grave air, reminded the judges of the laws and the crimes before them. He applied himself with great care to the reformation of manners, and made many excellent regulations, by which he restrained the immoderate expences of plays and public shews, retrenched the salaries of the players, and reduced the gladiators to a fixed number. The prices of Corinthian vessels growing extravagant, and the luxury of entertainments rising to such an excess, that thirty thousand sesterces were paid for three mullets, he complained of these disorders to the senate, and got a law passed, setting bounds to the expences in furniture, and ordaining, that the prices of provisions in the markets should be annually regulated by the senate.

and the
consuls.

Applies to
the reformation of
manners.

As to the eating-houses and taverns, which at this time were very numerous in Rome, they were all, by Tiberius's order, utterly suppressed; and that he might, by his own ex-

His frugality.

ample, countenance frugality in others, he had, at his public and most solemn entertainments, meat served, which had been dressed and cut up the day before, contrary to the custom which then obtained, saying, that "every part had the same taste as the whole." To check the progress of vice, he drove out of Rome a great number of young noblemen, and also some women of distinction, who were notorious for their debaucheries. At the same time he revived an ancient law, empowering all parents to punish their daughters, even after they were married, if, by their debauched lives, they brought disgrace upon their families. In this particular he was so strict, that he prohibited the kisses that were, according to custom, given by way of salutation. He seemed entirely averse from loading the people with any new taxes. When some governors of provinces advised him to raise their taxes, he answered, that "it was the duty of a good shepherd to shear, not to slay his flock;" and was so far from hearkening to the remonstrances of his presidents and governors, that, instead of raising he lessened the tributes that were annually remitted to Rome from the provinces. Such was the deportment of Tiberius, while his authority was wavering; but we shall soon see him pull off the mask, and abandon himself to those vices which he now so artfully cloaked. To return to the brave Germanicus.

Lessens the taxes.

Intestine broils among the Catti.

Germanicus resolves to take advantage of them.

In the following year, Germanicus made great preparations, with a design to pursue the war against the Germans, and revenge the death of Varus, and the slaughter of his legions. He had indeed no thoughts of attempting any thing till the summer; but being informed that violent dissensions prevailed among the enemy, he resolved early in the spring to make an irruption into the country of the Catti. These intestine broils, of which Germanicus resolved to take advantage, were occasioned by the opposite parties of Arminius and Segestes, the former the incendiary of Germany, and chief author of the insurrection in which Varus perished with his legions; the latter a sincere and faithful friend to the Romans: he had even given Varus notice of the intended revolt, and advised him to seize himself, Arminius, and the other chiefs, assuring him, that, without their leaders, the multitude would not attempt any thing: but the Roman general despised his advice. Segestes, though forced to join his countrymen in that general revolt, yet remained at constant variance with Arminius; and, at this time, their animosities were heightened by a domestic

* Suet. in Tiber. cap. 26—36. Tacit. *ibid.*

quarrel,

quarrel, Arminius having forcibly carried away the daughter of Segeſtes, named Thuſneldis, and married her, though already betrothed to another.

This rape gave riſe to an open rupture between the two chiefs. Of this Germanicus no ſooner had intelligence, than he put four legions, five thouſand auxiliaries, and ſome German troops drawn ſuddenly together, under the command of Cæcina, ordering him to ſcour the country. He himſelf, at the head of as many legions, and a numerous body of allies, advanced with incredible expedition into the country of the Catti; and, falling upon the enemy before they were apprized of his march, put vaſt numbers of them to the ſword. Moſt of their youth eſcaped by ſwimming over the Adrana (D), and attempted to prevent the Romans from laying a bridge over that river: their efforts proving unſucceſſful, ſome of them ſubmitted to Germanicus; but the greater part, abandoning their villages, took refuge in the woods; ſo that the Romans, without oppoſition, laid waſte the open country, ſet fire to their dwellings, laid Mattium (E) their capital in aſhes, and then marched back to the Rhine. The Cheruſci alone made ſome motions, as if they deſigned to aſſiſt the Catti, and fall upon the Romans in their retreat; but were reſtrained by Cæcina, who, with his army of obſervation, moved from place to place, and had even defeated the Marſi (F), who had ventured to engage him *.

Germanicus had ſcarce reached his camp, when deputies arrived from Segeſtes, praying relief for that faithful friend to the Romans againſt his and their declared enemy Arminius, who had beſieged him in his camp. At the head of this embaſſy was Segimundus, the ſon of Segeſtes, whom, though he had formerly revolted from the Romans, Germanicus received with great kindneſs; but ſent him, as he could no longer depend upon his fidelity, under a ſtrong guard, to the frontiers of Gaul (G).

He ravages the country of the Catti.

Segeſtes recurs for relief to Germanicus.

* Tacit. ibid. cap. 56.

(D) The Adrana, now the Eder, riſes in Upper Heſſe, waters the county of Waldeck and Lower Heſſe, and falls into the Fulda, or Fulden, two miles above Caſſel.

(E) Mattium is ſuppoſed to have ſtood where Marpurſ is now ſituated.

(F) Part of Weſtphalia, and of the biſhoprick of Paderborn,

were, according to moſt of our modern geographers, the ancient habitation of the Marſi.

(G) Segimundus had been greatly favoured by the Romans, and by them appointed prieſt of the altar of the Ubii; but when his countrymen revolted, he rent the ſacerdotal tiara, and fled to the revolters.

Germanicus defeats Arminius, and takes his wife prisoner.

The Roman general readily complied with his request, led back his army without delay to the relief of Segestes, engaged the besiegers, put them to flight, and rescued that faithful friend out of the hands of his inveterate enemy. On this occasion the Romans took a great many prisoners, among whom was Thufneldis, the wife of Arminius, and daughter of Segestes, who had been the chief occasion of the present rupture between the two illustrious families. She was then pregnant, and seemed to be concerned only for the fate of her unhappy babe, destined to be born in slavery. She bore her own captivity with the intrepidity of a true heroine, without shedding a tear, or uttering a word in the style of a suppliant. Among the booty were found Roman spoils taken from Varus, and his slaughtered legions, and divided among those who were now prisoners.

Segestes' speech to Germanicus.

Arminius being put to flight, Segestes thought it his duty to wait upon his deliverer. Accordingly, from a confidence in his sincere attachment to the Roman interest, he appeared before Germanicus, without betraying the least fear, and addressing him with a majestic air, enumerated, with great modesty, the services he had rendered the republic, which had drawn upon him the hatred of Arminius; offered his mediation for the German nation, if they would rather choose to submit than be destroyed; and earnestly recommended to his known clemency his son and daughter, intreating him to forgive the former the error he had been guilty of in his youth, more out of imprudence than malice, and to consider the latter rather as the daughter of Segestes than the wife of Arminius. Germanicus replied, with his usual good-nature and humanity, promising to take his son, daughter, and all his relations, under his protection, assigned him a safe retreat in one of the neighbouring provinces long since subject to Rome, and then returned with the army to his former camp, where the wife of Arminius was delivered of a male child.

Arminius inflames the neighbouring nations against the Romans.

In the mean time Arminius, more enraged than ever for the loss of his wife, whom he tenderly loved, and the fate of his child, doomed to be born in captivity, flew about the country of the Cherusci, inflaming that warlike nation against Segestes and Germanicus. His credit, and the invectives he was constantly uttering against the Romans, roused not only the Cherusci, but all the neighbouring nations: Inguiomerus, one of the chief lords of the country, hitherto a friend to the Romans, and in high credit with them, though uncle to Arminius by the father's side, was

drawn into the confederacy, and prevailed upon to declare for his nephew, and join him with all his friends and dependents. Germanicus, upon intelligence of this powerful confederacy, that he might not be obliged to engage such numerous forces united, resolved to make a diversion; and with this view detached Cæcina, at the head of forty Roman cohorts, to the river Amisia, now the Ems, through the territories of the Bruëteri. The cavalry took another route, under the conduct of Pedito, who led them by the confines of the Frisians.

Germanicus embarked the four remaining legions on a neighbouring lake, and transported them by rivers and canals to the place appointed for the general rendezvous on the banks of the Amisia, where the three bodies met. The Chauci, as the legions passed through their country, joined them: the Bruëteri, upon the approach of Germanicus, attempted to set fire to their houses, and retire; but were restrained by Stertinius, who had the good fortune to find, in the country of the Bruëteri, the eagle of the nineteenth legion, lost in the overthrow of Varus. The army, now united, pursued their march to the farthest borders of the Bruëteri, and laid waste the whole country between the rivers Luppias and Amisia, that is, the Lype and the Ems. As the forest of Teutoburgium (H) was not far from the place where the bones of Varus, and the three legions slaughtered with him, were said to lie unburied, Germanicus, touched with compassion for their unhappy fate, resolved to march thither, and pay them the last offices. Accordingly Cæcina was detached to clear the way, to examine the avenues leading to the forest, and lay bridges over marshy places. The rest of the army followed, and marching in good order, entered the gloomy forest, where they soon discovered the ruins of two Roman camps, the one very spacious, and capable of containing three legions, the other much less in circumference, which they concluded had served for a place of retreat for the small number of legionaries who had escaped the first day's slaughter. The ramparts of both were half ruined, and the ditches almost filled up. The plains were covered with bleached bones, some

Germanicus marches against them.

Germanicus and his army bury the remains of Varus and his legions.

(H) The forest of Teutoburgium, now Teuteberg, lay in Westphalia, between the Ems and the Lype. The present inhabitants pretend to shew the very spot where Varus with his legions was cut off. It is a

plain in the neighbourhood of a small town called Horn, and is known by the name of Winfeldt, which it took, they suppose, from the Germans winning the field.

separate, some in heaps, as those unhappy men chanced to fall singly or in bodies. In the adjacent groves were seen altars, where the barbarians had sacrificed to their gods the tribunes and chief centurions, whom they had made prisoners. On the trees surrounding the altars were placed the skulls of those unhappy victims (I). So many doleful objects awakened in the hearts of the Romans a tender compassion for the fate of their countrymen, and an eager desire of appeasing their manes with the slaughter of an enemy so cruel and inhuman. With these sentiments they carefully collected the scattered bones; and having dug a deep trench, buried them there, Germanicus laying the first turf on the common tomb ².

*They advance
against Ar-
minius;*

*who gains
some ad-
vantage,
but is de-
feated.*

Having paid the last offices to their friends, they abandoned that solitude, dismal to their sight and memory; and, full of resentment, advanced against the author of so many evils, who retired, and encamped in an advantageous post close to the woods. The Roman general followed, and coming up with him, ordered his cavalry to advance and dislodge him. Arminius, at the approach of the Roman horse, pretended to fly; but wheeling suddenly, and at the same time giving the signal to a body of troops, which he had concealed in the forest, they rushed out upon the enemy with such vigour, that the Roman cavalry began to give way. Germanicus immediately detached some cohorts to their relief; but they too were soon put in disorder, and broken, more by their own men who fled than by the enemy. Arminius taking advantage of the confusion the Romans were in, redoubled his efforts, and would have forced them into a morass, had not Germanicus advanced, at the head of his legions, in order of battle. Arminius, finding his men almost exhausted, did not think it advisable to engage the fresh legions, and therefore retired in good order, leaving the Romans masters of the field. Germanicus, not judging it safe to pursue the enemy through woods and forests, contented himself with this advantage, and returned with the army to

² Tacit. Annal. lib. ii. cap. 26.

(I) In Germanicus's army there were some who had served under Varus, and had the good fortune to escape the general slaughter; and these related the particulars of that tragical event to the rest. "Here (said they) the commanders of our legions were slain; there

our eagles were taken: here Varus received his first wound; there he fell by his own hand: in that place stood the tribunal whence Arminius harangued his troops; in this he caused gibbets to be erected for the execution of his captives, &c."

the

the river Amisia. There he embarked with four legions, ordered Cæcina to reconduct the other four by land, and sent the cavalry to the sea-side, with orders to march to the Rhine. Though Cæcina was to return through roads well known, yet Germanicus exhorted him to pass with all possible speed the causeway called the Long Bridges (K). Notwithstanding every effort, Arminius arrived there before him. This causeway led through vast marshes, surrounded on all sides with woods and hills, which gently rose from the plain.

Arminius had already filled the woods with his men, who, as soon as Cæcina approached, rushed upon him with such fury, that the legions, not able to manage their arms in the deep waters, and slippery ground, would, in all likelihood, have been entirely defeated, had not night put an end to the combat. The Germans, encouraged with their success, instead of refreshing themselves with sleep, employed the whole night in diverting the courses of the springs rising in the neighbouring mountains, and turning them into the plains; so that the Roman camp was on a sudden laid under water, and their works ruined. Under these circumstances, they passed a most melancholy night. Cæcina had served forty years, was well experienced in all the vicissitudes of war, and thence undaunted even in the greatest dangers. Having therefore calmly weighed every expedient proper for the present conjuncture, he at length resolved to attack the Barbarians next day, to drive them to their woods, and there keep them besieged, till the baggage and the wounded men had passed the causeway, and were out of the enemy's reach. With this view, at break of day, he drew up his legions, placing the fifth in the right wing, the twenty-first in the left, the first in the van, and the twentieth in the rear. But the legions posted on the wings, seized with a sudden panic, as soon as day appeared, deserted their stations, and took possession of a field beyond the marshes. Cæcina found it advisable to follow them; but the baggage being entangled in the mire, as he crossed the marshes, and the soldiers about it in great disorder, Arminius seized this opportunity to begin the attack; and, crying out, "This is a second Varus, the same fate attends him and his legions," he rushed upon them at the head of a chosen body with uncommon fury. As he had ordered

Cæcina is attacked by Arminius;

and reduced to great difficulties.

(K) Tacitus tells us, that this causeway was made by Lucius Domitius, who, according to that writer, led an army over the Elbe, and advanced farther into Germany than any Roman had penetrated before. This causeway, according to Lipsius, led cross the marshes between Lingen, Wedden, and Cœverden, where some remains of it are still lying under water.

his men to aim chiefly at the enemy's horses, great numbers of them were killed; and the ground becoming slippery with their blood and the slime of the marsh, the rest either fell, or threw their riders, and galloping among the ranks, put them into disorder.

The Romans saved by the greediness of the enemy.

Cæcina distinguished himself in a very singular manner; but his horse being killed, he would have been taken prisoner, had not the first legion rescued him. The rapacity of the enemy saved Cæcina and his legions from utter destruction; for while they were on the point of yielding, the Barbarians suddenly abandoned them to seize the baggage. The Romans, during this respite, struggled out of the marsh, and, gaining the dry fields, formed, with all possible speed, a camp, which was immediately fortified^a.

The Romans seized with a panic.

The legionaries, quite exhausted, retired to rest themselves after so fatiguing a combat. But their repose was soon interrupted by an accident, which filled the camp with alarm. A horse having broke loose, and frightened with the noise, as he strayed about, ran over some who were in his way. This incident happening in the dark, raised such a consternation among the legionaries, that, imagining the Germans had broken into the camp, they all ran to the gate decumana, which was farthest from the enemy, in order to make their escape. Cæcina, having discovered the true cause of this general uproar, endeavoured to stop the fugitives, assuring them, that their fear was quite groundless; but none of them hearkening to him, he flung himself at length across the gate. The awe and respect they had for their general, restrained them from running over his body, and put a stop to their flight; and, in the mean time, the tribunes and centurions convinced them, that it was a false alarm. Then Cæcina, calling them together, declared, that they must be indebted for their lives to their valour, but that their valour ought to be restrained by conduct; that they must keep close within their camp till the Germans attempted to storm it, and then make a sudden sally, break through the enemy, and pursue their march to the Rhine. This was the only expedient left for retrieving their glory, and saving their lives.

Cæcina stops their flight.

The Germans attack the Roman camp;

In the mean time it was resolved in the German camp, pursuant to the advice of Inguimerus, to attack the Roman entrenchments next morning, nobody doubting, except Arminius, that they might be easily forced. That commander, no less prudent than brave, was for suffering the Romans quietly to depart, and attacking them on their march, when

^a Tacit. Annal. ibid.

embarrassed among forests and marshes: but the advice of Inguiomerus prevailing, as soon as it was light, the Germans beset the camp, and, having filled the ditches, were already climbing up the ramparts, when Cæcina ordered the signal to be given to the cohorts, who, sallying out with loud shouts, fell upon the assailants, and made a dreadful slaughter of them, while they were scaling the entrenchments. The Germans, who imagined that few Romans were remaining, and had therefore promised themselves an easy victory, were so surprised and intimidated at this sudden and unexpected attack, that they immediately betook themselves to flight. The Romans pursued them, and made a dreadful slaughter of the fugitives. Arminius had the good fortune to escape unhurt; but Inguiomerus was dangerously wounded. After this action, the Germans, as destitute of conduct in distress, as void of moderation in prosperity, appeared no more; so that Cæcina pursued his march unmolested to the Rhine.^b

but are repulsed, and put to flight.

In the mean time a report being spread, that the Roman forces were cut in pieces, and a German army in full march to invade Gaul, some timorous partisans of Rome were for breaking down the bridge which the Romans had built over the Rhine near Treves; but Agrippina, who still continued in that city, not giving credit to the public report, opposed, with a manly courage, the execution of this design, and preserved the bridge. She had soon the satisfaction to see the legions under Cæcina, which were supposed to have met with the same fate as those of Varus, arrive, much reduced, and extremely fatigued, but victorious. As they approached, this undaunted heroine went out with her son Caligula to receive them; and, standing at the head of the bridge, commended, as they passed, their gallant behaviour, and returned them thanks for it in a most obliging manner. In the absence of her husband, she discharged all the duties of a general, relieved the necessities of the soldiers, prescribed medicines for the wounded, supplied some with cloaths, and to all extended the effects of her unbounded generosity. This behaviour, however commendable, roused the jealousy of Tiberius: "It is not (said he), against foreigners only that she thus studies to win the affections of the soldiery; she has already given manifest proofs of her aspiring views, in carrying her child, the general's son, about the camp, in the habit of a common soldier, with the title of Cæsar Caligula. Sejanus, well acquainted with the distrustful temper of Tiberius, had already entertained ambitious designs,

The courageous behaviour of Agrippina.

The jealousy of Tiberius.

^b Tacit. Annal. lib. ii. cap. 26. Dio, lib. lvii. p. 615, & seq.

which

which he could not compass without the destruction of Germanicus's family, inflamed with his groundless suggestions the emperor's jealousies, and sowed in his mind the seeds of an irreconcilable hatred against Agrippina.

*The misfortune of the
legions that
returned by
the sea-side.*

Germanicus, having conveyed the four legions down the Amisia into the ocean, in order to return by sea to the Rhine, and finding that his vessels were overloaded, delivered the second and fourteenth legions to Publius Vitellius, one of his lieutenants, with orders to reconduct them by land. This march proved fatal to great numbers of them, who were either buried in the quick-sands, or swallowed by the billows, and overflowing tide, to which they were strangers. Those who escaped lost their arms, utensils, and provisions, and spent a melancholy night on an eminence, which they had gained. Next morning the land appearing after the tide of ebb, Vitellius, with a hasty march, reached the river Usingis, which some judicious critics take for the Hoerenster, on which stands the city of Groningen. There Germanicus, who had reached that river with his fleet, again embarked the two legions, and conveyed them to the mouth of the Rhine, where they all returned to the city of the Ubii, or Cologne.

*Segimerus
submits to
the Ro-
mans.*

Germanicus found in that city Segimerus, the brother of Segestes, with his son Sesthacus, who, having renounced the confederacy of their countrymen, were come to implore the clemency of the Romans, and enter into an alliance with them. The father, though one of the chief authors of the revolt, was kindly received by Germanicus; but it was with much difficulty that he consented to pardon the son, who was said to have insulted the dead body of the unfortunate Varus. In this expedition Germanicus gained no great advantages, and lost many of his men. The greater part of those who had escaped so many dangers returned without arms, horses, and utensils, half-naked, lamed, and unfit for service; but the fame of his name, and amiable qualities, having already filled the Gauls, Spain, and Italy, the inhabitants of those countries strove who should be most forward in supplying him with arms, horses, money, and whatever was necessary for the prosecution of the war. Germanicus thanked them for their zeal; but accepted only the horses and arms.

Though the jealous emperor repined at the glory of the brave Germanicus, yet, glad of his success, he confirmed to him the title of imperator, which the legions had bestowed, and decreed the triumphal honours to Aulus Cæcina, Lu-

cus Apronius, and Caius Silius, three of his lieutenants, who had distinguished themselves in the course of the war. In order to conciliate the affections of the people, which seemed to centre wholly in Germanicus, he affected popularity, rejecting the pompous titles offered by the senate, relieving the distressed with great generosity, and easing the inhabitants of Rome, and the provinces, of several taxes with which they had been burthened by Augustus. A senator, named Pius Aurelius, whose house had fallen, applied to the senate for relief. The prætors of the treasury opposed his suit; but nevertheless Tiberius ordered him the price of his house. Propertius Celer, who had been prætor, desiring to resign the senatorial dignity, as too burthen some to his small estate, Tiberius, upon information that his misfortunes were owing to his father, presented him with a thousand great sesterces. The Tiber having overflowed the lower parts of the city, he caused the bed of that river to be cleaned; and appointed, according to Dio, five, according to Tacitus, only two magistrates of the senatorial order, whose sole business was to guard against the overflowing of the Tiber, and restrain it within its banks. The provinces of Achaia and Macedon, begging to be eased of their public burdens, were this year taken from the senate, and given to the emperor.

Tiberius affects popularity by various methods.

Thus Tiberius affected popularity; but nevertheless did not acquire the reputation of being truly popular, having this very year revived the law of treason or majesty with relation to libels or words; a law above all others execrable to the people, since, by it, those who wrote or spoke any thing reflecting on the emperor, were deemed guilty of high treason. In the times of the republic, says Tacitus, actions were punished, but words were free. Augustus was the first who brought words under the penalty of this law; and Tiberius, exasperated by satirical verses dispersed about the city, exposing his cruelty, his pride, and the misunderstanding which already began between him and his mother, thought it necessary to revive this dreadful law; a law which occasioned, under him and his successors, so much bloodshed in Rome, and all parts of the empire^d.

He revives the law of majesty.

Several persons were prosecuted upon this law, the emperor having, as he was naturally suspicious and distrustful, his spies and emissaries dispersed all over the city. Some of these accused Falanius, a Roman knight, of having admitted into his house, where he had erected an altar in honour of Augustus, among the other adorers of the deified

Several persons accused, and acquitted.

^d Tacit. Ann. lib. i. cap. 72—74

emperor,

emperor; one Cassius, a pantomime, infamous for his debaucheries. To this charge they added another; that, having sold his gardens, he had sold with them the statue of Augustus. Rubrius, another Roman knight, was charged with swearing falsely by the divinity of Augustus. Tiberius, satisfied with having restored this law to its former vigour, and by that expedient checked the freedom of speech, and the licentiousness of libellers, would not allow any punishment to be inflicted on the pretended criminals.

*Granius
Marcellus
accused of
high treason,*

It was not long, however, before he plainly shewed, that he designed to take notice of such informations; Granius Marcellus, prætor, or rather proprætor, of Bithynia, being charged with high treason of this nature by his own quaestor Cæpio Crispinus, Tiberius flew into a violent passion, and, in that sudden transport, was for condemning, without farther enquiry, the pretended criminal. Marcellus was accused of having spoken disrespectfully of the emperor; and the accuser, to render his accusation more credible, collecting whatever was most detestable in the prince's character, repeated it as the expressions of the accused. He added, that Marcellus had placed his own statue higher than those of the Cæsars; and that, having taken the head from off the statue of Augustus, he had placed the head of Tiberius in its room. The emperor was so enraged, that, no longer able to dissemble his resentment, he declared, that he would himself, in this cause, give his vote openly, and upon his oath. Cneius Piso then asked him, "In what place, Cæsar, will you choose to give your opinion? If first, I shall have your example to follow; if last, I am afraid I may disagree with you." These words stung Tiberius; nevertheless he bore them patiently, being ashamed of his transport, and suffered Marcellus to be acquitted of high treason *.

*and ac-
quitted by
Tiberius.*

*Dissensions
of the
theatre.*

The dissensions of the theatre, which had begun in the course of the preceding year, now broke out with great violence, and rent almost the whole city into factions and parties, some protecting one player, and some another; nay, the opposite parties often came to blows, and turned the playhouse into a field of battle. In one of these frays, several soldiers who attended in the play-house, and at the gate, to prevent disturbances, were killed, and among them a centurion; even the tribune of a prætorian cohort was wounded, while he was endeavouring to secure the magistrates from insults, and to quell the licentious rabble. The senate took this affair into consideration; and several expe-

* Tacit. Ann. lib. i. cap. 72, 74.

dients were proposed for preventing such riots. The majority were for impowering the prætors to scourge the players, who, as was supposed, were the chief authors of these tumults. But Haterius Agrippa, tribune of the people, opposed this motion; alleging, that Augustus had declared, that players should not be scourged; and, indeed, that emperor, who took great delight in such diversions, had restrained the power of punishing the players^f, which, by an ancient law, the magistrates had, till that time, exercised over them, in all places and ages. Asinius Gallus, with great asperity, reprimanded the tribune for his opposition; which, however, prevailed, out of respect to Augustus, whose laws were to be inviolably observed.

In order to curb the insolence of the players, their wages were, by a decree of the senate, curtailed: and it was moreover enacted, that no senator should visit a player; that no Roman knight should be seen abroad in their company; and that they should act nowhere but in the theatre or public play-house^g. The prætors were impowered to punish with banishment such of the spectators as should raise the least disturbance in the theatre. Thus was an end put for a time to these riots and tumults.

Laws for curbing the insolence of players.

In the course of this year Tiberius discharged the legacies which Augustus had left to the people; but sullied the glory naturally arising from so plausible and popular an action, by another equally base and cruel. A facetious Roman advancing one day to a bier as it passed, and addressing himself to the deceased, said aloud, "Remember to inform Augustus, that the legacies which he left to the people, are not yet paid." This pleasantry being related to Tiberius, he commanded the jester to be brought to him; and having paid his full demand, caused him to be put to death immediately, telling him, that he should go himself to Augustus, since he could give him fresher accounts than the deceased^h. However, a few days after, he paid the legaciesⁱ. The people intreating him to ease them of the tax of one per cent. established at the end of the civil wars upon all vendible commodities, he declared, by an edict, that the fund for maintaining the army depended entirely upon this tax; and that even then the republic would not be able to defray the vast charges attending the final dismissal of veterans before the twentieth year of their service. By this decree the concessions made to the soldiery during the late sedition were implicitly revoked, and the men were obliged to serve twenty years,

Tiberius discharges the legacies left by Augustus.

Tiberius punishes a joke with death.

^f Suet. in Aug. cap. 45.
^g Dio, lib. lviii. p. 611.

^h Tacit. Ann. lib. i. cap. 76, 77.
ⁱ Suet. in Tiber. cap. 37.

*Revoles
the conces-
sions grant-
ed to the
soldiery.*

Yr. of Fl.
2364.
A. D. 16.
U. C. 764.

*Germani-
cus under-
takes an-
other expe-
dition into
Germany.*

*Obliges the
Germans to
raise the
siege of a
Roman
fort.*

as before, instead of sixteen ^k. Thus Tiberius, while he was studying to gain the hearts of the people and soldiery, gave them just motives to complain of his present, and to dread his future behaviour. Let us now return to Germanicus.

That brave prince spent the winter, when Statilius Siffenna Taurus, and Lucius Scribonius Libo were consuls, in preparations for another expedition into Germany, having his heart wholly intent on the entire reduction of that country. He weighed with himself the methods he had hitherto pursued in that war, the misfortunes and successes which had attended him since he first undertook it; and finding, that the Germans were chiefly indebted for their safety to their woods and marshes, to their short summers and early winters, and that his own men suffered more from their long and tedious marches than from the enemy, he resolved to enter the country by sea, hoping, by that avenue, to begin the campaign earlier, and surprise the enemy. Having therefore built, with great dispatch, during the winter, a thousand vessels of different sorts, he, early in the spring, ordered them to fall down the Rhine, appointing the island of the Batavians (L) for the place of general rendezvous, as the most convenient for receiving the forces, and conveying them from thence to those parts of Germany which he designed to invade. Mean while, he detached Silius, one of his lieutenants, with orders to make a sudden irruption into the country of the Catti; but he himself, upon intelligence that a Roman fort, upon the Luppias, was besieged by the enemy, hastened with six legions to its relief. Silius was prevented, by sudden rains, from doing more than taking some small booty, with the wife and daughter of Arpus, prince of the Catti; neither did those who had invested the fort wait till Germanicus arrived, but, upon the news of his approach, breaking up the siege, fled and dispersed. However, in their retreat, they overthrew the monument lately raised in honour of Varus and his legions, and also an altar formerly erected to Drusus. The altar Germanicus restored, and performed, with the legions, the funeral ceremony of running round it, to the honour of his father, according to the ancient custom: he then fortified, with new works, the whole space between the forts which the

^k Tacit. Ann. lib. i. cap. 78.

(L) According to Tacitus, Rhine, and the Vahalís, now the island of the Batavians was the Wale, bounded by the ocean, the

enemy had besieged, the Aliso, now the Yffel, and the Rhine¹.

The fleet arriving at the island of the Batavians, the provisions and warlike engines were put on board, and sent forward; ships were assigned to the legions and allies; and the whole army being embarked, the fleet entered the canal formerly cut by Drusus, and, from his name, called Fossa Drusiana, or the canal of Drusus (M). Here the pious general did not forget to invoke the manes of his father, beseeching him to encourage with his example, and inspire with wholesome counsels, his son, who was following his footsteps. Hence he sailed prosperously through lakes (N), and the ocean, to the Amisia or Ems; and, having landed his troops at the mouth of that river, marched directly to the Visurgis or Weser. While he lay encamped on the banks of that river, news were brought him, that the Angrivarii (O) had revolted. He forthwith dispatched a body of horse, and light-armed foot, against them, under the command of Stertinius, who, with fire and sword, spread desolation throughout the country. In the mean time, the famous Arminius, being informed of Germanicus's design, appeared on the opposite bank of the Visurgis (P), at the head of the Cherusci, determined to dispute the passage of the river.

He embarks his army.

Arrives at the Amisia.

Finds Arminius at the Visurgis.

However, before hostilities began on either side, he asked, whether Germanicus was arrived; and, being answered that he was, he begged permission to speak with his brother, who,

¹ Tacit. Annal. lib. ii. cap. 25.

(M) The Fossa Drusiana was a canal cut by Drusus, to convey the waters of the Rhine into the Sala, now the Sale, and from thence through the Lake Flevus into the ocean. It extended eight miles, from the present village of IJseloort to the town of Doetsburg.

(N) From this, and several other passages in Tacitus, it is manifest, that, in former times, there were several lakes in this country, though, at present, there is but one, called, in the language of the country, the Zuidersee.

(O) The Angrivarii had often changed their habitation, as

Tacitus informs us; but, at this time dwelt, as is manifest from the passage before us, between the Amisia and Visurgis. Some modern geographers think they possessed part of the present province of Overijssel, of the county of Bentheim, and of the diocese of Paderborne.

(P) The Visurgis, as Lipsius observes, in this place, is chiefly indebted to Tacitus for its fame, and Tacitus for his to the Visurgis; for, in a monastery on this river, were found the five first books of his Annals, after they had been long looked upon as lost.

under

An interview between Arminius and his brother.

under the name of Flavius, had long served in the Roman army, and had lost an eye in fighting under Tiberius. His request being granted, Flavius advanced; and Arminius, having first saluted him, and ordered his own attendants to withdraw, desired, that the Roman archers, who were drawn up close to the bank of the river, might likewise retire. When they were removed, "How came you, brother, by this deformity in your countenance?" said Arminius. Flavius having told him in what place, and battle, he had lost his eye; "And what reward (asked Arminius) have you received for so dangerous a wound?" "Increase of pay, (answered Flavius), a crown, a chain, and other military gifts;" which Arminius treating with derision, and styling the vile wages of slavery, a warm contest arose between the two brothers: the one extolled the greatness of the Romans, the power of the emperor, the unhappy condition of the conquered, the Roman clemency to such as submitted, the kind treatment of the wife and son of Arminius. The other urged the rights of their common country, their ancient liberty, the gods of their ancestors; beseeching him, by their common mother, not to prefer the name of a traitor, of a betrayer of his friends, relations, and country, to that of their general and commander. By degrees they came to reproaches, and, though parted by the river, would have proceeded to blows, had not Stertinius restrained Flavius, who called for his horse and armour. On the opposite bank, Arminius, inflamed with rage, was heard to utter dreadful threats, and menace the Romans, as he departed, with an approaching battle; for with his native language he mingled many Latin words, which he had learnt while he served as general of his countrymen in the Roman armies.

The Batavians drawn into an ambuscade by the Germans.

Next day the German army appeared on the opposite bank of the Visurgis, in order of battle: but Germanicus, not thinking it advisable to attack them, ordered the horse to ford over, under the conduct of Stertinius and Æmilius, who, to divide the enemy's forces, crossed the river in distant places. At the same time Cariovalda, leader of the Batavians, passed where it was most rapid; but being drawn into an ambuscade by the enemy, and surrounded on all sides, he fell, under a shower of darts, while he was, with incredible bravery, attempting to break through the enemy's numerous battalions. Many of the Batavian nobility fell round him; the rest were saved by their own bravery, or by the cavalry of Stertinius and Æmilius, who, upon the

first notice of their danger, flew to the relief of their distressed allies. Germanicus having, during this skirmish, passed the Visurgis without molestation, was informed by a deserter, that Arminius, being joined by several German nations, had resolved to attack his camp by night. In consequence of this information, the Roman general sent out parties to reconnoitre, who, upon their return, reported, that they had heard a great noise of men and horses, and discerned the enemy's fires in a neighbouring wood. Germanicus, no longer doubting that they designed to venture a decisive battle, resolved to learn in person the real sentiments of the soldiery: with this view he, in the beginning of the night, went out of the prætorium, in disguise, with one attendant; and, listening from tent to tent to the discourses of the men at their meals, had the satisfaction to hear his own praises in every one's mouth, and the soldiers encouraging each other to exert themselves in the approaching battle, from gratitude to so deserving a general. While Germanicus was thus employed, one of the Germans, who spoke Latin, riding up to the Roman entrenchments, offered, in the name of Arminius, to every deserter, a wife, land, and one hundred sesterces a day, as long as the war lasted. This offer the legions considered as an affront; and, full of rage and resentment, "Let day come, (said they), we will seize their lands; we will take, not receive, German wives" About the third watch the enemy approached; but finding the Romans prepared to receive them, they retired, without discharging a dart.

Germanicus passes the Visurgis.

Discovers the sentiments of the soldiery.

Early next morning Germanicus, having assembled his troops, acquainted them with his design, to terminate so tedious and fatiguing a war by a decisive battle: he made them sensible of their advantage over the enemy, both as to their arms, and manner of fighting; represented the Germans as men of a frightful aspect, and violent in the beginning of a battle, but disheartened with wounds, unaffected with their own disgrace, unconcerned for their general, cowards in distress, in prosperity despisers of all divine and human laws. Finally, he exhorted his men by one generous effort to enable him to conquer in those very countries where his father and uncle had conquered. His harangue inspired the whole army with great ardour, which was expressed with the loudest acclamations. Neither did Arminius, and the other German chiefs, neglect to animate their countrymen, and encourage them either to maintain, by their bravery, the liberty they had received from their ancestors, or to prevent slavery by a glorious death. Having thus enflamed their courage, they led them into a

Germanicus encourages his men.

plain called Idistavifus (Q), bounded on the one side by the Visurgis, and, on the other, by a ridge of hills. Behind this plain was a forest of tall trees, thick of branches above, but clear of bushes below. The Germans were all drawn up on the plain, and at the entrance of the forest, except the Cherusci, who were posted on the hills, and ordered to fall upon the Romans in the heat of the fight.

Germanicus engages the enemy.

Germanicus had scarce entered the plain, with his troops in battle-array, when he observed the Cherusci, impatient of delays, pouring down from the hills. He forthwith commanded a chosen body of horse to charge them in flank, and, at the same time, detached Stertinius, with the rest of the cavalry, ordering him to wheel about, and fall upon their rear. In the mean time, the Roman infantry advancing, attacked the enemy in front with such vigour, that the Germans, not able to stand the shock, immediately gave ground. Those who were posted at the entrance of the forest, fled to the plain, and those in the plain took shelter in the forest. The Cherusci alone maintained the fight, encouraged by the example of the valiant Arminius, who, though wounded, would have broken through the Roman archers, had not the auxiliary cohorts of the Rhatians, Vindelicians, and Gauls, hastened to their relief. However, by his own valour, and the swiftness of his horse, he escaped the present danger, having first dyed his face with his own blood, to avoid being known. Some writers have related, that the Chauci, who served in the Roman army, suffered him to retire unmolested. The same bravery, or connivance, facilitated the escape of Inguiomerus: the rest were either cut in pieces, or drowned in attempting to swim across the Visurgis. The slaughter lasted from morning to night, and the country was covered ten miles round with arms and dead bodies. The Romans were no sooner returned from the pursuit than Germanicus, ascribing the whole glory of so remarkable a victory to Tiberius, under whose auspices he had fought, caused him to be proclaimed emperor on the field of battle, and, raising a mount, placed upon it, as trophies, the arms of the enemy, inscribed underneath with the names of the conquered nations ^a.

The Germans defeated.

^a Tacit. Annal. lib. i.

(Q) Lipfius, who surveyed with great care, and no less pleasure, the places here described by Tacitus, takes the plain called by him Idistavifus to be that plain which begins at

a village called Vegesack, about two German miles from the city of Bremen, and extends a great way towards the sea, between a ridge of hills and the Weser.

The

The Germans, though vanquished, and already determined to abandon their country, and seek for shelter beyond the Albis or Elbe, were so enraged at the raising of this mount, which they looked upon as an insult not to be borne, that, forgetting their wounds and misfortunes, they ran to arms again; the common people, the nobility, young and old, all in a confused body, rushed suddenly upon the Romans, like men in despair; and put them, as they were on their march, and under no apprehension of an enemy, into some disorder. Being repulsed, they encamped in a plain shut in between a river and a forest; the forest was surrounded by a deep marsh, except on one side, which was inclosed by a broad rampart raised formerly by the Angrivarii, as a barrier between them and their neighbours the Cherusci. In this plain the enemy posted their infantry, concealing their cavalry among the neighbouring groves, that they might fall upon the rear of the Roman army, as soon as they had entered the forest. Germanicus, being informed of their design, ordered Seius Tubero, one of his lieutenants, to enter the plain at the head of the cavalry; his infantry he divided into two bodies, commanding the one to attack the enemy in the wood, and leading the other in person to force the rampart. The foot, that fought on even ground, broke easily in; but the attack of the rampart cost Germanicus dear, the Germans defending it with great boldness and intrepidity. However, having at length taken the rampart, he entered the wood at the head of the prætorian cohorts, and there made a most dreadful havock of the enemy, who could not, for want of room, manage their long spears: nevertheless, they made a most vigorous resistance, and disputed the ground inch by inch. Arminius did not, on this occasion, exert his usual activity, being disabled and weakened by a wound he had received; but Inguiomerus, with great intrepidity, flew about the ranks, animating his countrymen more by his example than by words. Germanicus, that he might be known, pulled off his helmet, and encouraged his men to pursue the slaughter; "No quarter (he cried); we want no captives; nothing but an utter destruction of these perfidious nations will put an end to the war."

They fell unexpectedly on the Romans.

A second battle.

Gallant behaviour of the Germans.

However, as the day was already far advanced, he detached a legion to form a camp for his weary troops; but the rest continued the slaughter till night, when they retired glutted with the blood of the enemy. This second victory was entirely owing to the foot (R), for the horse fought

The Germans defeated.

(R) Germanicus, having, his victorious troops, of the from his tribunal, commended arms taken from the enemy
§ 2 formed

The Angrivarii submit.

fought with doubtful success. He afterwards detached Stertinius against Angrivarii, who, by an immediate submission, prevented the calamities that threatened them. Germanicus, no less compassionate than brave, pardoned them without reserve, and suffered them to live quietly according to their own laws, under the protection of Rome *.

Germanicus, returning by sea, suffers a violent storm.

Germanicus, with the reduction of the Angrivarii, terminated the campaign, sending some of the legions back into winter-quarters by land, and embarking himself with the others on the Amisia, in order to return by sea. The ocean proved at first very calm, and the wind favourable; but a sudden storm arising, the fleet, consisting of a thousand vessels, was dispersed; some of them were swallowed by the waves, others dashed in pieces against the rocks, or driven upon remote and inhospitable islands, where the men either perished with famine, or lived upon the flesh of the dead horses, with which the shore was strewed; for, in order to lighten their vessels, and disengage them from the shoals, they had been obliged to throw overboard their horses, and beasts of burden, nay, even their arms and baggage. The gally of Germanicus alone landed on the coast of the Chauci, where the humane general, deeply affected with the misfortunes of his fellow-soldiers, wandered day and night about the rocks and promontories, in hopes of descrying some of the dispersed vessels. As none of them appeared, he was heard accusing himself as the author of this dreadful disaster; and, distracted with grief, he would have thrown himself headlong into the deep, had not he been restrained by his friends and attendants. At length, to his infinite satisfaction, he discovered part of the fleet returning, though in a very shattered condition, some of the vessels being without oars, others without sails, using in their stead the soldiers cloaks; many were quite disabled, and towed by such as had suffered less damage. The latter he caused to be immediately repaired, and dispatched them to the neighbouring islands in quest of his dispersed legionaries. By these means the greater part of them were at length collected. The Angrivarii, who had lately sub-

His great concern.

* Tacit. Ann. lib. ii.

formed a monument, with this inscription: "To Mars, to Jupiter, and to Augustus, the army of Tiberius Cæsar, having entirely vanquished the nations between the Rhine and the Albia, consecrates this monu-

ment." He made no mention of himself, either to avoid giving umbrage to Tiberius, or because he thought the recording of the fact a sufficient testimony of his valour and conduct.

mitted,

mitted, to give Germanicus, on this occasion, an undoubted proof of their fidelity, redeemed many, who had been made captives by their neighbours. Some, who had been driven into Britain, were generously sent back by the petty kings, who at that time reigned in this island ^y (S). *Recovers many of his men.*

Upon the news of this wreck, the Catti, assuming fresh courage, ran to arms; but Caius Silius, detached against them with thirty thousand foot and three thousand horse, kept them in awe. Germanicus himself, at the head of a more numerous body, made a sudden irruption into the country of the Marſi (T), where he was informed by one Malovendus, who had once commanded their troops, but had lately taken part with the Romans, that the eagle of one of Varus's legions was concealed in a neighbouring grove, and guarded only by a small body of troops. This intelligence filled Germanicus with joy: he immediately sent two detachments, one to face the enemy, and draw them from their post, the other to fall upon their rear, and recover the eagle. Success attended both; and the Roman general, having ravaged the enemy's country, brought back the eagle in triumph: he then returned to the frontiers of Gaul, and there put his troops into winter-quarters, having, by this glorious and successful expedition, retrieved, in some degree, the glory of the Roman name, and balanced his late misfortune at sea ^z. He hoped, in one campaign more, to complete the reduction of Germany; and, in order to keep up the spirit of the soldiery, and encourage them to pursue with alacrity that great work, he made good, at his own expence, all the losses they had sustained in the late storm, causing as much to be paid to each legionary as he had lost. *Intrudes the country of the Marſi, and recovers one of Varus's eagles.*

But in the mean time Tiberius, jealous of the great fame and reputation which his nephew had acquired by his repeated victories over the Germans, and his popularity, re- *He is recalled by Tiberius.*

^y Tacit. Ann. lib. ii.

^z Idem lib. ii. cap. 25.

(S) Tacitus tells us, that those who came from distant countries related wonders at their return, and entertained their comrades with strange accounts of violent whirlwinds, of birds never heard of before, of sea-monsters, which, from their ambiguous forms, appeared to be a new species between men and beasts.

(T) Before the canal was cut by Drusus, the Marſi inhabited part of the territories of Veluwe and Zutphen, where the present cities of Arnheim, Grolle, and Bredesfort, stand: but afterwards they settled between the Rhine and Isala, and, in process of time, changed the name of Marſi for that of Marſaci, or Mariatti.

solved to separate him from his old and faithful legions. With this view, he pressed him by frequent letters to return to Rome, and enjoy the triumph decreed him: he urged, that he had already undergone sufficient dangers; that though success had attended him, yet he had sustained great losses, which indeed were owing to no fault of his, but to the winds and waves; that he himself, having been sent nine times into Germany by Augustus, had, more by policy than force of arms, brought the Sicambri into subjection, and drawn the Suevi, and Maroboduus king of the Marcomanni, to conclude a peace with Rome: he added, that the Cherusci, and other barbarous nations, now the Romans had been fully revenged on them, might be left to pursue their domestic feuds, and destroy one another. Germanicus, in answer to the emperor's letters, earnestly intreated him to grant him one year more to complete his conquest, since the enemy were already concerting measures for obtaining peace. Tiberius was inflexible: in order therefore to entice him home, he offered him a second consulship, adding, that, if the war was still to be pursued, he ought to have some regard for his brother Drusus, and not ingross all the glory to himself; that Rome had at present no other enemies to wage war with but the Germans, and Drusus no other field of glory but Germany. Germanicus knew that these were but specious pretences, suggested by envy, to rob him of the glory he was likely to acquire by another campaign; however, finding it was in vain to persist, he complied; and, leaving Germany, set out for Rome with his wife and children*. Before we speak of the reception he met with from Tiberius, and the Roman people, we shall give a succinct account of what passed in the metropolis, while he was signalizing himself in Germany.

Sets out for Rome.

Libo Drusus accused of high treason.

Tiberius had in the foregoing year revived the law of majesty. Upon this law Libo Drusus was now tried, condemned, and his estate divided among his accusers. Lucius Scribonius Libo Drusus was descended of the Scribonian family, one of the most illustrious in Rome, great grandson of Pompey the Great, nephew of Scribonia, once the wife of Augustus, nearly related to the Cæsars, and no way inferior in nobility to the reigning house. His high quality rendered him obnoxious to Tiberius, a jealousy which a senator, named Firmius Catus, being apprised of, resolved to gain the emperor's favour, by giving him a plausible pretence to deliver himself from his fears. With

* Tacit. Ann. lib. ii. cap. 26.

this view, having insinuated himself into the favour of the unwary youth, by flattering his hopes and ambition, and constantly magnifying the nobility of his family, he prevailed upon him to consult the Chaldeans and magicians, whether he should not be one day vested with the sovereign power, to which he had as good a claim, said the treacherous Firmius, as the family of Tiberius, who enjoyed it.

This was sufficient matter for a charge of high treason; and accordingly Firmius immediately acquainted the emperor, by means of Flaccus Vescularius, a Roman knight, who had free access to him, with the pretended crimes of the unhappy youth, whom he had basely ensnared with specious delusions. Tiberius, though overjoyed at this information, refused the accuser a private audience, intimating, that the communication might be still carried on by the same Flaccus; and accordingly Firmius, by his means, informed the emperor of all Libo's steps and words; for the young man, deluded by the predictions of the Chaldeans and astrologers, began now to entertain thoughts of soaring above the rank of a private citizen.

Misled and betrayed by Firmius Catus.

In the mean time Tiberius, with the deepest dissimulation, preferred Libo to the prætorship, entertained him at his table, and familiarly conversed with him, without betraying the least resentment either in his words or countenance. At length Libo having recourse to one Junius, who pretended, by charms, and the superstitious rites of the magicians, to call up the infernal shades, and learn of them future events, the magician discovered this circumstance to Fulcinus Trio, a famous informer, who immediately hastening to the consuls, imparted the whole to them, and demanded that the senate might meet forthwith to deliberate upon an affair of so much moment, and of such dangerous consequence to the state. The fathers, not doubting but Tiberius was at the bottom of this prosecution, assembled at the time appointed, when Libo appeared in the habit of a suppliant, and presenting himself before Tiberius, who was present, endeavoured, by his tears and entreaties, to excite his compassion. The emperor heard him with a countenance quite unmoved. Instead of returning him any answer, he recited to the conscript fathers the charge against him, and the names of the accusers, without betraying the least emotion of anger or resentment, or seeming either to lessen or magnify the crimes laid to his charge^b.

Tiberius's deep dissimulation.

^b Tacit. Ann. lib. ii. cap. 27.—32. Dio, lib. lvii. p. 612.

*Is tried by
the senate.*

Then four informers appeared against the criminal; namely, Firmius Catus, Fulcinius Trio, Fonteius Agrippa, and Caius Vibius, and produced such extravagant, foolish, and chimerical articles of accusation, as rather deserved derision than punishment. The unhappy Libo, concluding that Tiberius was resolved upon his destruction, begged the conscript fathers, that they would defer till next day the final decision of his cause. His request being granted, he returned to his own house; whence soon after he sent Publius Quirinius to solicit the emperor in his behalf. Quirinius was nearly related to Libo, and in great favour with Tiberius, having been formerly instrumental in reconciling Caius Cæsar to him while he lived in the island of Rhodes, of consequence the chief cause of his returning into favour with Augustus; but, unmindful of ancient obligations, he received Quirinius with great coldness, and returned him an answer, importing, that he must apply to the senate. This answer threw Libo into a deep melancholy; which, however, he dissembled, and directed a grand entertainment to be prepared, in order to pass the last night of his life in the company of his friends and relations. The banquet was scarce begun, when a band of soldiers, surrounding the house with dreadful cries, so terrified the guests, that many of them, rising from table, endeavoured to make their escape. Libo, not doubting that they were sent to dispatch him, drawing his sword, offered it to his slaves, begging them to put an end to his unhappy life; but they, trembling, and shunning the task, fled with such hurry and confusion, that they overturned all the lights; and then Libo, in the dark, gave himself two mortal wounds. As he fell and groaned, his freedmen ran in; and the soldiers, seeing him dead, retired; for they had been sent on purpose to frighten him, so as to make him lay violent hands on himself, Tiberius hoping by that contrivance to avoid the odium which he was apprised the execution of one of the most illustrious citizens of Rome would reflect upon his person and government.

*He lays
violent
hands on
himself.*

*Is found
guilty of
high treason
after
his death.*

The charge, however, was carried on in the senate, as if he had been still alive; but the deceitful Tiberius at the same time declared upon oath, that he would have interceded for his life, had he not prevented his clemency by destroying himself. The deceased was by the senate declared guilty of high treason, and his estate divided amongst his accusers: such of the informers as were of the senatorial order (for the first lords of the senate were not ashamed to debase themselves to this vile office) were, without the

regular

regular method of election, named prætors for the ensuing year. This was the most effectual method for multiplying these pests of the empire: they were raised to the highest offices in the state, and the metropolis of the world often saw her public dignities bestowed as spoils upon parricides for spilling her best blood. We may naturally conclude, that the servile senate did not let slip so favourable an opportunity of gaining the emperor's favour, by branding the memory of the pretended criminal. They not only condemned Libo, but they issued a decree for driving astrologers, magicians, and the whole herd of fortune-tellers, out of Italy; nay, Lucius Pituanius, one of them whom Libo had probably consulted, was thrown headlong from the Tarpeian rock; and Publius Marcius, another of the same profession, was by the consuls sentenced to death, and executed accordingly without the Esquiline gate^c.

At the next meeting of the senate, Quintus Haterius, formerly consul, and Octavius Fronto, who had served the office of prætor, moved, that a stop might be put to the excessive luxury which prevailed in the city; and a law passed, forbidding the use of gold plate, and prohibiting men from wearing silks, which were then thought peculiar to women. Fronto went farther, and proposed, that the quantity of silver plate, the expence of furniture, and the number of slaves, might be regulated; but he was opposed by Asinius Gallus, who, with plausible arguments, defended the prevailing luxury. Besides, Tiberius did not approve of Fronto's motion; for, after Gallus had done speaking, he added, that it was not a season for reformation; and that, if there was any corruption of manners, there would not be wanting one to redress that evil; alluding thereby, no doubt, to himself, and his office of perpetual censor^d.

As it was common for the senators to depart from the present debate, and offer, as their advice, whatever they judged conducive to the public welfare, Lucius Piso, who still retained the ancient Roman spirit, and declared his sentiments with great freedom, after having bitterly inveighed against the corruptions of the state, particularly against the pestilent pursuits of the informers, who were daily arraigning and accusing all degrees of men, protested, that he was resolved to leave Rome, and live in some quiet and distant corner of the country. He went out of the senate; but Tiberius, though highly provoked, smothered his resentment, and, following Piso, endeavoured to sooth him with kind entreaties: he even condescended to solicit his rela-

*The free
spirit of
L. Piso.*

^c Tacit. Annal. lib. ii. cap. 33, 34.

^d Tacit. Annal. lib. ii.

tions to divert him with their prayers and authority from the resolution he had taken; and they prevailed. Piso, not long after, gave another instance of a spirit truly Roman, in suing, for a debt, one Urgulania, a woman of distinction, placed by the favour of Livia above the laws. Piso summoned her to appear before the prætor; but she, despising the citation, fled for refuge to the palace; whence Piso would have carried her by force before the prætor, notwithstanding the complaints of Livia, had not Tiberius, to prevent disturbances, obliged her to comply, and at the same time promised, in civility to his mother, to attend the trial, and assist her favourite. On the day appointed for the decision of the cause, the emperor left the palace, ordering his guards to follow him at a distance; but walked so slow, that before he reached the forum the trial was over, and Urgulania adjudged to pay the sum claimed by Piso. The money was immediately advanced by Livia, who, finding Piso inflexible, and the emperor not inclined to oppose him, was glad to redeem her favourite from the prosecution of such a bold and resolute creditor * (U).

*Tiberius's
generosity
to some se-
nators.*

*Bold design
of a bond-
man to
Agrippa
Posthumus.*

The behaviour of Tiberius on this occasion was highly applauded by the Roman people, as was also his generosity at this time towards some necessitous senators, whom he enabled to live suitable to their rank.

This year a slave of Posthumus Agrippa, named Clemens, would have raised great disturbances in the state, and kindled a civil war in the bowels of Italy, had he not been timely prevented. As he was nearly of the same age with his late master, and not unlike him in his person, he took upon him his name, and caused it to be reported in all parts by his emissaries and associates, that Agrippa was still alive. This report raised great tumults in many cities of Italy, and brought over to the pretended Agrippa numbers of people, such as are ever fond of public disturbances and changes. It was even credited at Rome, and his supposed arrival at Ostia privately celebrated in the city by many people. Tiberius, informed by his emissaries of all that had passed, was long in suspense whether he should order his troops to march against the audacious slave, or suffer the imposture

* Tacit. & Dio, *ibid.*

(U) Tacitus tells us, that the power of Urgulania was so great, that she disdained to appear as a witness in a certain cause before the senate, so that a prætor was sent to examine her at her own house, though it had been always usual, even for the Vestal virgins, to attend the forum, and courts of justice, whenever their evidence was required.

to vanish of itself. On one hand, he was ashamed to betray any fear of a vile slave; and, on the other, he apprehended the danger which might arise from the credulity of the people, if they were not soon undeceived. In this perplexity he committed the whole affair to Sallustius Crispus, whom he had employed to dispatch Agrippa.

Crispus chose two of his clients, or, as some write, two soldiers, in whom he could confide, and sent them to the supposed Agrippa with a considerable sum, directing them to feign, that they believed him to be the true grandson of Augustus, to present him with the money, and to pretend a great zeal for his cause. They executed his orders with great address, and, finding that Clemens reposed in them an entire confidence, they privately assembled a proper band of men, seized and gagged him while his guards were asleep, and carried him without noise to the palace. When he was brought before Tiberius, the emperor asked him, "How he was become Agrippa?" "Just as you became Caesar," answered Clemens. Though Tiberius had him wholly in his power, yet so great was his fear or policy, that he did not execute him publicly, but ordered him to be dispatched in a secret part of the palace, and his body to be privately conveyed away; and though many of the emperor's household, and even knights and senators, were said to have assisted and supported him with their counsels and fortunes, yet no farther enquiry was made after his accomplices^f.

He is seized by a device of Sallustius Crispus, and dispatched privately.

Germanicus arriving, with his wife and children in the capital, was received by Tiberius with all possible marks of friendship and affection; he congratulated him on his past dangers, seemed highly pleased with his conduct, extolled his exploits, and, with the deepest dissimulation, commended him to the senate, as well deserving the greatest honours it was in their power to confer. A triumph was decreed him, in the consulate of Cæcilius Rufus, and Lucius Pomponius Flaccus, on the twenty-sixth day of May, over the Catti, the Angrivarii, the Cherusci, and all the German nations between the Rhine and the Albis, or the Elbe. The triumph, an honour now very uncommon, was performed with extraordinary magnificence. Before the triumphal chariot were carried representations of mountains, rivers, and battles, and an incredible number of captives loaded with chains, among whom were many of the German chiefs, and the wife of Arminius, carrying in her

Germanicus here received by Tiberius.

He triumphs.

^f Tacit. Annal. lib. ii. cap. 39, 40. Dio, lib. lviii. p. 613. Suet. in Tiber. cap. 25.

arms her infant son. But what above all enhanced the satisfaction of the beholders, was the extraordinary gracefulness of Germanicus's person, and his chariot filled with his five children, Nero, Drusus, and Caius, and his two daughters, Agrippina and Drusilla. Tiberius, to render the solemnity more complete, and the joy of the people more universal, distributed among them, in the name of Germanicus, a large sum, three hundred sesterces a man, and named himself his colleague in the consulship for the ensuing year ^z.

*Tiberius
resolves on
his destruc-
tion.*

*Archelaus,
king of
Cappado-
cia, called
to Rome,
where he
dies.*

Notwithstanding all these demonstrations of kindness and affection, the people still suspected his sincerity; and their joy was greatly allayed by the melancholy reflections, that popular favour had proved fatal to his father Drusus; that his uncle Marcellus was snatched from the people, who adored him, in the flower of his youth; and that the favourites of the Roman people had ever been unfortunate, and short-lived. Indeed, their fears were not ill-grounded: for Tiberius, jealous of the glory of the young prince, and the high favour he was in both with the people and soldiery, was already resolved on his destruction. A favourable opportunity soon offered, or rather was craftily framed by Tiberius, for removing from Rome the darling of the people. Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, had many years before incurred his displeasure, by neglecting to pay proper attention to him, during his retirement at Rhodes. This contemptuous omission the revengeful emperor remembered; and therefore having enticed the king to Rome, by means of letters from his mother Livia, promising him his pardon, provided he came in person to implore it, he not only received him with great haughtiness, but caused him to be accused as a criminal in the senate. As the crimes laid to his charge evidently appeared to be mere fictions, he was, by the conscript fathers, declared innocent; but the unhappy prince, not able to brook such treatment, soon after either died of grief, or laid violent hands on himself, after having reigned fifty years ^h. Some time after, Cappadocia was reduced to a Roman province, a circumstance which enabled Tiberius to abate the tax of one in the hundred upon all vendible goods, and reduce it to one in the two hundred; which relief, however, the people did not long enjoy ⁱ. At the same time died Antiochus, king of Comagene, and Philopater, king of Cilicia; events which occasioned great

^z Tac. Ann. lib. ii. cap. 41. Strab. lib. vii. p. 291, 292. ^h Tac. Ann. lib. ii. cap. 42. Dio, lib. lvii. p. 613. Joseph. Antiq. lib. xvii. cap. 15. ⁱ Dio, lib. lix.

disturbances in those countries, some of the natives being for the Roman government, and others for a king of their own. The provinces too of Syria and Judæa, being overloaded with taxes, applied to the emperor and senate for relief *. Neither was Parthia without troubles; that warlike nation having driven out Vonones, whom they had demanded of Augustus for their king, placed in his room, on the throne, Artabanes, a prince of the family of the Arsacidæ, but at that time, according to Josephus, king of the Medes †. These disturbances and commotions in the East proved very favourable to the wicked designs of Tiberius, who represented to the senate, that they could not be settled but by the wisdom and abilities of Germanicus. He observed, that he himself was in the decline of his age, and his son Drusus not yet ripe for such important undertakings.

Disturbances in the East.

In consequence of these hints all the provinces of the East were readily decreed to Germanicus, and a greater power was conferred on him than had been given to any governor since the time of Pompey the Great. To balance and restrain the extraordinary authority with which he was vested, Tiberius had already removed from the government of Syria Creticus Silanus, whose daughter was betrothed to Nero, the eldest son of Germanicus, and placed in his room Cneius Piso (X), a man of a most violent and untractable temper, and to such a degree elated with the nobility and wealth of his wife Plancina (Y), that he scarce yielded to Tiberius, and despised Drusus and Germanicus as persons beneath his rank. He was, in every respect, the most proper person in Rome to execute those fatal purposes for which he was chiefly chosen. His wife Plancina, who was still more haughty than her husband, had secret instructions from Livia to exert her spirit, and, by all manner of indignities, prosecute and insult Agrippina ‡. Before Ger-

The Eastern provinces decreed to Germanicus.

Piso preferred to the government of Syria.

* Tac. Ann. lib. ii. cap. 42, 43. Joseph. Antiq. lib. xviii. cap. 3.
† Tacit. ibid. cap. 42. Joseph. ibid. ‡ Tacit. Ann. lib. ii. cap. 53—58.

(X) Cneius Piso was the son of Cneius Calpurnius Piso, who as we have related above, maintained, with great intrepidity, the republican party against Julius Cæsar, in Africa. Afterwards he joined Brutus and Cassius; but after the battle of Philippi, was allowed to return to Rome, where he refused to

sue for any public offices, chusing to live in retirement, till Augustus prevailed upon him to accept the consulship.

(Y) Plancina was either the daughter, or the niece, of the famous Munatius Plancus, of whom we have spoken in several parts of this work.

manicus

*Drusus
sent into
Illyricum.*

manicus left Rome, Drusus was sent into Illyricum, occasioned by a bloody war between Maroboduus, king of the Suevians, Marcomannians, and Longobards, on one side, and the Cherusicans on the other, headed by the brave Arminius. Maroboduus was overcome, and obliged to retire into the country of the Marcomannians, whence he sent ambassadors to Tiberius imploring his assistance. The emperor answered, that it was very surprising he should recur to the Romans, and beg their aid against the Cherusicans, since he had sent none to them while they were waging war with the same enemy. However, he embraced this opportunity to remove from Rome his son Drusus, who seemed too fond of the gaieties of the city, to enure him to the toils of the camp, and procure him the affections of the soldiery^a.

*A dreadful
earthquake
in Asia.
Tiberius's
generosity.*

This year was remarkable for one of the most dreadful earthquakes recorded in history (Z); and Tiberius shewed, on this great calamity, a spirit truly generous, and worthy of a person in his exalted station; for he not only remitted the inhabitants of the ruined cities their taxes for five years, but presented them with large sums to rebuild their habitations. To the Sardiens, who had suffered most, he sent a hundred thousand great sesterces, and to the rest relief proportionable to their losses; he immediately dispatched into Asia, Marcius Aletus, a senator, who had been prætor, to view the desolations on the spot, and make good the losses of every particular; for he was truly liberal, as Tacitus observes, on proper occasions; a good quality which he long retained, after he had utterly abandoned all other virtues. The inhabitants of the cities thus rebuilt, and, by the liberalities of Tiberius, restored to their former splendor, erected to their common benefactor a colossus in the Roman forum, surrounded with the statues of their twelve cities, as a lasting monument of the prince's generosity and their gratitude^b.

*His private
liberalities.*

The reputation which Tiberius acquired by this noble bounty to the public, was greatly enhanced by his private liberalities; for the estate of a wealthy freedwoman, by name Æmilia Musa, who died this year intestate, being claimed by the treasury, the emperor generously yielded it to one Æmilius Lepidus, to whose family she was distantly related.

^a Tacit. Annal. lib. ii. cap. 44—46.
Dio, lib. lvii. p. 614. Phleg. Mir. cap. 13.

^b Idem ibid. cap. 47.

(Z) Twelve famous cities of Asia were overturned by it; to wit, Sardis, Magnesia, at the foot of Mount Sipylus, Mofthene, Ægæ, Hierocæsarea, Philadelphia, Tmolus, Temnus, Cyme or Cumæ, Myrina, Apollonia, and Hyrcania.

With

With the same disinterestedness he surrendered to Marcus Servilius the whole inheritance of Patuleius, a rich Roman knight, though part of it had been bequeathed to himself. Neither could he ever be prevailed upon to accept legacies, but from his intimate friends, utterly rejecting the inheritances of such as were strangers to him, or from hatred to their relations appointed him their heir. His bounties were, in general, well placed; for, as he readily relieved such senators as were by misfortunes reduced to poverty, so he excluded, without pity, from the senate, those who had wantonly squandered their estates in luxury and debauchery. The applause Tiberius gained by his public and private bounties, was counterbalanced by the countenance he gave to informations and arraignments upon the law of violated majesty. Informers multiplied daily, the spirit of acculing grew common, and the dread of it universal.

Apuleia Varilia, grand-niece to Augustus, by his sister (A), was accused by one of that infamous profession, of having reviled the deified Augustus, Tiberius, and his mother Livia, and of having dishonoured with adultery the blood of the Cæsars; a crime which, according to the construction Augustus had put upon the law of majesty, was high treason. Tiberius admitted the accusation, but shewed great moderation in the prosecution of the accused; for as to the adultery, he said, that sufficient punishments had been already appointed for that crime by the Julian law: which was implicitly declaring, that it did not fall under the law of treason. As to the other crimes, he desired they might be distinguished: "If Apuleia (said he) has uttered impious speeches against the deified Augustus, she must be condemned; but for her invectives against me I will not suffer her to be called to any account." "But she has had the impudence to attack the reputation of your mother," replied one of the consuls. To this remark Tiberius returned no answer then; but the next time the senate met, he intreated, in his mother's name, that the words spoken against her might not be construed into treason. She was therefore tried only upon the words spoken against Augustus, and found guilty, but pardoned by Tiberius, who likewise begged a mitigation of her punishment for adultery: so that instead of undergoing the severe punishments inflicted on that crime by the Julian law, she was only removed two hun-

Apuleia Varilia accused of treason.

Tiberius's conduct on this occasion.

(A) Augustus had two sisters, namely, Octavia Major and Octavia Minor; but by which of these Apuleia Varilia was grand-niece to Augustus, history

does not inform us; neither do we know of any writer who mentions the marriage or offspring of Octavia Minor.

dread

*Tacfarinas
defeated in
Africa by
Furius Ca-
millus.*

dred miles from Rome; but Manlius, who had debauched her, was banished Italy and Africa.

This same year Tacfarinas, a native of Numidia, who had served among the Roman auxiliaries, having drawn his countrymen, and the neighbouring nations, into a revolt, was defeated in a pitched battle by Furius Camillus, proconsul of Africa, who, till that time, had passed for a man quite unacquainted with the art of war. For this victory, which Camillus gained with one legion, and a small body of auxiliaries, a handful of men when compared with the troops of the enemy, the ensigns of triumph were by the senate decreed to the conqueror: which honour, says the historian, did not prove fatal to him, because he was a man of extraordinary modesty, and chose to live in retirement¹ (B).

Yr. of Fl.
2366.
A. D. 18.
U. C. 766.

*Germani-
cus sets out
for the Le-
vant.
Piso and
his wife
set out for
Syria.*

Towards the end of the year Germanicus, leaving Rome, set out for the Levant with his wife Agrippina, and his son Caius, surnamed Caligula. After a long and dangerous passage, both in the Adriatic and Ionian seas, he arrived in Dalmatia, whither he had first steered his course, to visit his brother Drusus, who, as we have related above, had been sent into that country. In the mean time Piso, and his wife Plancina, hastening to the execution of their wicked designs, left Rome, and, arriving at Athens, gave there the first proof of their hatred to Germanicus; for Piso, in a speech to the inhabitants, abused them in a most outrageous manner, not without an indirect censure upon Germanicus, for having debased the dignity of the Roman name, in paying an excessive regard not to the Athenians, whose race was long since extinct, but to a mixed breed of different nations. Piso did not remain long at Athens; but being in haste to reach Syria before Germanicus, left the metropolis of Attica, and taking the shortest course, though the least safe, sailed through the Cyclades, and appeared off Rhodes, soon after Germanicus had landed in that harbour. Being overtaken by a violent storm before he could enter

¹ Tacit. Ann. lib. ii. cap. 49, 50.

¹ Idem. ibid. cap. 52, 53.

(B) This year died, according to Eusebius (1), Ovid, at Tomos in Pontus; and according to St. Jerom (2), the famous historian Livy, at Padua, his native city. We are told, that Livia had designed the latter as preceptor to Claudius,

the younger brother of Germanicus; but he was prevented by death from enjoying that honour. He was the last of those illustrious writers who adorned the court of Augustus, and will render his age ever memorable.

(1) Euseb. in Chron.

2) Hier. in Chron.

the port, he was driven upon rocks, and must have inevitably perished, had not Germanicus, though already informed of the invectives Piso had uttered against him at Athens, dispatched galleys to rescue him from the wreck. This kindness and humanity made no impression upon Piso, who having staid but one day with his benefactor, put to sea again, in order to arrive in Syria before him. He no sooner reached his province, than he began to bribe the common soldiers by bounties and caresses, to form factions among the troops, to remove the ancient centurions and tribunes, and place in their room his own creatures. He permitted the soldiery either to live quite idle in the camp, or to ramble about, and commit, with impunity, all manner of disorders in the villages and cities. By this criminal indulgence Piso won the hearts of the disorderly multitude to such a degree, that he was by them honoured with the title of father of the legions.

Is ship-wrecked, but saved by Germanicus,

On the other hand Plancina, forgetting the modesty peculiar to her sex, appeared often on horseback, assisted at the reviews, and was not ashamed to be seen at the public exercises and military evolutions. On these occasions she uttered reproachful and injurious reflections on the conduct of Germanicus and Agrippina, in order to prejudice the minds of the soldiery against them. The officers were privately told, that their paying court to Germanicus and his wife would not recommend them to the favour of Tiberius. Though these proceedings were well known to the young prince, yet overlooking the unaccountable behaviour of Piso and Plancina, in pursuit of the glorious ends of his expedition, he hastened into Armenia, where, with the approbation of the nobility in a great assembly, he placed the diadem upon the head of Zeno, the son of Polemon, king of Pontus, a friend and ally of the Romans. From Armenia he proceeded first to Cappadocia, and then to Comagene, both which kingdoms he reduced to Roman provinces, appointing Quintus Veranius governor of the former, and Quintus Servus of the latter. The pleasure which Germanicus received from thus successfully settling the affairs of the allies, was greatly allayed by the proud and haughty behaviour of Piso, who being commanded either to lead in person, or to send, under the conduct of his son, part of the legions into Armenia, contemptuously neglected to do either. At last they met at Cyrrum, a city of Syria, and there had an interview, to which Germanicus admitted only a few of his intimate friends. He reproached the president of Syria

His wife endeavours to estrange the soldiery from Germanicus and Agrippina.

Germanicus crowns Zeno, king of Armenia, and reduces Cappadocia and Comagene to Roman provinces.

with his strange conduct and haughty behaviour, and charged him, his wife, and their sons, with many imputations.

Piso affected surprize; but, at the same time, betrayed, even in submitting to Germanicus, as his superior, great scorn and contempt; so that they parted declared enemies. Thenceforth Piso seldom appeared at the public assemblies where Germanicus presided, or if he did, it was only to contradict his proposals. At a grand entertainment made by the king of the Nabatheans (C), golden crowns of great weight being presented to Germanicus and Agrippina, and such as were much lighter to Piso, and the rest of the guests, the haughty Piso, offended at this distinction, with an air of contempt, threw his away, and uttering many invectives against luxury, withdrew, with these words: "Rome abhors such scandalous luxury: I thought I had been invited to a banquet made for the son of a Roman prince, not of a Parthian king." Germanicus was highly incensed at this insult; but the natural sweetness of his temper getting the better of his resentment, he took no notice of such provoking behaviour.

Germanicus renews the ancient alliance with the Parthians.

At this period ambassadors arrived from Artabanus, king of the Parthians, to renew the ancient alliance between the two empires, and intreat Germanicus, in their master's name, to remove Venones, who had been lately driven from the throne, out of Syria, lest he should find means, being so near to Parthia, to raise disturbances in that kingdom. Germanicus renewed the ancient alliance, and removed Venones to Pompeiopolis, a maritime city of Cilicia, not so much in compliance with the request of Artabanus, as to separate him from Piso, with whom he was in high favour, procured by many presents, and much adulation offered to his wife Plancina.

Marcus Junius Silanus and Lucius Norbanus being consuls, Germanicus travelled into Egypt, to view the rarities and antiquities of that famous country. His journey proved very beneficial to the inhabitants, whom he relieved from a great famine, causing the granaries to be every-where opened, and the price of corn to be lowered. He did not imagine that the prohibition made by Augustus extended to him; but nevertheless, the jealous emperor, in a letter,

* Tacit. Ann. lib. ii. cap. 53--58.

* Idem ibid. cap. 55--59.

(C) The country of the Nabatheans extended, according to St. Jerom, from the Euphrates to the Red Sea; so that it comprehended Arabia De-

ferta, and great part of Arabia Petræa. The metropolis of the Nabatheans was the city of Petra, which gave its name to Arabia Petræa.

censured

censured him with great severity, for presuming to enter into that province, when Augustus had strictly forbidden all senators, and Roman knights of any figure, to travel thither without special licence". While Germanicus passed the summer agreeably in Egypt, Drusus was busy in sowing feuds among the Germans; intrigues in which he was remarkably successful. Maroboduus, king of the Suevians, whose power Rome dreaded, was this year driven out of his dominions, and obliged to pass the last eighteen years of his life at Ravenna in Italy. Catualda, whom Drusus had excited against him, had the same fate; and recurring to the Romans for protection, was conveyed by them to Forum Julium, now Frejus, a colony in Narbonne Gaul. As both these chiefs were followed by great numbers of their countrymen, Tiberius, fearing they might disturb the quiet of the provinces, gave them settlements beyond the Danube, between the rivers Cusum and Marus, now the Wag and the March, on the frontiers of Moravia, appointing for their king one Vannius, by nation a Quadian (D), who reigned over them thirty years; but was expelled in the reign of Claudius.

Maroboduus expelled his dominions, and likewise Catualda.

With the same policy Tiberius enticed to Rome, Rhescuporis, a petty king of Thrace, who having murdered Cotys his nephew, had seized on that part of the kingdom which had been bestowed upon him by Augustus. To deceive Rhescuporis, Tiberius employed Pomponius Flaccus, whom he preferred to the government of Mœsia, as being one of the king's intimate friends, and therefore better qualified to betray him: nor was he disappointed in his aim. Pomponius inveigled him into the Roman dominions, and then sent him under a strong guard to Rome, where he was accused before the senate by the widow of Cotys, and banished to Alexandria, where he was slain in attempting to make his escape. This part of Thrace was divided between Rhemetalses, the son of Rhescuporis, and the sons of Cotys; but the latter being minors, Trebellicus Rufus was appointed governor of their share*. About this time Venones, who had been removed to Pompeiopolis in Cilicia, attempting to escape, was assassinated by one Remmius, a veteran, to whose custody he had been committed.

Rhescuporis circumvented by Tiberius.

* Tacit. lib. ii. cap. 59. Suet. in Tiber. cap. 5. Plin. lib. ii. cap. 87. * Tacit. ibid. cap. 62, 63. * Tacit. ibid. cap. 64--67.

(D) The country of the Quadi was at first bounded by the Sarmatian mountains in the Bohemia, the Danube, and the neighbourhood of Erlaw, in the river March; but afterwards Hungary.

Germanicus returns from Egypt.

Germanicus, having satisfied his curiosity with viewing all the rarities and antiquities of Egypt, left that kingdom, and returned to Syria, where, to his great surprize, he found all the regulations he had made utterly abolished, and the orders he had left with the legions wholly neglected. No longer able to bear such insults, he reproached Piso in very severe terms, which, notwithstanding his natural boldness, heightened by the confidence he placed in the protection of Tiberius, so frightened him, that he resolved to leave Syria, and abandon his government; but while he was making the necessary preparations for his departure, Germanicus being taken ill, he thought it advisable to wait the issue of the distemper. The prince soon recovered, and, as he was universally adored, his recovery was celebrated at Antioch, where he then was, with public vows, sacrifices, and all possible demonstrations of the most sincere and unaf-fected joy.

Falls sick, and recovers.

He relapses.

Soon after Piso's departure from Antioch, Germanicus relapsed; and his persuasion that Piso had caused him to be poisoned, heightened the violence of the distemper. Some of his domestics too had the imprudence to tell him, that on the floors and walls of his house had been found bones of human bodies taken out of the graves, ashes mixed with blood, charms, incantations, and the name of Germanicus engraved on sheets of lead. These reports, and the frequent visits of persons, who were supposed to be Piso's creatures, and to have been sent by him to watch the progress of the malady, redoubled the young prince's anxiety and apprehensions. "If my house (said he) is thus beset by treacherous friends in my life-time; what will become after my death of my unhappy wife, of my little children? Piso, impatient to command alone the legions; to govern alone the province, thought poison too slow in its operation, and therefore had recourse to charms and incantations." In the height of the resentment, which these reflections raised in his mind, he wrote a letter to Piso, utterly renouncing his friendship, according to the custom which obtained among the Romans. Some authors add, that he commanded him to depart the province; and that Piso soon after put to sea, but kept hovering upon the coast, that he might return the sooner, should the government of Syria become vacant by the death of Germanicus.

Suspects Piso.

His life despaired of.

The violence of the malady abating, the young prince's friends began to entertain some hopes of his recovery: but short-lived was their joy; a sudden relapse threw them into despair. Germanicus, finding his end approached, sent for his friends, and spoke to this effect: "Were I to die a natural

tural death, yet should I have just cause to complain of the gods for thus snatching me from my relations, my children, and my country, in the flower of my age : but being thus brought to an untimely end by the malignity of Piso and his wife, the last favour I beg of you, my faithful friends, is, that you acquaint my father and brother with what persecutions I end a most miserable life by a most inglorious death. My relations, dependents, and even those whom envy provoked against me while living, will bewail my misfortune and hard fate, in thus falling by the perfidious arts and treachery of a woman, after having escaped so many dangers in war, and survived so many battles. It is a duty incumbent upon you, my faithful friends, to do something more than to commemorate my death with uselefs tears ; it is the principal office of a true friend to remember the wishes of those with whom they lived in friendship, and fulfil their last desires : if therefore you loved me rather than my fortune, you will revenge my death, you will complain to the senate, and prosecute the authors of my misfortunes as our laws direct. Shew to the Roman people my wife, the grand-daughter of Augustus ; shew them our six children (E). This sight will move the fathers to compassion, which will prove favourable to you who accuse ; and the accused, if they pretend wicked commands, either will not be believed, or not pardoned." His friends, bathed in tears, taking the dying prince by the hand, swore, that they would sooner lose their lives than neglect his dying request. Then turning to his wife, he conjured her by his memory, by their common children, and all the bonds of nuptial love, that she would check her lofty spirit, and yield to the cruel shocks of fortune, lest, on her return to the city, she should, by unseasonable competition, provoke those who were more powerful than her self.

His speech to his friends.

His advice to Agrippina.

Other advices he imparted to her in secret : whence it was conjectured, that they related to Tiberius, exhorting her to be upon her guard against his artifices. However, that

(E) Germanicus had by Agrippina nine children ; Nero, Drusus, Caius surnamed Caligula, three other sons, who died infants, and three daughters, born successively in the space of three years, Agrippina, the mother of Nero, Drusilla, and Livilla, commonly called Julia.

One of the sons that died was so beautiful a child, that Livia had caused him to be painted in the habit of Cupid, and consecrated the picture in the temple of Venus Capitolina ; whence it was removed to Augustus's chamber, who used constantly to kiss it when he came in (3).

(3) Suet. in Calig. cap. 7.

Yr. of Fl.
2367.
A. D. 19.
U. C. 767.

His death.

His character.

He is universally lamented.

be, these words were his last ; for he had scarce done speaking, when he fainted away, and soon after expired, to the inexpressible grief of the province, and all the neighbouring countries. His funeral was performed without any pomp, and his body, before it was burnt, exposed naked in the forum of Antioch, where the funeral pile was erected (F). The ashes of the deceased prince were carefully preserved by his wife Agrippina, and inclosed in an urn, in order to be conveyed to Rome.

Such was the end of the renowned Germanicus Cæsar, in the thirty-fourth year of his age ; a prince no less famous for his military prowess than his other extraordinary accomplishments. The Roman people had so great a veneration for his rare talents and eminent qualities, that they were not afraid openly to declare on several occasions, that since the time of Scipio Africanus, the gods had not blessed Rome with such a citizen. He was, says Tacitus, alike venerable, whether you saw him or heard him ; and without ever betraying the least arrogance or pride, yet supported the dignity of his high station. His complaisance to all, his humanity even to his enemies, his clemency, moderation, and engaging behaviour, won him the hearts not only of the Roman people, but of the Barbarians, who, though enemies to Rome, yet could not refrain from shedding tears on the death of Germanicus. Some of them at war with one another, and even with Rome, forbore hostilities for some time, to bewail so great, so general a loss. Some of their princes cut off their beards, and shaved their wives heads ; signals among them of the deepest sorrow. The proud monarch of the Parthians denied himself for some time the pleasure of the chase, without appearing at the ordinary entertainments given by the princes and lords of his court ; which was a token of grief, like the shutting of the courts of justice among the Romans, and never used but upon some very extraordinary disaster. The people of Antioch carried their grief to impiety ; for, hearing that Germanicus was dead, in the transport of their sorrow, they threw stones at their temples, overturned their altars, and flung contemptuously their household gods out of doors : some of them, in the height of their grief and indignation, exposed and forsook their new-born children ².

¹ Tacit. Ann. lib. ii. cap. 83.

² Suet. lib. iv. cap. 5.

(F) Tacitus tells us, that it remained uncertain whether any marks of poison appeared on the body, the people, who saw

it, giving opposite accounts, as they pitied Germanicus, or favoured Piso.

It is more easy to conceive than express the consternation which the news of his death occasioned in Rome, where he was adored by all ranks of men (G). The first account of his illness alarmed the whole city; but while they were impatiently waiting between hope and fear for farther intelligence, in the evening a report was unaccountably spread, that he was recovered, and in good health. In consequence of this information, the people, in a transport of joy, flew to the Capitol with victims and sacrifices, impatient to discharge the vows they had made for his recovery. Tiberius, awaked out of his sleep with the noise of their mutual congratulations, and loud shouts of joy, had the mortification to hear the following words echoed in every street, "Salva Roma, salva patria, salvus Germanicus; Rome is safe, our country is safe, since Germanicus is safe." But their joy was soon turned into the deepest sorrow; certain intelligence of his death arriving the next day, nothing was heard in the streets, nothing in the houses, but sighs, outcries, lamentations, and complaints. Without any orders from the prince or senate, all the courts of justice, the houses of the citizens, and shops, were shut, and the most frequented streets left as solitary as a desert. The emperor, by several edicts, endeavoured to restrain these public expressions of grief; but even the most cautious, not able to moderate their sorrow, notwithstanding all his edicts, continued to mourn, though invited by the festivals of December to mirth and jollity^a. His death was the more regretted, as he was commonly supposed to have been poisoned by Piso at the instigation of Tiberius and Livia, the only two persons in the whole Roman empire, says Dio^b, who were not affected with so great, so general a loss (H).

The grief of the Roman people.

The

^a Suet. in Calig. cap. 6.

^b Dio, lib. lvii. p. 615.

(G) He was to such a degree beloved by the people, says Suetonius, not only of Rome, but in the provinces, that when he departed or arrived at any place, such crowds attended him, that he was often in danger of being stifled in the throng.

(H) Germanicus was not only an excellent commander, but an eloquent orator, and, if Ovid did not flatter him, one of the best poets of his age (1). He

expressed his thoughts with great ease and elegance both in Greek and Latin, and pleaded several causes with extraordinary applause (2). He gave a specimen of his taste for poetry in some Greek comedies, which, as he was thorough master of that language, he wrote and published. S. Jerom and Lactantius tell us, that he translated into Latin a treatise of astronomy, written originally in

(1) Ovid, Fast. lib. i. ver. 23.

(2) Suet. ibid. cap. 3.

*Sentius
seizes on
the govern-
ment of Sy-
ria.*

The government of Syria being vacant by the death of Germanicus, and flight of Piso, the lieutenants of the legions, and senators, who were at Antioch, committed the administration of the province to Cneius Sentius, who immediately seized and sent to Rome one Martina, a woman infamous in that province for poisoning, and greatly cherished by Plancina. Piso being overtaken at the island of Cos by a messenger, acquainting him with the death of Germanicus, caused victims to be publicly slain, and repaired with thanksgiving to the temples for so signal a favour. His wife Plancina expressed her joy in a manner more arrogant and insulting; for she no sooner heard that Germanicus was dead, than, throwing off her mourning, which she wore for the death of her sister, she appeared in a dress adapted to gaiety and mirth. The centurions of the army, which Piso had commanded in Syria, flocked to him, declaring, that the legions were ready to receive, and reinstate him in the government, of which he had been injuriously deprived. Piso summoned his friends, to consult what measures ought to be pursued, whether he should go with all speed to Rome, or return to Syria. His son Marcus Piso was inclined to the former measure; but Domitius Celer, an intimate friend of Piso, declared for the latter, and prevailed. As Piso was apprised, that Sentius would oppose him, and by his opposition kindle a civil war in Syria, he, in order to engage Tiberius in his favour, transmitted a letter to him, filled with invectives against the conduct, luxury, and pride of Germanicus; he enlarged on the injustice the young prince had committed in forcing him from his government; and concluded with acquainting the emperor, that he was preparing to return to his province, and resume with his former loyalty the care of the army. In the mean time, he sent Domitius Celer before him into Syria; and having formed into companies the deserters, who flocked to him from all parts, and the servants who attended the camp, he sailed over to the continent, where he had the good fortune to intercept a body of new-raised soldiers on their march into Syria. He also wrote to the petty kings of Cilicia, ordering them to join him with all their forces. By these means, having got together a considerable body of men, he put to sea again, and, steering along the coasts of Lycia and Pamphylia, met the fleet which carried Agrippina with the ashes of her husband to Rome. Both fleets

*Resolves to
return to
his govern-
ment.*

Greek by Aratus, under the title of Phenomena; but Vossius and Rutgersius ascribe this translation to the emperor Domitian, who assumed the title of Germanicus.

prepared

prepared for battle; but as they were afraid of each other, they proceeded no farther than to mutual reproaches. Vibius Marfus, who commanded Agrippina's galleys, summoned Pifo, as a criminal, to his trial at Rome; which summons he answered with derision and contempt. Then both fleets continued their course, the one for Italy, the other for Cilicia, where Pifo made a descent, and seized a strong castle on the frontiers of Syria. Sentius no sooner learned this circumstance, than he hastened thither at the head of his legions, overthrew Pifo at the first onset, obliged him to take shelter behind the walls of the castle, and soon reduced him to such difficulties, that he offered to surrender, upon condition that Sentius would suffer him to remain there till the emperor's pleasure should be known. This proposal being rejected, and the place reduced to the utmost extremity, he was forced to submit upon what terms Sentius thought fit to impose; which were, that he should forthwith embark, and return to Rome.

He is forced to abandon Syria.

During these troubles in the East, the senate was wholly employed at Rome with inventing and decreeing new honours to Germanicus, in order to eternize the memory of a prince so much beloved, and so well deserving of the empire. It was decreed, that his name should be inserted in the Sælian hymns; that curule chairs should be placed for him among the priests of Augustus, and oaken crowns hung over them, as an acknowledgement of the many citizens he had saved; that his statue in ivory should be carried before the procession at the Circensian games; an honour peculiar to the gods, and such men as were deified; and that none but one of the Julian family should be appointed flamen or augur in his room. To these honours triumphal arches were added, one at Rome, another on the banks of the Rhine, and a third upon Mount Amanus in Syria, with inscriptions of his exploits, and a declaration, that he died for the republic; a sepulchre at Antioch, where his body was burnt; and a tribunal at Epidaphne, where he ended his life (1). Many statues were raised, and many places appointed for paying him divine honours. Some were for decreeing to him, as a great master of elo-

Honours decreed at Rome to Germanicus.

c Tacit. Ann. lib. ii. cap. 74—32.

(1) Tacitus says, that he died at Epidaphne, a celebrated place in the neighbourhood of Antioch; but all other writers agree, that he ended his life in the city of Antioch (3).

(3) Dio, lib. lviii. p. 615. Suet. in Tim. cap. 1, &c.

quence,

quence, a golden shield, remarkable for its bulk (K); but this Tiberius would not allow, saying, that, in eloquence, no regard was to be had to the dignity of the person; and that therefore he himself would dedicate a shield equal in size to those of other orators, it being sufficient glory for him to be ranked amongst the ancient writers. The Ro-

(K) It was an ancient custom among the Romans to erect the images of illustrious men in the curia, and in their temples. Thus the image of Scipio Africanus was set up in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, and that of Cato the censor in the curia or senate-house, as we read in Valerius Maximus. Augustus caused the images of all those Romans, who before his time had eminently distinguished themselves in the arts either of peace or war, to be set up in the curia, allotting to each profession its proper place. Thus Tacitus tells us, that the image of Hortensius was placed among the orators. The like honour the fathers were now for decreeing to Germanicus, as to one of the masters of eloquence. These images are called by the ancients shields (1), because engraved in gold, silver, or brass, in the form of a shield. This is the common opinion; though some writers think, that in Latin they ought not to be called *clypei*, which word signifies a shield; but *clupea*, that is, *engraved work*, from the ancient word *cluere*, to engrave. This derivation Pliny despises as a fond conceit of the grammarians: "Scutis qualibus ad Trojam pugnatum est (says he), continebantur imagines: unde & nomen habuere clypeorum;

non, ut perversa grammaticorum subtilitas voluit, a cluendo." "On such sort of bucklers as were used in the Trojan war, were contained images: whence they had the name of shields; not, as the grammarians frivolous niceness would have it, from engraving." However, Livy calls them *clupea*; "Clupea (says he), de columnis dempsit." Frequent mention is made of these shields in ancient inscriptions: Liphius quotes the following: "Huic Decuriones · Funus · Publicum · Statuam · Equestrem · Clypeum · Argenteum · Locum · Sepulturae · Decreverunt." The officers have granted this man a public funeral, an equestrian statue, a silver shield, a place of interment." These shields were sometimes hung up to preserve the memory of the deceased without any effigies, and only with the names of the persons by whom, and to whose honour, they were offered. Such shields were sometimes set up by private persons to honour the memory of their ancestors, without any order or decree of the senate; for Pliny, in speaking of Appius Claudius, who was consul in the year of Rome 279, says, that he was the first who, though a private person, set up in public, and consecrated, the shields of his ancestors.

(1) Vide Plin. lib. iii. cap. 7. Suet. in Domit. Capitol. in Antonino. Trebel. in Claud. Liv. lib. ix. Phil. Legat. ad Caicum.

man knights, in their turn, to honour the memory of the deceased prince, changed the name of that body of horse, which, being composed of the young nobility, was styled the squadron of the juniors, and called it thenceforth the squadron of Germanicus; appointing, at the same time, that the effigies of Germanicus should be carried as their standard at their public reviews, which were annually made on the ides of July^d.

In the midst of these expressions of public grief, Livia, called also Livilla, sister to Germanicus, and wife to Drusus, was delivered of male twins; an event so agreeable to Tiberius, that he could not avoid boasting to the senate, that no Roman of equal rank had ever before been delivered

Livilla delivered of male twins.

of two sons at a birth. The increase of Drusus's family redoubled the grief of the people, who saw with regret that of their beloved Germanicus removed at a greater distance from the throne^e. The same year severe laws were enacted by the senate to restrain the lewdness of women; and it was provided, that no woman should prostitute herself, whose father, grandfather, or husband, were Roman knights (L). Measures were also taken by the fathers for

utterly extirpating the Jewish and Egyptian ceremonies. By a decree of the senate, four thousand young men, all descended from manumitted slaves, and infected, says Tacitus, with that superstition, were inrolled, and transported to Sardinia, to suppress the robbers who infested that island: if they perished through the badness of the air, the senate thought it would be no great loss (M). The rest were ordered

The Jewish and Egyptian ceremonies abolished at Rome.

^d Tacit. Ann. lib. ii. cap. 83.

^e Idem, ibid. cap. 84.

(L) The fathers were prompted to make this prohibition by the monstrous impudence of one Vistilla; who, though a woman of great quality, and born of a prætorian family, was not ashamed to appear before the ædiles, and publicly declare herself a prostitute, pursuant to an ancient law, which obliged all women, who became venal, to acknowledge their infamy before the above mentioned magistrates.

(M) To the expulsion of the Jews an impostor of that nation gave occasion, who, being

obliged to fly his country for a breach of the laws, retired to Rome, where he set up for an expounder of the law of Moses; and, with the assistance of three others, all of the same stamp with himself, gained over to the Jewish religion one Fulvia, the wife of Saturninus, a woman of great distinction. The zealous proselyte was easily persuaded to make a rich present of purple and gold to the temple of Jerusalem, which she delivered to her directors; but they, instead of sending the offering to Jerusalem, converted it to their own use.

*Influences
of Tiberius's
generosity.*

dered to depart Rome, and all Italy, if, within a stated time, they did not renounce their national ceremonies.¹ The same year Tiberius gave several instances of generosity, which ought not to be omitted. Occia, who had presided over the Vestals fifty-seven years with great reputation, being dead, he represented to the senate, that another virgin was to be chosen in her room. Fonteius Agrippa and Asinius Pollio offering their daughters, he thanked them both for their regard to the commonwealth, but pre-

¹ Tacit. Ann. lib. ii. cap. 85.

use. This fraud Fulvia disclosed to her husband, and he to the emperor, who thereupon ordered all the Jews to depart Rome, after having lifted four thousand of their youth, and sent them into Sardinia. At the same time the Egyptians were driven out of Rome, and their rites utterly suppressed; they had been formerly forbidden by Augustus; but at this time that prohibition was renewed and enforced, on occasion of a very scandalous story related at length by Josephus. Decius Mundus, a young Roman knight, falling in love with a married lady of the first quality in Rome, by name Paulina, and not being able to prevail upon her to comply with his unlawful desires, had recourse to the priests of the goddess Isis. These pretending that the god Anubis, to whose worship Paulina was greatly addicted, was in love with her, persuaded her to pass a night in the temple of that deity: when Mundus, by paying down twenty-five thousand drachmas to the priests, and promising them the like sum, obtained what he had in vain applied for to Paulina herself with the tender of two hundred thousand drachmas. Three days after this interview, Mun-

dus meeting her, "I thank you, Paulina (said he), for granting me, under the name of Anubis, the favours which I would willingly have purchased at so dear a rate. At these words the virtuous Paulina was thunderstruck; she burst into tears, tore her garments, and, hastening to her husband, acquainted him how she had been deceived, and betrayed by the priests. Her husband complained to the emperor, relating to him every particular of so base an action; and he, upon inquiry, and a strict examination of the priests, finding them guilty, ordered them all to be crucified, the temple of Anubis to be pulled down, his statue to be thrown into the Tiber, the Egyptian rites to be utterly suppressed, and all who professed them to be banished Rome. Ida, the freedwoman of Mundus's father, who first advised him to apply to the priests, for which advice she received fifty thousand drachmas, was crucified with the priests; but Mundus was only banished, Tiberius exempting him, says Josephus, on account of his passion, which was so violent, that, finding the chaste Paulina proof against all temptation, he had resolved to starve himself to death (1).

(1) Joseph. Antiq. lib. xviii. cap. 4.

ferred Pollio's daughter, because her mother had married but one husband: to comfort the other, he presented her with a thousand great sesterces. Corn being very dear, he settled the price which the buyer was to pay; and that the seller might not lose the advantage arising from the scarcity of grain, he payed two nummi, that is, fourteen pence of our money, a bushel, over and above the fixed price. For these bounties the people offered him again the title of Father of his Country, which he rejected, and at the same time rebuked such as styled him Lord; shewing thereby, says Tacitus, that though he dreaded liberty, yet he despised flattery. The same author tells us, upon the authority of the writers of those times, some of them senators, that letters were read in the senate from Adgandestrius, prince of the Catti, offering to dispatch Arminius, provided poison were sent him for that purpose: to which proposal Tiberius returned this answer; "That it was not the custom of the Roman people to take vengeance on their enemies by treachery, but openly, and in the field."

Arminius, however, after the departure of the Romans, and expulsion of his rival Maroboduus, attempting to enslave his country, fell, by the treachery of his kindred, in the thirty-seventh year of his age^s. Pliny observes, that this year, on the eighth of July, a new island was formed near that of Delos in the Archipelago^a.

*Death of
Arminius.*

In the beginning of the next year, M. Valerius Messalinus, and M. Valerius Cotta, being consuls, Agrippina arrived at Brundisium with the ashes of her deceased husband; and was received, at her landing, with tokens of the deepest sorrow, not only by the inhabitants of that, but of all the neighbouring cities, who had flocked thither to condole with her on so melancholy an occasion. She no sooner appeared on the shore, attended by her two children Caius and Julia, with the funeral urn in her arms, and her eyes fixed on the ground, than the whole multitude burst into tears: nothing was heard but groans, outcries, and lamentations, friends, relations, and strangers, being equally affected at the sight of so moving an object. Tiberius had dispatched two prætorian cohorts to attend the remains of the deceased prince from Brundisium to Rome, and ordered the magistrates of Calabria, Apulia, and Campania, to pay their last offices to the memory of his son. The urn was carried on the shoulders of the tribunes and centurions, and accompanied by the chief magistrates of the places through which it passed, the lictors of the deceased general march-

*Agrippina
arrives in
Italy with
the ashes of
Germanicus.*

^s Tacit. Ann. lib. ii. cap. 38.

^a Plin. lib. ii. cap. 87.

*How re-
ceived.*

ing before it with their fasces reversed. When the funeral procession arrived at any Roman colony, the nobility, in their most splendid apparel, and the people in mourning, flew victims, erected altars, and burnt perfumes, testifying, with loud lamentations, their common sorrow. The nearer they drew to Rome, the greater was the concourse. At Terracina they were met by Drusus, the son of Tiberius, by Claudius, Germanicus's younger brother, and by such of his children as had been left at Rome. At some distance from the city, the conscript fathers, with the consuls at their head, and great crowds of people, lined the road through which the procession passed, bathed in tears, and testifying their grief with sighs, in which flattery had no share; for every body knew that Tiberius rejoiced inwardly at this event. Neither he nor his mother Livia appeared abroad, either because they thought it below their dignity to lament publicly, or through fear of betraying in their countenances some marks of joy amidst the public lamentations. The remains of the deceased prince were deposited in the tomb of Augustus, the whole city attending them to the field of Mars, where that monument was erected, and crying aloud, in the transports of their grief, that the republic was utterly ruined, that no farther hope remained, as if they had forgot by whom they were governed. Nothing offended Tiberius so much as the affection which the people shewed for Agrippina, calling her "the ornament of her country, the only blood of Augustus, a true pattern of ancient virtue;" and at the same time imploring the blessings of the gods for her issue, that they might outlive the persecutions of the wicked.

*Tiberius, by
a decree,
checks the
public grief.*

As the people set no bounds to their grief, Tiberius thought proper to check it by a public decree, commanding them to resume their several vocations, and, as the Magnesian games were at hand, to indulge themselves in their usual diversions, as they had, by their lamentations, given sufficient vent to their sorrow. The emperor's decree was immediately complied with, as to the external appearance; the courts of justice were opened, public affairs resumed, and an end was put to the vacation.

Drusus, who had come to Rome to attend the funeral, returned to the army in Illyricum; which he had scarce reached, when Piso appeared in the camp, hoping to find the young prince less incensed against him for the death of a brother, than favourable to him for the removal of a rival. Drusus, at their first meeting, told him, "That if the

¹ Tacit. Annal. lib. iii. cap. 2.

crime laid to his charge was true, he would be the first to revenge it; but that he hoped the current report was groundless, and that the death of Germanicus would be pernicious to none." This declaration he made in public, and carefully avoided all private interviews with Piso. The artful answer, and cautious behaviour of a youth, otherwise frank and unwary, prompted most people to believe, that he had been instructed by his father how to behave in so nice and critical a juncture. Young Piso, whom the father had sent to Rome, to soften the emperor, was received very kindly, and honoured with such presents as were usually bestowed on the sons of governors, when they returned from the provinces. In the mean time Martina, famous for the art of poisoning, who had been sent in custody towards Rome, was found dead at Brundisium, with poison bound up in the knots of her hair. Whether her death was accidental, or procured by private orders from Tiberius or Piso, was never known. By her death the accusers were deprived of their chief evidence; for she had ever lived in close confidence with Plancina; and the senate hoped to extort from her, by force of torments, a confession of the crime, and a discovery of her accomplices.

*Drusus's
artful an-
swer to
Cn. Piso.*

Not long after this event, Piso arrived in Rome, with his wife Plancina; and rowing down the Tiber from Narnia, landed near the tomb of Augustus, where the ashes of Germanicus had been lately deposited. This incident, with their insolent behaviour, heightened the indignation of the people; for they both appeared with gay countenances; and attended with a numerous retinue, he of clients and domestics, and she of women, proceeded to their stately palace, which was on this occasion magnificently adorned and illuminated. The night they passed in rejoicings, having invited their friends and relations to a banquet, with which they solemnized their safe arrival. The very next day Piso was arraigned by Vitellius, Veranius, and others, who had attended Germanicus. The emperor having heard, in a private audience, the charge of the accusers, and the defence of the accused, referred the cause to the senate, apprehensive that reflections would be cast upon him, whether he condemned or absolved the accused.

*Piso ar-
rives at
Rome.*

*Is arraign-
ed.*

When the senate met for this great trial, Tiberius affected moderation: he told the conscript fathers, that Piso had been his father's lieutenant and friend, and lately appointed by himself, at the direction of the senate, to assist Germanicus in settling the affairs of the East: whether he had there, by his haughtiness and opposition, provoked the young prince, and rejoiced at his death, or wickedly pro-
cured

*Tiberius's
speech to
the senate
on this
occasion.*

cured it, they were then to judge with unbiassed minds, "If you find him guilty (said the emperor), of having only exceeded the bounds of his commission, by refusing to submit to the will of his general, or even of having betrayed joy at his death, and my affliction, I shall ever hate him, and banish him from my house; but cannot, for private injuries, condemn him as a criminal. If you find him guilty of Germanicus's death, it is incumbent upon you to revenge it, and afford his children, and us his father and grandmother, the satisfaction of seeing him punished for such an enormous crime. I beseech you to proceed with impartiality: let not your regard for me mislead you to take crimes for proved, because they are committed against me. If the accused has any friends or relations, let them exert their eloquence, and use their utmost endeavours to clear him from the crimes laid to his charge. Let his accusers take the same pains to convict him of the charge which is brought against him: by these means we shall be able to judge impartially; to absolve the accused, if innocent; to condemn him, if guilty."

*Articles of
impeach-
ment
brought
against
Piso.*

Two days were allowed the accusers to support their charge, and, six days after, three were granted the accused to make his defence. The articles of impeachment brought against Piso by Servæus, Veranius, and Vitellius, were, that he had permitted a general licentiousness in the army, and corrupted the common soldiers to that degree, that he was styled, by the most profligate, Father of the Legions; that he had abused, in a most outrageous manner, the friends of Germanicus; and lastly, that by poison and witchcraft he had destroyed his general, and borne arms against the commonwealth; inasmuch that they had been obliged to engage and defeat him, before they could bring him to his trial. He defended himself but weakly against these accusations; only the charge of poisoning Germanicus was not sufficiently proved. However, the senate could not be persuaded, that Germanicus had died a natural death; and, at the same time, the people were heard exclaiming at the door of the senate-house, that though the fathers absolved the accused, he should not escape the punishment due to his crimes: they had already overturned the statues of Piso, and would have dragged them to the *Scalæ Gemoniæ*, the place where criminals were executed, had they not been prevented by Tiberius's orders. These disturbances induced the senate to defer the final decision of the cause; and Piso, that he might not be exposed to the outrages of

* Tacit. Ann. lib. iiii. cap. 2. Dio, lib. lvii. p. 615.

the incensed multitude, was conveyed to his house in a litter, followed by a tribune of a prætorian cohort, whom some beheld as a guard for his safety, others as the minister of his death.

The people were no less incensed against Plancina than Piso; but she having, by the secret solicitations of Livia, secured her own pardon, began, by degrees, to abandon her husband, and to make a separate defence, though she had declared, from the beginning, that she would employ all her interest and favour with Livia, in behalf of both; and that, by the same sentence, they should both be either absolved or condemned. This defection so affected Piso, who had placed more confidence in the interest of his wife than his own, that he was some time in suspense whether he should make any farther defence: but his son prevailed upon him to appear once more before the senate, and try whether he could move the fathers or Tiberius to compassion. The senate proving implacable, and the emperor carefully avoiding to shew, even in his countenance, the least mark of tenderness towards him in his distress, he returned home, and wrote a letter to the emperor, which he sealed, and delivered to his freedman. He then bathed, according to the Roman custom, and supped as usual. His wife kept him company till the night was far spent, and then retired; Piso ordered the door of the chamber to be shut, and was found at break of day with his throat cut, and his sword lying by him¹. Tiberius, fearing the death of Piso might be imputed to him, as if he had procured it to prevent farther discoveries, examined his domestics in the senate relative to the circumstances of his fate; and then read the letter which Piso had written to him, imploring his protection for his sons, whom he cleared from having any share in his late conduct, whatever it were. Of his wife Plancina he said nothing. One of his sons had remained at Rome, and therefore could be in no degree accessory to his father's guilt; the other had indeed attended him into Syria, and served under him in the commotions he raised in the province: but Tiberius would not allow that to be imputed to him as a crime, alleging the orders of his father, which, he said, a son could not disobey.

As for Plancina, who was supposed to have been more guilty than her husband, Tiberius declared, not without blushing, and betraying great confusion in his speech and countenance, that, at the earnest entreaties of his mother, he could not help pleading for her, and assisting her in her

Piso absconded by his wife Plancina.

His death.

Tiberius favours Plancina;

¹ Tacit. Dio, *ibid.*

who is absolved.

Tiberius favours the children and memory of Piso.

Vipsania, the mother of Drusus, dies.

trial. However, Vitellius and Veranius did not drop the prosecution; but after they had, in a trial which lasted two days, made the charge appear pretty plain, and silenced those who pleaded for the accused, she escaped the punishment due to her crime, by the indulgence of the servile senate: for the consul Aurelius Cotta, being first asked his opinion by the emperor, who collected the voices himself, answered in the following terms: "I am of opinion, that the name of Piso be rased out of the consular fasti or tables, part of his estate forfeited, and part granted to his son Cneius, upon his changing that name; that his son Marcus be expelled the senate, banished for ten years, and allowed out of his father's estate only fifty thousand great sesterces. As to Plancina, I think she should be pardoned, at the request of Livia." This sentence seemed too rigorous to the emperor, with respect to Piso's children and memory: he therefore would not allow his name to be struck out of the consular tables, saying, that the name of Marc Antony, who had made war upon his country, and that of his son Julius Antonius, who had, by adultery, dishonoured the house of Augustus, remained still in those tables. He likewise delivered Marcus Piso from the infamy of being divested of his dignity, and left him his paternal inheritance entire. He also opposed the motion of Valerius Messalinus, who was for erecting a golden statue in the temple of Mars the Avenger, and that of Cæcina Severus, who proposed building an altar to Revenge. "Such monuments (he said) were fit to be raised for victories over a foreign enemy; but domestic evils were either to be buried in oblivion, or remembered with grief." As the emperor had shewn great favour to Plancina and her children, to maintain the opinion of an impartial judge, a few days after the trial, he moved in the senate, that Vitellius, Veranius, and Servæus, who had accused Piso, might be rewarded; and they were accordingly preferred to pontifical honours^a.

The death of Germanicus being thus avenged, Drusus, who had returned from Illyricum to be present at the trial, was honoured with an ovation, which, though decreed him the year before, for having settled peace in Germany, he had postponed till the cause was over. A few days after died his mother Vipsania, of all the children of Agrippa the only one, says Tacitus, who died a natural death^(N).

The

^a Tacit. Annal. lib. iii. cap. 1—19.

(N) Agrippa had three wives, of Atticus, Marcella, the daughter to wit, Pomponia, the daughter of Octavia, and Julia. By Pom.

The same year Tacfarinas, who had been, some time before, defeated by Furius Camillus, renewed the war in Africa; but was obliged, by L. Apronius, who had succeeded Camillus in the government of that province, to shelter himself again in the deserts ^a. *Tacfarinas renews the war; but is defeated.*

This year, Æmilia Lepida, descended from one of the most illustrious families in Rome, great grand-daughter to Sylla and Pompey, and once designed for the wife of Lucius Cæsar, was charged with imposing upon her husband Pub. Quirinius, a supposititious child, with adultery, and with consulting the Chaldeans about the fate of the imperial family; which was a capital crime. Her brother Manius Lepidus undertook her defence; and Tiberius behaved on this occasion with such subtlety, that it was impossible to discover his real sentiments. At first, he begged the senators not to meddle with the articles of treason, and soon after charged Marcus Servilius to produce those very proofs, which he pretended to suppress: he would not suffer the slaves of Lepida to be examined by torture, as to the articles of treason, nor his son Drusus, though consul elect, to vote first, lest the rest should think themselves obliged to follow his example. However, the slaves of Lepida confessing, that she had imposed upon her husband a supposititious child, and even attempted to poison him, she was condemned to perpetual banishment; but at the request of Scaurus, to whom she had borne a daughter, either before her marriage with Quirinius, or after her divorce, her estate was not confiscated. After she was condemned, Tiberius told the senators, he had learned from the slaves of her husband Quirinius, that she had attempted to poison him also ^o. *The trial of Æmilia Lepida.*

This year Tiberius softened the rigour of the law Papiæ Poppæa, which loaded those with heavy fines who did not *The severity of the law Papiæ Poppæa softened.*

^a Tacit. Ann. lib. iii. cap. 20.

^o Suet in Tib. cap. 49.

Pomponia he had Vipsania, the mother of Drusus, mentioned here by Tacitus. Marcella likewise bore him children, if Suetonius is to be credited; but, as we find no farther mention made of them, we conclude, that they died very young. By Julia he had five children, Caius and Lucius Cæsars, Agrippa Posthumus, Agrippina, and Julia. Caius and Lucius were

supposed to have been poisoned; Agrippina perished by hunger; and Posthumus Agrippa by the sword; but as to Julia she died a natural death, according to the account which Tacitus himself gives of it (1); though he tells us in this place, that Vipsania was, of all the children of Agrippa, the only one who died a natural death.

(1) Tacit. Annal. lib. iv.

Nero, Germanicus's eldest son, favoured by Tiberius.

Death of Drusus, nephew to Germanicus.

*Yr. of Fl.
2369.
A. D. 21.
U. C. 769.*

Tiberius goes into Campania.

marry at a certain age. Great numbers of Romans chusing rather to pay the fines than incumber themselves with families, so that the law served only to enrich the exchequer, Tiberius appointed five persons, who had been formerly consuls, five who had been prætors, with ten other senators, to examine all the regulations made before his time against celibacy. These explained the intricacies of the laws enacted against a single life, which the lawyers of those days employed to ruin many noble families; and, at the same time, they mitigated the rigour of the ancient law, by lessening the fines, which, according to the regulations of Augustus, every man was to pay, who did not marry at a certain age. Towards the end of this year, Nero, Germanicus's eldest son, being of age, Tiberius recommended him to the senate, that he might stand for the quaestorship five years sooner than the laws directed; a request which was readily granted, as also a place in the college of pontiffs. The first day he entered the forum in his manly robe, a donative of corn and money was distributed by Tiberius to the populace, overjoyed to see a son of Germanicus come of age. Their felicity was doubled by his marriage with Julia the daughter of Drusus; but soon after, the people saw, with the utmost concern and indignation, the daughter of Sejanus betrothed to young Drusus, the nephew of Germanicus, and son of Claudius, who reigned after Caligula. By this match, the Claudian family seemed degraded, and Sejanus exalted still higher, though his power and credit with the emperor was already too great: but, a few days after, Drusus died at Pompeii by a strange accident, being choaked by a pear, which stuck in his throat, as in play he threw it up in the air, and caught it in his mouth.

In the following year Tiberius was consul the fourth time, and Drusus the second; but Tiberius, soon after he had resumed the fasces, under pretence of his health, retired to Campania, either to accustom himself, by degrees, to live out of Rome, or to leave Drusus the honour of discharging that office alone. Not long after his departure, he acquainted the senate, that Tacfarinas had raised new disturbances in Africa, and exhorted them to choose a proconsul to be sent into that province, equal to the war with which it was threatened. Upon this intelligence the fathers met; but, instead of naming a governor, decreed, that the appointing of a proper person for the government of Africa should be left to the emperor. On this occasion, Cæcina Severus made a speech against any magistrate's carrying his wife with him into his province; but, being opposed

posed by Valerius Messalinus, and by Drusus, his motion was over-ruled. The next time the senate met, a letter was presented to them from Tiberius, wherein, after complaining that they cast the care of all public affairs upon him, he named M. Lepidus and Junius Blæsus, leaving it to them to choose for the proconsulate of Africa which of the two they pleased. Accordingly Blæsus was chosen, Lepidus pleading with great earnestness his infirmities, the tender age of his children, and a daughter who was marriageable.

The moderation and mildness with which Drusus governed during his father's absence, encouraged some senators to apply to him to redress an evil which was by degrees grown intolerable. The statues of the emperors were become sanctuaries to profligates, who, embracing them, threatened, and wantonly insulted, any person with impunity; not even a master being allowed to punish a slave for the invectives he had uttered against him, while he held the emperor's statue. Against this abuse Caius Sestius, a senator, spoke with great warmth, as he had been lately reviled in a most outrageous manner by one Annia Rufilla, whom he had prosecuted and convicted of forgery. To remedy this disorder, Drusus summoned Rufilla before his tribunal; and finding her guilty of uttering invectives against Sestius, under protection of the emperor's statue, he committed her to prison. The punishment of this profligate woman, and that of two Roman knights, Confidius Æquus and Coelius Cursor, who had forged a charge of treason against the prætor Magius Cæcilianus, ingratiated Drusus with the people, who overlooked his luxury and dissipation, although he commonly spent the day at the shews of gladiators, and the greater part of the night in revels and banquets. Antistius Vetus, a principal nobleman of Macedon, being tried for adultery, during Drusus's administration, was absolved; a circumstance which highly offended Tiberius, who wrote a letter to the senate, severely reproaching the judges. He ordered them to recall Vetus, and try him for treason, as a disturber of the public peace, and confederate with the late king Rhescuporis, when, having killed his nephew Cotys, he designed to make war upon Rome. The charge of treason, says Tacitus, proved, in those days, the bulwark of all accusations, and was the most effectual means of making sure of the criminal. Vetus was therefore condemned to perpetual banishment, and that he should be confined to an island, neither in the neighbourhood of Macedon, nor of Thrace.

Statues of the emperors become sanctuaries.

Drusus redresses this evil.

Antistius Vetus tried,

and condemned.

» Tacit. Ann. lib. iii. cap. 35.

*A revolt
in Thrace
suppressed.*

The troubles, which began about this time in Thrace, prompted the judges, or rather Tiberius, to add this clause: for the Odryfians, and other warlike nations of Thrace, being dissatisfied with the government of Rhemetalcès, to whom Tiberius had given that part of the country which his father Rhescuporis had possessed, and much more with the government of Trebellicenus Rufus, whom Tiberius had appointed guardian to the sons of Cotys, who were minors, openly revolted; and, having committed dreadful ravages, besieged Rhemetalcès in the city of Philippopolis. But divisions arising among them, Publius Velleius, whom some writers suppose to be the historian Velleius Paterculus, marching from the neighbouring province, where he commanded, defeated, and obliged them, without losing a man, to abandon the siege^r.

*The Gauls
revolt.*

In the course of the same year the Gauls, no longer able to bear the heavy tributes with which they were loaded, and the cruelty and pride of their governors, attempted to shake off the Roman yoke, excited by Julius Florus, a native of Treves, and Julius Sacrovir, a leading man among the Ædui, that is, the people of Autun. The Andecavi and Turonii, the inhabitants of Angers and Tours, first took up arms; but the former were soon reduced by Acilius Aviola, at the head of a cohort drawn from the garrison of Lugdunum or Lyons, and the latter subdued by the same Aviola with a detachment sent him by Visellius Varro, governor of Lower Germany. Julius Florus, having attempted in vain to seduce a body of horse which had been raised by the Romans at Treves, took refuge in the forest of Ardea, attended by a rabble of his own clients and followers; but finding all the passes beset by Visellius Varro and Caius Silius, he was obliged to risk a battle with his countryman Julius Indus, whom the Romans had detached with a chosen body of men, being well acquainted with the roads, and a declared enemy to Florus. Indus put him to flight at the first onset, and, pursuing him from place to place, reduced him to such difficulties, that, finding no other means to avoid falling into the hands of his implacable enemy, he rushed upon his own sword. By his death the insurrection of Treves was quelled. But the revolt of the Ædui gave the Roman generals no small uneasiness, Sacrovir, the chief author of it, having raised an army of forty thousand men, and seized Augustodunum, or Autun, the capital of the nation, where he found and secured all the young nobility of Gaul, hoping by that measure to en-

*Julius
Florus, one
of the ring-
leaders of
the revolt,
is routed,
and dies
by his own
hand.*

^r Voss. Hist. Lat. lib. i. cap. 24. ^r Tacit. Ann. lib. iii. cap. 38, 39.

gage their parents and relations in his interest. A dispute which arose between the two Roman generals relative to the command of the army, gave him time to prepare for a resolute defence. At length Varro, who was old and infirm, yielding to Silius, who was vigorous, and in the flower of his age, the troops began their march, and, advancing towards Augustodunum, were met by Sacrovir twelve miles from that city. An engagement ensuing, the Gauls were routed with great slaughter. Sacrovir was obliged to fly first to Augustodunum, and thence to a neighbouring town, where he slew himself, and those who attended him killed one another, after having set fire to the place, by which it was reduced to ashes¹.

Sacrovir, the author of the rebellion, dies in the same manner.

At the end of the year, Drusus falling sick, Caius Lutorius Priscus, a Roman knight, thinking the disease would prove mortal, composed a poem bewailing his death; and out of vanity read it in the house of P. Petronius, in the presence of Vitellia, mother-in-law to Petronius, and other women of great distinction. As Rome swarmed with informers, the poet was immediately accused of treason: all the ladies who had heard him were summoned to appear against him, and frightened into a confession, except Vitellia, who maintained to the last, with great firmness, that she had heard nothing. Greater credit being given to those who deposed against him, Haterius Agrippa, who, as consul elect, voted first, declared, that in his opinion he ought to be punished with death. Lepidus was for condemning him to perpetual banishment, and confiscating his estate. Of all the consulars, Rubellius Blandus alone voting with Lepidus, and the rest with Agrippa, Priscus was immediately put to death. To what a deplorable state of slavery Rome was already reduced! Lutorius's real crime was, it seems, his having composed a poem on the death of Germanicus, which had been so well received, that Tiberius could not help rewarding him for it². The emperor, who was still in Campania, behaved, on this occasion, with his usual ambiguity; for in a letter to the senate, he commended their zeal in thus punishing the slightest injuries done to the prince; but at the same time, intreated them not to be so hasty in punishing words; he praised Lepidus, and blamed not Agrippa. His seeming to disapprove of this sudden execution gave rise to a famous decree of the senate; importing, that their orders should not be carried

C. Lutorius Priscus tried.

Condemned and executed.

¹ Tacit. Ann. lib. iii. cap. 40—47. lib. lvii. p. 616, 617.

² Idem ibid. cap. 49. Dio,

His hasty execution gives rise to a famous decree.

to the treasury (O), nor the condemned person executed, in less than ten days. No criminal reaped any benefit from this respite in Tiberius's reign, his cruel and revengeful temper being never softened by time, as Tacitus judiciously observes^a.

^a Tacit. Annal. lib. iii. cap. 31. Dio, lib. lvii. p. 617. Suet. in Tib. cap. 75

(O) In the treasury were lodged the public registers, and the decrees of the senate, which, till entered there, had neither the force nor name of decrees, but were called the orders or authority of the senate, as is evident from Cicero, Dio Cassius, and other ancient writers. This decree of the senate, by which it was provided, that no person condemned should be executed till the tenth day after sentence pronounced, was observed by Caligula, even with respect to those whom he himself sentenced to death (1), and probably by all the succeeding emperors to the time of Theodosius the Great, who granted twenty days more to those who were condemned (2) either by the prince or by the senate (3). This we find is the general opinion, an opinion well grounded, since Tacitus, Dio Cassius, Suetonius, and Seneca, affirm, in express terms, that Tiberius granted ten days respite to criminals after sentence, and the more modern writers unanimously ascribe to Theodosius the thirty days reprieve. On the other hand we read in Quintilian, who flourished about this time, the following words; "The law forbidding a criminal to be executed, till after thirty days, was wisely esta-

blished, seeing the accuser may be deceived (4);" and in Calpurnius Flaccus, who wrote long before Theodosius's time, "Let the punishment of a criminal be deferred thirty days (5)." As there is no reconciling testimonies so evidently opposite and contradictory, and we have innumerable instances of transcribers mistaking numbers, we shall, with the most judicious critics, impute to them the present disagreement among authors. Perhaps, in transcribing the declamations of Quintilian and Calpurnius, in or after Theodosius's time, they adapted them to the law which that emperor had enacted. Baronius pretends, that the ten days reprieve extended to all criminals, by what judge soever condemned; and thence infers, that Pilate transgressed the law of his prince, in causing our Saviour to be crucified as soon as he had pronounced sentence against him (6). It is manifest from Gothofredus, in his comments upon the Theodosian code, that neither the decree of Tiberius, nor the law of Theodosius, extended to the magistrates in the provinces till the time of Nicephorus Botoniates, who ordered all judges and magistrates to conform to the law of Theodosius (7).

(1) Senec. de Tranq. cap. 14. p. 351.
v. de pœnis.

(3) Sid. lib. i. Epist. 7.

Annal. 303.

(5) Calpur. Flac. Declamat. 25.

(7) Cod. Th. tom. iii. p. 307.

(2) In l. Si Vindictari,

(4) Quintil. Decla-

(6) Baron.

The following year, Caius Sulpitius Galba and Decimus Haterius Agrippa being consuls, Caius Bibulus, one of the ædiles, moved, that some restrictions should be laid upon luxury; which, notwithstanding the sumptuary laws, was grown to a monstrous excess, in the expence of entertainments, in the number of domestics, in the quantity of gold and silver plate, pictures, statues, and precious stones. The motion was seconded by the other ædiles, who enlarged on the mischievous consequences of growing evil. The fathers heard them with patience, but referred the whole matter to Tiberius; a reference which occasioned a letter from him to the conscript fathers; wherein, after commending the zeal of the ædiles, he owned, that the excesses they complained of required regulation; that the prevailing evil ought to be checked by the severest laws; but nevertheless, if such laws were enacted, even those who now censure the profuse luxury of the times, would be the first to complain that the state was utterly undone, that snares were laid for every noble and wealthy family, and that all men would become the prey of informers. He hinted, that if any of the magistrates would undertake to put a stop to so great an evil, he should have both his praises and thanks for easing him of part of his burden; but that as to himself, he would not take upon him that odious task. The senate, upon reading the emperor's epistle, ordered the ædiles to proceed no farther in the business. Tiberius, by thus rejecting the project of reforming luxury, which would have proved an inexhaustible fund of crimes, impeachments, and confiscations, acquired the sincere applause of the nobility, with whose wealth the accusers would not have failed to enrich themselves, had the emperor either enforced the old, or enacted new sumptuary laws.

Tiberius refuses to take upon him the cure of luxury.

Soon after this occasion Tiberius wrote again to the senate, desiring the tribunitial power for Drusus; a request which they granted with circumstances of the most refined flattery: statues were decreed to Tiberius and Drusus, altars were erected to the gods, and arches raised. M. Silanus moved, that for the future, not the names of the consuls, but of those who exercised the tribunitial power, should be prefixed to all public and private records; Haterius Agrippa proposed, that the decrees of that day should be written in letters of gold, and hung up in the senate. Drusus, who was then in Campania, probably with his father, returned the senate thanks for the tribunitial power, with which they

Drusus invested with the tribunitial power.

• Tacit. Ann. lib. iii. cap. 52—55.

had invested him; but did not go to Rome to receive that honour *.

Tiberius moderates the honours decreed to Drusus. The number of sanctuaries lessened.

Servius Maluginensis, who, as priest of Jupiter, was not allowed to leave Italy, or even sleep one night out of Rome, demanding the government of Asia, and his suit being opposed by Lentulus the augur, and others, the affair was left to the decision of Tiberius, who, in his answer to the senate, postponing the pretensions of the priest of Jupiter, moderated the honours which had been decreed to Drusus with the tribunitial power, and particularly censured the motion of the golden letters, as contrary to the custom of Rome. As the liberty of instituting sanctuaries and privileged places at pleasure, had long since prevailed among the Greek cities, and filled their temples with fugitive slaves, debtors, and criminals, Tiberius this year referred to the senate the care of examining the privileges which those cities enjoyed, and the grants on which they were founded. The senate and consuls, after having heard the Greek deputies, and carefully searched into the validity of their several claims, utterly suppressed some sanctuaries, and either limited the extent, or abridged the privileges and immunities of others, ordering the decree they enacted on this occasion to be engraved on brass, and hung up in the temples of Greece[†]. Suetonius tells us, that Tiberius absolutely abolished all sanctuaries throughout the whole Roman empire[‡].

Livia's illness. Tiberius returns to Rome.

Influences of the servile spirit of the senate.

Not long after this transaction Livia, being seized with a dangerous distemper, Tiberius hastened to Rome; for the mother and son either still lived in perfect amity, or artfully disguised their mutual hatred. The senate decreed supplications to the gods, with the celebration of the great Roman games for her recovery; and betrayed on this occasion such a contemptible spirit of servitude, that Tiberius was ashamed of their vile degeneracy, and scandalous submissions[§]. The next time the senate met, Caius Silanus, proconsul of Asia, Cæsius Cordus, proconsul of Crete, and Lucius Ennius, a Roman knight, were accused before them; the two first of robbing the public, and the other of treason, for having used, as the current coin, a piece of silver, on which was engraved the effigies of Tiberius. To the charge of rapine and extortion against Silanus and Cordus, that none of their friends and relations might dare plead for them in their trial, articles of treason were subjoined; a sure bar, says Tacitus, to all assistance, and a seal upon their lips. They

* Tacit. Ann. lib. iii. cap. 56, 57.

† Idem ibid. cap. 60—63.

‡ Suet. in Tib. cap. 37.

§ Tacit. ibid. cap. 64.

were found guilty of maladministration and extortion, condemned to perpetual banishment, and their estates declared confiscated: but Cneius Lentulus moving, that the estate of Silanus, devolving to him from his mother Cornelia, who was related to the Cæsars, might be restored to his son, Tiberius assented to the motion; and even mitigated the rigour of the sentence which the senate had pronounced against him, alleging, that the island of Gyarus, to which they had confined him, was an inhospitable place, and destitute of inhabitants; begging, that in favour of the Junian family, and in regard of his sister Torquata, a Vestal of an unblemished character, they would banish him to the island of Cythera. The senators readily granted the request of the prince, who, by this affected shew of clemency, endeavoured to cover the artifice and violence which he had employed to destroy the unhappy proconsul.

Cneius Silanus and Cæsius Cordus condemned.

The emperor pronounced the charge brought against L. Ennius frivolous, and therefore would not allow him to be tried as a criminal. On this occasion, Ateius Capito, with an affected spirit of liberty, exclaimed, that the emperor intrenched upon the privileges of the senate; that all injuries done to the prince were public crimes done to the commonwealth, which it was the province of the senate, charged with the care of there public, to revenge and restrain, in opposition to any one's private clemency and compassion. Tiberius had reason to cry aloud, as often as he went out of the senate, "O men prepared for bondage!" The infamy of Capito was the more signal, as he debased by it not only the dignity of the senator, but his own personal accomplishments^b (P). The condemnation of Silanus and Cordus was followed by a religious debate, in what temple the offering should be placed, which the Roman knights had vowed to the Equestrian Fortune for the recovery of Livia. As there was no temple in Rome dedicated to Fortune under that title, it was decreed, that the gift of the knights should be presented at that of Antium. Religious matters being now on the carpet, Tiberius, as pontifex maximus, resumed the opinion which he had lately deferred, touching the pretensions of Servius Maluginensis;

The infamous flattery of Capito.

Priest of Jupiter debarred from the government of the provinces.

^b Tacit. Ann. lib. iii. cap. 66—71.

(P) Ateius Capito was a man of extraordinary accomplishments, and one of the most learned civilians of his age. Augustus honoured him early with the consulship to raise him

above Antistius Labeo, another civilian of equal knowledge and abilities, but of an unblemished character, and a probity which was proof against all temptations,

and

and produced a statute of the pontiffs made under Augustus, declaring, that, when the priest of Jupiter was ill, he might, with the consent of the pontifex maximus, be absent from the city two nights, except on days of public sacrifice, and never more than twice a year. This regulation proved, that the administration of a province, which required a year's absence, was incompatible with the office of the flamen dialis, or priest of Jupiter^c. So that the government of Asia, which Maluginensis had demanded, was conferred on the consular who was next him in seniority. About this time, Æmilius Lepidus obtained permission of the senate to repair and beautify, at his own expence, the basilic (Q) of Paulus Æmilius. On the other hand, the emperor undertook to rebuild the theatre of Pompey, which had been consumed by fire, none of that family being equal to so great a charge; and promised that it should still be called by the name of its illustrious founder. On this occasion he expatiated in praise of his favourite Sejanus, to whose care and vigilance, he said, it was owing, that the fire had done no greater damage. The servile senate, applauding the prince's speech, decreed a statue to Sejanus, to be placed in the theatre of Pompey^d (R).

Tacfarinas's arrogant embassy to Tiberius.

This year Tacfarinas, quitting again the deserts, to which he had been so often driven, appeared unexpectedly in the fruitful plains of Africa, at the head of a numerous army. Having committed every where dreadful devastations, he arrived to such a height of insolence, as to send ambassadors to Tiberius, demanding a settlement for himself and his

^c Tacit. Ann. lib. iii. cap. 66—71.

^d Ibid. cap. 72.

(Q) Basilics were originally spacious halls, in which kings, from whom these buildings borrowed their name, administered justice to their subjects. The Romans appropriated that name to great halls, having two ranges of pillars, and two wings with galleries over them. Cicero speaks of the basilic mentioned here (1), which, according to him, was begun by Æmilius Paulus, then ædile, and afterwards consul with Caius Marcellus. It was finished under

Augustus by Paulus Æmilius, who was consul in the year of Rome 730, and afterwards censor (2); but being consumed by accidental fire, it was rebuilt twenty years after by another Æmilius (3). As it was at this time out of repair, Lepidus asked leave to strengthen and embellish it at his own expence.

(R) We are told by Seneca (4), that upon the passing of this decree, Cremutius Cordus cried out, "Now is Pompey's theatre utterly destroyed."

(1) Cic. ad Attic. lib. iv. ep. 17.

(2) Dio. lib. xlix.

(3) Idem, lib. liv.

(4) Senec. ad Martiam, cap. 25.

army,

army, and threatening the emperor, in case he did not grant his request, with eternal war. Our historian tells us, that Tiberius never discovered so much indignation and resentment as on this occasion, not being able to bear, that a deserter, a freebooter, should have the arrogance to offer terms, as if he were an equal enemy. He therefore ordered Junius Bläsus, whom he continued another year in the government of Africa, to exert his utmost efforts against so bold and contemptible an enemy. Bläsus drove Tacfarinas every where before him, and pursued him into the deserts, where he took his brother prisoner; but Tacfarinas had the good fortune to make his escape, though the passes were beset on all sides by the enemy: however, as most of his forces were cut in pieces, and his brother taken, Tiberius looked upon the war as concluded, and confirmed to Bläsus the title of imperator, which his troops had conferred upon him. He was likewise honoured with the ensigns of triumph, Tiberius declaring, that he thus distinguished him out of respect to Sejanus, who was his nephew. In the course of this year died three persons of great distinction; Atellus Capito, the civilian; Asinius Saloniinus, grandson to M. Agrippa, half-brother to Drusus (S); and the celebrated Junia, niece to Cato of Utica, uterine sister to Brutus, and wife to Cassius. She died sixty-four years after the battle of Philippi, in which her husband lost his life. As she was immensely rich, her will made a great posse; for she left legacies to almost all the great men of Rome, but nothing to Tiberius, who did not seem to resent in the least this omission, but allowed her panegyric to be pronounced in public, and her obsequies to be performed with all the pomp suitable to her rank.

He is distressed by Bläsus;

who is honoured with the title of imperator.

Deaths of several illustrious persons.

C. Asinius Gallus and C. Antistius Vetus were the succeeding consuls. During their administration, the famous Sejanus took the first steps towards the execution of the black designs he had been long meditating. As this powerful and ambitious minister will henceforth act a principal part in the present history, we shall premise a succinct account of his original, manners, and character, copied from the most authentic writers of antiquity. L. Ælius Sejanus was born at Vulturni in Hetruria, son to Scius Strabo, who, though commander of the prætorian guards under Augustus,

The original, character, and pursuits of Sejanus.

^e Tacit. Ann. lib. iii. cap. 75, 76.

(S) Asinius Pollio, the famous orator and poet, one of Augustus's chief favourites, and Virgil's patrons, had a son by name Asinius Gallus, who married Vipsania, the daughter of Agrippa, after Tiberius had divorced her to marry Julia.

and

and in the beginning of Tiberius's reign, was but a private Roman knight^f. Junius Blæsus, who had commanded the legions in Pannonia, and lately signalized himself against Tacfarinas in Africa, was his maternal uncle. He had other relations in great employments, and even brothers, who had been consuls^g; but these were perhaps of the Ælian family, into which Sejanus was probably adopted. In the beginning of this reign he was joined with his father in the command of the prætorian guards, and even then in high favour with the prince; so that no colleague was assigned him in that important employment when his father was sent into Egypt, the government of which kingdom was, by the regulation of Augustus, committed only to private knights. In his early youth he was suspected of having abandoned himself to the lewd desires of the famous Apicius (T).

^f Tacit. Ann. lib. iv. cap. 1. Dio, lib. lvii. p. 616.
^g Vell. Paterc. lib. ii. cap. 127.

(T) The ancients mention three of the same name, all famous epicures. The first lived in the times of the republic, and is spoken of by Athenæus (5). The second, who is mentioned by our historian in this place, lived under Augustus and Tiberius; and the third, as appears from Suidas, under Trajan. The second was the most famous of all for gluttony; for after he had, by voluptuous eating and drinking, reduced his immense wealth to ten millions of small sesterces, he chose rather to end his life, than retrench the usual expences of his table, for which the remaining sum was not sufficient. Tongues of peacocks and nightingales, and the most exquisite meats that the forests, seas, or rivers, produced, were his daily food (6). He is styled by Pliny, "nepotum omnium altissimus gurgis; the deepest and most insatiable gulf of gluttony that ever swallowed an

estate." Seneca, who was his contemporary, tells us, that he published a book of cookery, with which he infected the age he lived in (7); a treatise *De Re Culinaria*, that is, of cookery, was discovered by Albanus Torinus, in the island of Maguelonne, near Montpellier, in 1529; and printed at Basle twelve years after: another copy of the same treatise had been discovered a hundred years before by Enochus of Ascoli, under the pontificate of Nicolas V. To both these manuscripts was prefixed the name of M. Cælius Apicius; but Vossius is of opinion, that this Apicius lived long after the famous epicure of that name, whose books *De Irritamentis Gulæ*, concerning provocatives for the palate, and *De Jucellis*, concerning broths, are mentioned by Seneca (8), Isidore of Seville (9), and the old scholiast of Juvenal.

(5) Athen. lib. iv. cap. 20.
 de Consol. ad Albin.
 de Orig. cap. 4.

(6) Idem. *ibid.*
 (8) Idem, *ibid.*

(7) Senec.
 (9) Isid. lib. xx.

Sejanus

Sejanus was artful, insinuating, bold, penetrating, and ambitious. He had gained such an ascendancy over the spirit of Tiberius, that he, who was to all the rest of the world impenetrably reserved, disclosed to this minister his whole soul without disguise. The ambitious favourite, seeing himself, by the indulgence of his master, raised above his condition, entertained thoughts of soaring still higher. He was, in power and authority, the second man in the Roman state: but he aimed at nothing less than the sovereignty: towards the attaining of which, his first step was to gain the affections of the prætorian guards, who were under his command. Till his time they had been quartered all over the city, and dispersed about the neighbouring towns and villages: but Sejanus, pretending, that while they were thus scattered, they lived loose and debauched, and could not be easily collected into one body on any sudden emergency, obtained the emperor's permission to assemble them in one camp, where, he said, military discipline would be observed with more exactness and severity. As soon as the camp was finished, he made it his study to gain the favour of the common soldiers, by his affability and obliging behaviour: the tribunes and centurions were all chosen by him; and he took care to employ none but his own creatures and dependents.

*He aspires
at the em-
pire.*

*Gains the
affection
of the præ-
torian
guards.*

Having thus attached to his interest this formidable corps, the flower of the Roman forces, his next scheme was to gain a strong party in the senate, which was no difficult task for a favourite, at whose disposal were both the public money, and the public employments; for no senator, however distinguished by his birth, or personal accomplishments, was employed, unless recommended by Sejanus^a. He is said to have interested even the wives of all the men of quality in Rome, by promising to each in private that he would marry her whenever he should have attained the sovereignty. He did not even neglect the emperor's freedmen, but carefully cultivated their friendship and attachment. In the mean time, Tiberius, instead of curtailing the exorbitant power of his favourite, was ever extolling him in his speeches, both to the senate and people, as the sharer of his burdens. He even suffered his effigies to be adored in all public places, and to appear among the eagles of the legions^b; for they all carried the figure of Sejanus in their colours, except those that were then quartered in Syria, which refused to follow the example of the rest^c.

^a Tacit. Annal. lib. iv. cap. 2.
in Tib. cap. 48.

^b Idem, ibid.

^c Suet.

But

*His designs
on the im-
perial fa-
mily ;*

*especially
against
Drusus,*

*whose
wife he
debauched.*

But this minister's design of raising himself to the sovereign power met with many obstructions. The imperial family had a numerous issue. The emperor's son was grown up ; and his grandsons, the children of Germanicus, were now of age. This consideration, however, did not deter Sejanus from his wicked pursuits ; he resolved to cut off the reigning family, that none of the blood of the Cæsars might traverse his ambitious design : but as it was dangerous to effect this all at once, he resolved to destroy the whole race by degrees, and to begin with Drusus, who was continually complaining of his overgrown power (U), and had lately, upon some contest, shaken his fist at him, and even given him a blow on the face. Upon this affront Sejanus, after having revolved various expedients to rid himself of such a rival, determined, at length, to apply to his wife Livia, the sister of Germanicus. Having first, by pretending a violent passion, induced her to comply with his criminal desires, he prevailed upon her afterwards, without much difficulty, to concur with him in destroying her husband. Thus the niece of Augustus, the daughter-in-law of Tiberius, the mother of several children by Drusus, disgraced herself, her ancestors, and her posterity, with a vile adulterer ; and all to exchange her present condition, which was both honourable and certain, for the hopes of one equally infamous and uncertain ; for Sejanus had promised to marry her upon the death of her husband, and make her his partner in the empire. Eudemus was made privy to the wicked design, because he, as physician to Livia, under colour of his profession, was frequently with her in private, and consequently could advise and direct her, without giving any offence. Sejanus, to convince Livia of the sincerity of his intention, as to the promised marriage, and thereby encourage her to dispatch her husband, divorced his wife Apicata. But still the atrocity of the crime alarmed Livia, and her ambition could not smother, or get the better, of her remorse. Sejanus, abandoned as he was, could not

(U) Drusus complained, and indeed, with a great deal of reason, that while he, the emperor's son, was in the flower of his age, another was called, as coadjutor to the government ; and even declared colleague in the empire. " Sejanus (said he) has already formed a camp for the guards, that, thus united, they may, all at once, receive his or-

ders ; the soldiery depend entirely upon him ; his statue is set up in the theatre of Pompey ; in his grand-children the blood of the Drusi will be mixed with that of Sejanus : what now remains but to see him invested with the sovereign power, while the emperor's son is excluded from any share in the administration ?"

without

Without horror, think of imbruing his hands in the blood of the emperor's son; and these scruples produced caution, delays, and great distraction in their counsels¹.

In the mean time Drusus, the second son of Germanicus, assuming the toga virilis, had the same honours decreed him by the senate which had been conferred on his elder brother Nero. On this occasion Tiberius made a speech in commendation of the youth, and likewise of his son Drusus, on account of the kindness he shewed to his brother's children. This raised fresh jealousy in Sejanus, who, judging it time to hasten the execution of his wicked design, ordered Eudemus to prepare a slow-working poison, that the death of the young prince might be ascribed to a casual disease. The fatal potion was administered to Drusus by Lygdus the eunuch, one of his freedmen; and the prince falling into a lingering distemper, pined away and died^m.

He causes Drusus to be poisoned.

Tiberius, during the whole time of his son's illness, appeared altogether unconcerned; nay, after his death, when his corpse lay yet unburied, he went to the senate; and, finding the consuls had left their curule chairs, and placed themselves, in token of their grief, on a common seat, he put them in mind of their dignity and station: and the senate bursting into tears, he smothered his own sorrow, and comforted them in a speech delivered without the least hesitation. He told the fathers, that he was apprised he might be censured for appearing among them while his grief was yet fresh, when few, in the first transports of their sorrow, could endure even the consoling speeches of their relations, or behold the day. Though those who thus indulged their grief, were not, he said, to be condemned of weakness, yet he had sought for more powerful comforts, such as arose from pursuing the welfare of the republic. He then lamented the present condition of the imperial family, the extreme age of his mother, the tender years of his grandsons, and his own life in its decline; and begged, that the sons of Germanicus, who alone could lessen the present misfortunes, might be introduced.

*Yr. of Fl. 2371.
A. D. 23.
U. C. 771.*

Tiberius shews no concern for the death of his son. His speech to the senate.

In consequence of this desire, the consuls went for them; and, bringing in the two youths, Nero and Drusus, presented them to the emperor, who, taking them by the hand, addressed the senate thus: "Conscript fathers, these fatherless children I commended to their uncle; and besought him, though he had issue of his own, to bring them up, and cherish them no otherwise than if they were immediately descended from his own loins. Drusus being snatched

He recommends to them the sons of Germanicus.

¹ Tacit. Ann. lib. iv. cap. 3.

^m Ibid. lib. iv. cap. 1—12.

*Honours
decreed to
Drusus.*

*His obse-
quies.*

*His off-
spring.*

*Sejanus at-
tempts to
destroy A-
grippina,
and her
children.*

from us, I address my prayers to you ; and, in the presence of the gods and our country, conjure you to receive into your protection, and take under your tuition, the great grand-children of Augustus, descended from most illustrious ancestors ; fulfil your own duty towards them, fulfil mine." Then turning to the youths, he exhorted them to look upon the senate as their parents. This discourse was received with great satisfaction, and drew tears from the eyes of all present *. Before the senate broke up, they decreed the same honours to the memory of Drusus which they had before decreed to that of Germanicus, adding many others to them, agreeable to the genius of flattery. The obsequies were performed with the utmost pomp, and the funeral procession distinguished with a long train of images, representing Æneas, the supposed father of the Julian family, all the kings of Alba, Romulus founder of Rome, all the heroes of the Claudian race, with Appius Claudius, the first of that family, who came to Rome at the head of them. Tiberius himself pronounced the panegyric of his son, the people and senate assuming the outward appearance of mourners, but rejoicing in their hearts to see the house of Germanicus brought nearer the throne. Besides, Drusus was generally hated, as being cruel, passionate, addicted to drinking, and all manner of debauchery. However, he lived in a friendly manner with Germanicus, and, after his death, shewed himself kind, at least not ill-disposed, towards his children. He left behind him two sons, one of whom did not long survive him ; the other, named Tiberius Nero Gemellus, lived to the reign of Caius, by whom he was put to death. Tiberius, if we may give credit to Suetonius †, despised them both, being doubtful whether they were really the sons of Drusus. When the funeral ceremonies were over, Tiberius resumed his usual employments ; prohibited any farther vacation ; and to the ambassadors of the Ilienses or Trojans, who, rather too late in their compliments of condolence, answered, by way of raillery, as if the memory of his loss had been entirely effaced, that he, in his turn, consoled with them for having lost so brave and eminent a citizen as Hector.

Sejanus, when he perceived the death of Drusus past unrevenge, encouraged with the success of his first attempt, began to meditate how he might destroy the sons of Germanicus, whose succession to the empire was now indisputable : but as he could not accomplish his detestable designs

* Tacit. Ann. lib. iv. cap. 8. Suet. lib. iii. cap. 52. Dio, lib. lvi.
† Suet. in Tib. cap. 62.

by poison, on account of the great vigilance of their mother Agrippina, and the distinguished fidelity of their governors, he was obliged to attack them another way. He roused the old hatred Livia bore to Agrippina, and by her means raised suspicions against her and her children in the mind of the emperor. His wicked counsels had the desired effect; for having by a thousand calumnies and false insinuations rendered Livia, who was naturally greedy of power, irreconcilable to the widow of her grandson, he compassed, by her means, the ruin of that unhappy family.

In the mean time Tiberius attended the administration of justice at Rome, and dispatched the petitions from the provinces. At his desire the cities of Cityra in Asia, and Aegyra in Achaia, both overthrown by an earthquake, were, by a decree of the senate, eased of tribute for three years. Vibius Serenus, proconsul of Farther Spain, or Bætica, being accused of governing his province in a violent and arbitrary manner, was condemned and banished to the island of Amorgos: but Caius Sacerdos and Caius Gracchus (W), being charged with supplying Tacfarinas with corn, were both acquitted^P. This year, at length, after many complaints from the prætors, which had proved ineffectual, Tiberius, who had before laid the players under various restraints, and curtailed their wages, represented to the senate, that they had, on many occasions, raised tumults, and disturbed the public tranquility; that they promoted debauchery in private families; and that the obscenities of the *Oscan farce*, the same with the *Atellana*, were grown to such excess, that it required the authority of the fathers to check them. Upon these complaints from the emperor, the players were all driven out of Rome and Italy^Q, and forbidden, if we believe Dio Cassius^R, to act in any place whatever of the Roman dominions. The same year died one

Vibius Serenus tried and condemned.

Stage-players driven out of Italy.

^P Suet. in Tib. cap. 23.
Suet. in Tib. cap. 37.

^Q Tacit. Annal. lib. iv. cap. 24.
^R Dio, lib. lviii. p. 617.

(W) Caius Gracchus was son to Sempronius Gracchus, who, on account of his amours with Julia, had been banished by Augustus into the island of Cercina, and afterwards assassinated there by Tiberius's order. When he first left Italy he took his son Caius, then very young, along with him, as a companion in his exile. Caius grew up there among fugitives, and men

destitute of liberal education; and afterwards supported himself by traffic between Africa and Sicily. But notwithstanding the low condition to which he was reduced, the splendor of his illustrious family would have occasioned his ruin, had not Ælius Lamia, and Lucius Apronius, successively proconsuls of Africa, cleared him from the crime laid to his charge.

of Drusus's twins, for whose death the emperor was greatly concerned.

*Lucilius
Capito
condemned.*

At the same time Lucilius Capito, the emperor's procurator in Asia, being accused by the province, Tiberius protested, that Lucilius had no authority from him but over his slaves; that he had only impowered him to collect his domestic rents: and therefore, if he had usurped the authority of a prætor, or employed military force, he had transgressed his orders. Hereupon the senate, after hearing the allegations of the province, found him guilty, and he was condemned. The cities of Asia were so pleased with the moderation Tiberius shewed on this occasion, and the severity with which he had proceeded the year before against Caius Silanus, accused of cruelty and extortion, that they decreed a temple to him, to his mother, and to the senate; and it was accordingly built at Smyrna^a. Towards the end of this year, Servius Maluginensis dying, his son was appointed flamen dialis, or priest of Jupiter, in his room, and Cornelia chosen superior of the Vestals, in the place of Scantia, likewise deceased. To Cornelia a present of two thousand great sesterces was decreed, and a privilege granted to Livia of sitting among the Vestals in the theatre^t.

*A temple
erected to
Tiberius.*

*Tiberius
betrays
some disaf-
fection to
Germani-
cus's chil-
dren.*

In the following year, Sergius Cornelius Cethegus and L. Vifellius Varro being consuls, the pontiffs, and after their example the other priests, making vows for the prosperity of the emperor, commended, at the same time, Nero and Drusus to the gods; a circumstance which greatly provoked Tiberius, who, sending for the pontiffs, examined them whether they had paid that compliment to the intruders or menaces of Agrippina. The pontiffs denied they had been influenced by either: nevertheless, the emperor rebuked them for putting youths upon the level with a man of his years; and afterwards, in a speech to the senate, exhorted the fathers to take care for the future not to inflate the pride of the young men with untimely honours. Sejanus, ever intent on improving all opportunities of inflaming Tiberius against Agrippina, seized this occasion to insinuate, that Rome was rent into factions; that already some had the boldness to declare themselves openly the partisans of Agrippina; and that there was no other remedy against the prevailing spirit of faction but the cutting off, under other pretences, one or two of the most daring and powerful. It was, therefore, by the emperor, thought expedient, that the supposed rising faction should be immediately suppressed, by the utter ruin of all the friends of the house of Germanicus.

^a Dio, lib. lvii. p. 607.

^t Suet. in Aug. cap. 44.

The chief among these were Caius Silius and Titius Sabinus. Other considerations, besides the friendship of Germanicus, concurred to ruin Silius. He had commanded for seven years a powerful army, and been distinguished with the ensigns of triumph for his exploits in Germany; he had routed Sacrovir, and suppressed the revolt in Gaul; but by boasting of his services, and publicly asserting, that he had secured the sovereign authority to Tiberius, by keeping his soldiers in their fidelity, when the other legions in Germany revolted, he had incurred the displeasure of the emperor, who was glad of any favourable opportunity to get rid of the person who had rendered him such important services. So that his chief offence was too much service done to Tiberius: thence that refined observation of Tacitus, that benefits are so far acceptable as it seems possible to requite them, but when once they have exceeded all reward, hatred is returned for gratitude. His wife too, Sofia Galla, contributed to his ruin by her friendship and intimacy with Agrippina. Both Tiberius and Sejanus thought it advisable to have Silius and his wife arraigned first, and delay, for a time, the trial of Sabinus. Accordingly the senate was summoned, and Silius accused by Varro, the consul, of having maintained a correspondence with the authors of the revolt in Gaul, and dishonoured his victory with cruel extortions. The behaviour of his wife, and her avarice, were likewise urged as crimes in him. Silius made no defence, being well convinced it would be to no purpose: he only dropped some words, to shew by whose malice he was oppressed. They were both declared guilty of treason; for under that article the whole charge was brought against them. Silius prevented his condemnation by a voluntary death; yet his estate was confiscated, contrary to the constant custom of Augustus, who bestowed on the children of the condemned the estates of such as died before sentence, whether their death was natural or voluntary.

Caius Silius accused.

Prevents his condemnation by a voluntary death.

Calpurnius Piso was tried next, and charged by Quintus Granius with treasonable words, privately uttered against the emperor. To this charge the accuser added, that Piso kept poison in his house, and came into the senate, armed with a dagger. The latter article seemed incredible, and therefore was dropped; but for other crimes, of which he was no less falsely accused, he was put upon his defence; but his condemnation was avoided by a natural death (X).

Calpurnius Piso tried.

Then

(X) L. Calpurnius Piso was ened, as we have related above, one of the boldest men at that time in Rome, and had threat- to quit Rome, and to retire into some distant corner of the earth,

Cassius Severus confined to Seriphos.

Then complaints were made of Cassius Severus, who, though formerly confined to the island of Crete for his pe-
tulant and satirical writings, yet continued, even in his
exile, his former practices, defaming the most illustrious
persons in Rome. He was therefore deprived of his estate,
and banished into the inhospitable island of Seriphos † (Y).

Tacfarinas defeated and killed.

This year an end was put to the war with Tacfarinas the
Numidian, who was utterly routed and killed by P. Dolab-
ella, proconsul of Africa, with the assistance of Ptolemy,
who had succeeded his father Juba in the kingdom of Mau-
ritania. The proconsul claimed the ensigns of triumph for
his victory, which had been granted to three others; but
Tiberius refused him that mark of distinction, in compli-
ment to Sejanus, that the fame of his uncle Blæsus might
not be thereby eclipsed. Dolabella, on his return to Rome,
brought with him many captives of eminence, among whom
was the son of Tacfarinas; and was attended by ambassa-
dors from the Garamantes, a people of the Inner Lybia,

† Tacit. *Annal. lib. iv. cap. 12, 13, 17, 20, 31.*

where he might be free from
the mercilefs pursuits of the in-
formers: He afterwards, in de-
fiance of the power of Livius,
prosecuted her favourite Urgu-
lania, and could not be prevail-
ed upon to drop the prosecution,
though she had taken sanctuary
in the emperor's palace. Tibe-
rius dissembled his displeasure at
these freedoms; but, though he
often suppressed his resentment,
yet deep impressions remained
in his unforgiving soul.

(Y) About this time, Plau-
tius Silvanus, prætor, killed his
wife Apronia, by throwing her
headlong out of one of the win-
dows of his apartment. Being
carried by Apronius, his father-
in-law before the emperor, he
pretended, that, while he was
asleep, his wife had been the
occasion of her own death. Up-
on this answer, Tiberius hasten-
ed to Silvanus's chamber; and,
finding there evident marks of

his violence, and his wife's
struggling, he made his report
to the senate, who immediately
appointed judges to try the præ-
tor. In the mean time, his
grandmother Urgulania, who,
as we have observed above, was
one of Livius's chief favourites,
finding she could not, with all
her interest, save the life of her
grandson, sent him, by the ad-
vice of Tiberius, as was sup-
posed, a dagger, which was ta-
citly advising him to prevent his
impending condemnation by a
voluntary death. The criminal
had not courage enough to make
use of the dagger; but, causing
his veins to be opened, bled to
death. After his death, his
former wife Numantia, whom
he had divorced to marry A-
pronius, was accused of having,
by charms and potions, disor-
dered the understanding of her
husband; but was acquitted (1).

(1) Tacit. *Ann. lib. iv. cap. 20.*

who,

who, being frightened by the death of Tacfarinas, whom they had assisted, thought it advisable to appease the resentment of the Roman people. To Ptolemy king of Mauritania, who had borne a great share in this war, was dispatched a senator, with an ivory staff, and an embroidered robe; presents which the Roman people used to send, in ancient times, to kings, who were their friends and confederates*. The same year, one Titus Curtius, formerly a soldier of the prætorian guards, sowed the seeds of a servile war, inviting, by declarations publicly hung up, all slaves to resume their liberty. This tumult was suppressed just as it was breaking out, the leader himself, and the most resolute of his partisans, being surprised and dragged to Rome, which was already in great consternation, on account of the immense number of domestic slaves*.

A servile war suppressed in its rise.

During the same consulate, Rome saw an example of horror, and unnatural cruelty, which alone is sufficient to render the reign and memory of Tiberius execrable to the latest posterity. Vibius Sereus, proconsul of the Farther Spain, was condemned, as we have already related, for arbitrary administration, and banished to the island of Amorgos: but now that unhappy father was dragged from the place of his exile to a fresh trial, being accused by his son of treasonable practices against the majesty of the emperor. The father appeared before the senate, bound in chains, with a dejected countenance, and in the dismal habit of a criminal, while the son, in the gayest attire, as if he intended to insult nature itself, alleged a plot framed by his father against the emperor, accusing him, at the same time, of having sent conspirators into Gaul, to excite that people to rebellion. He likewise charged Cæcilius Cornutus, formerly prætor, with having supplied the conspirators with money. Cornutus, though innocent, no sooner heard himself accused, than looking upon his accusation only as a signal of destruction, killed himself: but Sereus, turning full upon his son, and shaking his chains, begged of the gods, with tears in his eyes, that they would restore him to the place of his exile, where he might pass his days, far from such objects of horror; and that they would one day take just vengeance of such a cruel and unnatural son. He then urged, that Cornutus was innocent, and only frightened with a false accusation. He challenged his son to produce other witnesses, and name other confederates, since it was not probable, that, with one accomplice only, he should have conceived the design of murdering the

Vibius Sereus accused by his own son.

* Tacit. Ann. lib. iv. cap. 23—27.

* Idem ibid. cap. 27.

prince, and introducing a change in the government. The accuser then named Cneius Lentulus, and Scius Tubero, both men of the first rank in Rome, and Tiberius's intimate friends. Besides, Lentulus was extremely old, and Tubero broken with infirmities, insomuch that Tiberius himself was confounded at hearing them named * (Z). Tubero was discharged, but the slaves of the pretended criminal were examined upon the rack; and their testimony proved favourable to their master. The populace, provoked at such scandalous proceedings, began to threaten the unnatural son with the punishments inflicted by the laws on parricides; menaces which so terrified him, that he fled privately from Rome, and withdrew to Ravenna. Tiberius, still remembering some free expressions, which Serenus had used, in a letter written to him eight years before, and not disguising his old hatred, obliged the son to return, and pursue the action begun against his father. Nothing could be proved against him; notwithstanding the votes being taken, he was sentenced to death as a traitor (A).

The revengeful temper of Tiberius.

Several persons accused.

In the course of the same year were accused, and convicted, Caius Cominius, a Roman knight, Publius Silius, formerly quaestor to Germanicus, and Catus Firmius, a senator. Cominius had written a scurrilous poem against the emperor, who nevertheless pardoned him, at the intreaties of his brother, who was a senator. Silius, being convicted of taking a bribe, in an affair which he was to decide as a judge, was by the senate only condemned to be expelled Italy. But this sentence appearing too mild to the emperor, he caused him to be banished into an island, after having declared upon oath, that he consulted therein the

* Tacit. Ann. lib. iv. cap. 29.

(Z) Dio Cassius tells us, that Lentulus, finding himself, aged as he was, charged with meditating the murder of the prince, and a change of state, broke into a loud laugh; and that the emperor instantly acquitted him, saying, "I do not deserve to live, if I am hated even by Lentulus."

(A) Tiberius, to mitigate the odium accruing to him from such a glaring piece of

injustice, granted him his life. Hereupon Asinius Gallus was for confining him to the island of Gyarus, or to that of Donusa. This motion was disliked by the emperor, because both these islands were destitute of water: and to whom life is granted, said he, the necessaries of life ought likewise to be granted. Serenus was therefore remanded to Amorgos (1).

(1) Tacit. Ann. lib. iv. cap. 28, 30.

welfare

welfare of the republic. This severity, which was then severely censured, turned out afterwards to the emperor's praise; for Silius, returning to Rome in the reign of Claudius, proved an abandoned mercenary, and one of the most execrable ministers of that inhuman tyrant: a proof of Tiberius's deep penetration, and thorough knowledge of mankind; a knowledge in which he has been equalled by few, and excelled by none. Catus Firmius was likewise sentenced to leave Italy, for forging crimes of treason against his sister: but, as he had been instrumental in procuring the destruction of Libo Drusus, by first maliciously seducing, and afterwards informing against him, Tiberius, mindful of this service, but pretending other motives, saved him from banishment, but did not oppose his being expelled the senate.

Tacitus begins the following year, when Cossus Cornelius Lentulus, and M. Asinius Agrippa were consuls, with an account of the arraignment and noble defence of Cremutius Cordus, a celebrated historian, who was accused of having praised Brutus, in the annals he had published, and styled Cassius the last of the Romans; which was the eulogium bestowed upon him by Brutus himself. His accusers were Satrius Secundus, and Pinarius Natta, both creatures of Sejanus; a circumstance which he regarding as a signal of his destruction, and besides observing great sternness and indignation in the countenance of Tiberius, abandoned all hopes of life; he spoke in his own defence with the spirit, and in the style, of a true Roman (B); and then withdrawing

*Cremutius
Cordus ar-
raigned.*

7 Tacit. Annal. lib. iv. cap. 31.

(B) "As to facts, conscript fathers (said he), I am so free from guilt, that words only are produced against me. But neither were my words uttered against the prince, or his father, who are the only persons comprised under the law of treason. I am charged with having praised Brutus and Cassius; men whose exploits many have displayed, and all in honourable terms. Titus Livius, one of our most famous writers, both for eloquence and veracity, bestowed such high encomiums upon Pompey, that Augustus styled him a Pompeian; nor did

this, in the least, prejudice their friendship. He no where calls Scipio Africanus, nor even this Cassius, this Brutus, thieves and parricides, as they are now commonly termed, but often mentions them as worthy and famous men. The writings of Asinius Pollio have conveyed down to us the memory of the same men, under honourable characters. Messala Corvinus was proud of having had Cassius for his general; and, for all this, both these writers flourished, in wealth and honours, under Augustus. M. Cicero extolled Cato to the skies; and, never-

ing from the senate, starved himself to death. The fathers condemned his books to be burnt by the ædiles. This whole year

nevertheless, Cæsar the dictator contented himself with answering it in the same style, as if he had been before his judges. The letters of Marc Antony, the speeches of Brutus, are full of reproaches against Augustus; false, indeed, and groundless, but urged with great bitterness. The poems of Bibaekus and Catullus, though filled with satirical and virulent reflections upon the Cæsars, are still read. The deified Julius, the deified Augustus, bore these invectives; whether with greater moderation or wisdom, I cannot easily say; for things of that nature, if neglected, are but short-lived, whereas they argue, when reſented, a guilty conscience. I forbear mentioning the Greeks, among whom not only the freedom, but even the licentiousness of speech is unpunished; or, if any correction is returned, it is only by revenging words with words. It has been ever allowed, and at no time thought matter of reproach, to pass our judgment upon those whose death has exempted from hatred and favour. Do I, with seditious harangues, inflame the people to civil wars, or exhort them to join Cassius and Brutus now in arms, and masters of the fields of Philippi? Brutus and Cassius, now above seventy years slain, are still known in their statues, which even the conqueror did not destroy: why then may not an historian preserve their memories in his writings? Impartial posterity does every one justice; and, if my death is determined, there

will not be wanting some, who will not only maintain the memory of Brutus and Cassius, but mine also." Norwithstanding this spirited defence, the historian, not doubting but he would have been condemned by the servile senate, returned home, and ended his life by abstinence. What Corneilius says here of the statues of Cassius and Brutus, is confirmed by other writers, namely by Phœarch, who tells us, that Augustus took care, that all the honours which had been paid to the two heads of the republican party in their life-time, should be preserved inviolable to them after their death; and relates, to this purpose, the following story: as Augustus was passing through the city of Mediolanum, in Cisalpine Gaul, he observed a statue of Brutus, which was of excellent workmanship, and strongly resembled the original. Upon this he paused; and, in the presence of many who attended him, called the magistrates before him, and told them, that their town had broken the league, and honoured one of his enemies. At first, the magistrates denied the fact, and, not knowing what he aimed at, stared upon one another, as men under an inexpressible surprize. Then Augustus, pointing to the statue, asked them with a frown, "Is not that my enemy, whom you have received into the very heart of your city?" At these words, the magistrates, still more astonished, were struck dumb. Whereupon Augustus, smiling, com-
mended

year accusations were pursued with such rigour, that even during the festival of the *feriæ Latinæ*, while Drusus, probably the son of Germanicus, who had been appointed governor of Rome, was ascending the tribunal, to take possession of his new employment, Calpurnius Salvianus preferred a charge against Sextus Marius; which Tiberius highly resented, publicly rebuking the informer, who was immediately banished by the senate.

The inhabitants of Cyzicum were this year accused of neglecting the worship of the deified Augustus, which they had established in their city, and of committing violences upon some Roman citizens. They were therefore deprived of their liberty, which had been formerly granted them by the Roman people, in consideration of their gallant behaviour during the Mithridatic war. Fonteius Capito, formerly proconsul of Asia, was accused at the same time, but acquitted; it appearing that the crimes laid to his charge by Vibius Serenus had no existence: and yet Serenus escaped unpunished.

About this time, ambassadors arrived in Rome from the Farther Spain, to obtain permission to erect a temple, after the example of Asia, to Tiberius and his mother. When they were introduced to the senate, the emperor seized that occasion to confute those who taxed him with ambition, for having allowed the Asiatics to pay him divine honours, and spoke in the following manner: "I know, conscript fathers, that I am generally blamed, and taxed with inconstancy, for not opposing the cities of Asia, when they presented this petition. I shall therefore now acquaint you with the motives of my former silence, and, at the same time, with the rules I propose to follow for the future. As the deified Augustus did not oppose the founding of a temple at Pergamus to himself, and the city of Rome, I, with whom all his actions and sayings have the force of laws, followed a precedent already approved, the more willingly because to the worship bestowed upon me was annexed that of the senate; but as the accepting of that honour, in one instance, deserves pardon, so to be adored in every province, under the sacred representations of the deities, favours of pride and ambition: besides, the rendering common, and in a manner prostituting this honour, would be detracting from the glory of Augustus. For myself, conscript fathers, I acknowledge to you, and would have poste-

Tiberius's reasoning against divine honours.

ended them for their constancy the statue should remain standing to their friends, though in adversity; and left orders, that ing as he found it.

city

city know, that I am a mortal man, and subject, like others, to the common infirmities of nature. It is enough for me to hold the chief place among you; and posterity will sufficiently honour my memory, if they believe me to have been worthy of my ancestors, careful of your affairs, unmoved in dangers, fearless of private hatred for the public welfare. These are the temples which I would raise in your breasts, these the best and most lasting images. As for temples and statues of stone, if those who are worshipped in them come to be condemned by the judgment of posterity, they are despised, as their sepulchres. I therefore here implore our allies and citizens, all the gods and goddesses, beseeching the latter to grant me, to the end of my life, a mind undisturbed, and a thorough knowledge of the laws human and divine; and the former to celebrate my actions, whenever my dissolution comes, with a kind remembrance ²."

*Sejanus
asks young
Livia in
marriage.*

Sejanus, intoxicated with his excessive power, and urged by the importunity of Livia, the widow of Drusus, who was continually reminding him of his promise, presented a memorial to the emperor, begging, that if a husband were sought for Livia, he would remember his friend, to whom he had already given innumerable instances of his affection and benevolence. He added, that Augustus, in the disposal of his daughter, had not been without hopes of some Roman knight; that he had nothing in view but the glory of such an affinity, and the safety of his children, since their alliance with the imperial family would sufficiently screen them against the wrath and malice of Agrippina. For himself, he said, he cared to live no longer than he could be serviceable to so gracious and benevolent a prince.

*Tiberius's
answer to
him.*

Tiberius commended the fidelity of Sejanus, cursorily recapitulated his own favours towards him, and demanded time to examine his request with more maturity. At length he explained his disapprobation of the project; but without seeming in the least displeased at the arrogance and presumption of his minister; on the contrary, he assured him, there was no recompence so high, but he might claim it from his favour and affection: that he was actually meditating schemes for his interest and honour, which he would declare on a proper occasion, either in the senate, or assembly of the people.

Sejanus was alarmed at this answer, being well acquainted with the emperor's dark and distrustful temper: laying, therefore, aside all thoughts of marrying Livia, he ear-

² Tacit. Ann. lib. iv. cap. 37, 38.

most intreated him not to give ear to the slanderous reports of his enemies, nor hearken to the malicious insinuations of such as hated him only on account of his unshaken fidelity. The more he reflected on the emperor's answer, the more apprehensive he grew of giving him umbrage. He was chiefly at a loss how to conduct himself with respect to the crowds of persons of all ranks, who daily frequented his house, to court his favour. To refuse them admittance would be impairing his power; and the encouraging of them might, as was justly apprehended, furnish a handle for criminal accusations.

Sejanus alarmed at Tiberius's answer.

After mature deliberation, he resolved to urge the emperor to leave Rome, and retire to some pleasant place, remote from the noise and hurry of the city. From this counsel he promised himself great advantages: he knew there could be no access to the prince but by him; all letters and expresses being conveyed by soldiers, who were at his devotion, would pass through his hands; the emperor, declining in age, and growing slothful and effeminate through the solitude of the place, would more easily transfer upon him the whole charge of the empire; finally, he himself would be removed from the crowds of such as, to make their court, attended him at Rome; therefore one source of envy would be stopped. He began by degrees to rail at the hurry of business at Rome, artfully insinuating to Tiberius the great inconveniencies of the city, the constant trouble of attending the senate, the discontented and seditious temper of the people; highly extolling, at the same time, a quiet and solitary retirement, a life without anguish of mind, free from envy and ill-will, and therefore more fit to dispatch important and weighty matters.

Sejanus urges the emperor to leave Rome.

In the course of this year Lucius Piso, governor of the Hither Spain, as he travelled through the province unguarded, was suddenly attacked by a peasant, and dispatched with one blow. The assassin, by the fleetness of his horse, escaped to a neighbouring forest, and there quitted him: but the horse being taken, the owner was soon discovered, seized, and put to the rack, which he bore with incredible constancy and resolution, declaring that his accomplices might safely behold his sufferings; for no torture, or pain, however exquisite, should extort from him a discovery. Next day, as they were dragging him again to the rack, he broke from his keepers, and dashed his head with such violence against a stone, that he immediately expired ^a.

Lucius Piso killed by a peasant.

^a Tacit. Ann. lib. iv. cap. 45, 46.

Poppæus Sabinus defeats the Thracians.

In the succeeding consulship of Lentulus Cretulicus, the son of Cneius Lentulus, and Caius Calvisius Sabinus, Poppæus Sabinus was honoured with the ensigns of triumph, for his successful exploits against the wild Thracians, who had taken arms, and endeavoured to expel the Romans, on account of their raising recruits amongst them, and conveying their stoutest youth from the country. They were, after a vigorous resistance, utterly defeated by Sabinus, and forced to submit ^b. This year discord began to reign in the imperial family; which we shall see end, at last, in the destruction of Agrippina. Claudia Pulchra, her cousin, being accused, by Domitius Afer, of adultery with Furnius, and likewise of employing magical charms, and preparing poison for the emperor, Agrippina, being of a violent temper, slew to Tiberius; and finding him sacrificing to Augustus, took occasion, from the sacrifice he was offering, to upbraid him with his conduct. She said it ill became the same man to offer victims to the deified Augustus, and persecute his posterity; that his divine spirit was not transfused into dumb statues and images; that the genuine images of Augustus were his descendants, of whom herself was one, in great distress, and in the state of a suppliant. She added, that other crimes were, in vain, alleged against Pulchra, when the cause of her intended ruin was, that she had unadvisedly loved Agrippina, even to adoration, not remembering the fate of Sofia, whose condemnation and misfortunes were owing to the same crime, the like unseasonable affection. These reproaches highly provoked Tiberius; but as he had a perfect command of his temper, he only rebuked her in a Greek verse, which he quoted from an ancient tragedy, "If you do not reign, you think yourself injured;" and then dismissed her, without vouchsafing any farther answer. Pulchra and Furnius, notwithstanding the solicitations and remonstrances of Agrippina, were both condemned.

Agrippina's reproach upon Tiberius.

She desires a second husband.

Some time after this incident, Agrippina falling sick, the emperor visited her; when she, after many tears, and long silence, at length intreated him to give her a husband, in whom she and the children of Germanicus might find a faithful protector against the malicious designs of their enemies. Tiberius, apprised to what a height of power the person would be raised, who married the grand-daughter of Augustus, and not chusing openly to deny so reasonable a request, lest it should betray jealousy or fear in him, in-

^b Idem. Ann. lib. iv. cap. 46—51.

stantly left her. This behaviour was resented by Agrippina. Sejanus, to inflame her still more, and by these means hasten her ruin, employed his emissaries to warn her, under colour of friendship, that poison was prepared for her; and that she ought to avoid eating at her father-in-law's table. As Agrippina was a stranger to dissimulation, she followed their advice; and, though she sat near the emperor, touched no part of the meat. Tiberius, observing her abstinence, in order to be the better convinced of her suspicions, after having praised the apples that stood before him, presented some of them to her with his own hand. This present only increased the suspicion of Agrippina, who, without even offering to taste them, delivered them to the attendants. However, Tiberius, always dark and reserved, spoke not a word; but, turning to his mother, whispered, "No wonder (said he), that I should use severity with her, since she charges me with a design of poisoning her." Hence a rumour was spread, that her ruin was resolved upon; but that the emperor, not daring to attempt it openly, intended to dispatch her by some secret means. Tiberius, to suppress that report, by diverting the public conversation upon other topics, attended the senate with great assiduity, and gave audience to several ambassadors from Asia, contending in what city the temple, lately decreed to Tiberius, should be built. For this honour eleven cities strove; but, when the votes of the senators were collected, the pretensions of Smyrna were preferred (C). It

Is deceived by the agents of Sejanus.

Contention about the temple decreed to Tiberius.

was

(C) For this honour eleven cities strove with equal ambition, urging their antiquity, and distinguished zeal for the Roman people, during their several wars with Perses, Aristonicus, and other kings. But the Hyrcanians, Trallians, Laodiceans, and Magnesian, were dismissed at once, as not sufficient for the charge. The Illyrians or Trojans represented, that Troy was the mother of Rome; but had no advantage over the rest, besides the glory of antiquity. The Halicarnassians urged, that for twelve hundred years their city had not been shaken by earthquakes; and promised to lay the founda-

tions of the temple on a solid rock. The same plea was brought by the inhabitants of Pergamus; but as a temple was already erected in their city to Augustus, that distinction was judged sufficient for them. The cities of Ephesus and Miletus were thought already sufficiently employed with the ceremonies of their peculiar deities, the former with those of Diana, the latter with those of Apollo. Thus the dispute was confined to Sardis and Smyrna. The former urged their antiquity, power, and opulence: they recited a decree of the Hetrurians, acknowledging them for kinsmen; for they pretended to derive

was also moved by Vibius Marfus, that Lentulus, to whom the province of Asia had fallen, should have a legate extraordinary appointed, to supervise the building of the temple. The motion was approved, and Lentulus empowered to choose whom he pleased; but he, through modesty, declining this privilege, Valerius Nafus was drawn by lot from among those who had been prætors ^c.

Yr. of Fl.

374.
A. D. 26.
U. C. 774.

*Tiberius
abandons
Rome.*

This year, the twelfth of his reign, Tiberius put in execution the design which he had long meditated, of leaving Rome. At his departure he declared that he was going into Campania only to dedicate a temple to Jupiter at Capua, and one at Nola to Augustus; but in truth determined never to return to Rome. Most historians, who wrote before Tacitus, ascribe this resolution to the artful insinuations of Sejanus; but as he continued in his retirement six years

^c Tacit. Ann. lib. iv. cap. 56.

derive their original from Atys, the son of Hercules by Omphale, who is supposed to have had two sons, Lydus and Tyrrhenus: the former remained in his native country, which from him was called Lydia; and the latter settled in Hetruria, where his followers were from him named Tyrrhenians. They likewise enlarged on the opulence of the ancient Lydians, on the colonies sent under Pelops into Greece, which from him took the name of Peloponnesus, their league with Rome, during the war with Macedon, &c. The account they give here of their original does not entirely agree with what we read of it in Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and Velleius Paterculus (1). The Smyrneans likewise displayed the glory of their antiquity and founders; but insisted chiefly on their early friendship with Rome, and kind offices to the Roman people, whom they assisted not only in their foreign

wars, but in those which were waged in the very bowels of Italy. They desired the fathers to remember, that they had, before any other people, erected a temple to Rome, when the power of the Roman people was indeed great, but not yet raised to its greatest height, since Carthage was standing, and Asia governed by mighty kings. They laid great stress on their generosity to Sylla, the miserable condition of whose army, ready to perish in a severe winter for want of cloaths, was no sooner related to the citizens of Smyrna, at that time assembled, than they all stripped themselves of their own garments, and sent them to the naked legions. This signal instance of their great fidelity, and sincere attachment to the Roman people, made so deep an impression upon the whole assembly, that the honour for which so many cities contended, was, by a great majority, conferred upon them (2).

(1) Vide Dion. Halicar. lib. i. & Vell. Patercul. lib. i. (2) Tacit. Ann. lib. iv. cap. 55, 56.

after the disgrace and execution of Sejanus, that writer thinks he was influenced by some other more powerful motive, namely, that of concealing, in the darkness of a retired and solitary place, his natural inclination to cruelty, lewdness, and debauchery (D). Some believed that, in his old age, he was ashamed of the figure of his person; for he was very thin, tall, and stooped; his head was bald, his face full of ulcers, and, for the most part, besmeared with ointments (E). During his retirement at Rhodes he used to

(D) As to his debauchery, Suetonius tells us, that, in his youth, he was much given to drinking; that, instead of Tiberius Claudius Nero, he was nicknamed Biberius Caldius Mero. Afterwards, being raised to the sovereign power, continues the same writer, at the very time he was reforming the manners of the people, he spent one night and two days in carousing with Pomponius Flaccus and L. Piso, to one of whom he gave immediately the province of Syria, and to the other the government of Rome, styling them, in his letters, "jucundissimos & omnium horarum amicos; his most agreeable friends, and ready at all seasons." Being invited to supper by Sextus Gallus, an old debauchee, who had been noted with infamy by Augustus, and severely reprimanded by himself in the senate, he accepted the invitation, upon condition that he altered nothing of his old way, and that they were served at table by naked virgins. He preferred a man of mean extraction, who stood for the quaestorship, to several competitors of great distinction, because he had drunk with him an incredible quantity of wine at one

meal. He presented Asellius Sabinus with two hundred thousand sesterces, for a dialogue he had written between the mushroom, the beccafico, or figpecker, the oyster, and the thrush, which were all his favourite dishes (1). As to his lewdness, excesses so detestably infamous are related of him by the same writer, that they seem almost incredible. We shall not defile our history with the infamous detail he gives us of them; but only relate one instance out of the many which that author produces. He tells us, that a very scandalous picture, done by the famous Parrhasius, representing Atalanta and Meleager, being left to the emperor as a legacy, upon condition, that if he liked not that piece, he should have a million of sesterces paid him immediately in its stead, he not only preferred it to the money, but caused it to be hung up in his chamber (2).

(E) Suetonius describes his person thus: "He was (says he) of a strong well set body, somewhat exceeding the common size; broad in the breast and shoulders, in the rest of his limbs, from head to foot, well proportioned. He used for the most part his left hand, in the

(1) Suet. in Tiber. cap. 42.
15. 56. Sueton. in Tiber.

(2) Tacit. Annal. lib. iv. cap.

*What
prompted
him to re-
tire.*

to avoid, as much as he could, appearing in public, and to conceal his debaucheries in the recesses of a solitary life: whence many concluded, that he had been prevailed upon, not so much by the plausible persuasions of Sejanus, as by his own natural inclinations, to retire from the city. Some asserting, that he was driven from Rome by the restless and insupportable ambition of his mother, whom he scorned to admit as a partner in the sovereignty, and could not entirely exclude, since the empire itself was her gift ^a (F).

Whatever was his motive, though he removed to several places, he never returned once to the city during the remaining part of his reign. He departed with a small attendance, having with him but one senator, Cocceius Nerva, formerly consul, and well versed in the knowledge of the laws, one Roman knight, besides Sejanus, named Curtius Atticus, and some men of letters, chiefly Greeks, with whose conversation he was pleased ^c. Upon his departure the astrologers pretended, that he left Rome under such a

^a Tacit. *Annal.* lib. iv. cap. 57, 58. Dio, lib. lviij. p. 60. Suet. lib. iii. cap. 39.

^c Tacit. *Annal.* lib. iv. cap. 57, 58.

joints of which he had such strength, that he could run his fingers through a green apple, however sound, and stun a man with a filip. His complexion was fair, his hair long behind, so as to cover his neck, which was peculiar to the Claudian family. His countenance was graceful, though covered with small pimples; he had large eyes, and could see in the dark, but only for a short time, and when he first awaked. He stooped, especially when he walked, and expressed always a great deal of severity in his stera looks. He was slow of speech, and in private conversation was continually moving his fingers. He was healthy, though, from the thirtieth year of his age he lived freely, without hearkening to his physicians.

(F) Livia having pressed him very earnestly, as we read in

Suetonius, to advance a person whom he had admitted citizen of Rome, into the number of the decuries, he absolutely refused to do it, unless she would allow it to be inserted in the register, "That it was extorted from him by his mother." This repulse Livia took greatly amiss, and immediately produced certain letters which Augustus had formerly written to her, complaining of his stubborn temper, and the intolerable perverseness of his manners, and caused them to be publicly read. This inspired him with such an aversion to the empress, who had so long preserved, and so maliciously produced, these letters, that he was thought by some to have withdrawn from Rome, that he might have no farther intercourse or communication with her (3).

(3) Suet. in *Tiber.* cap. 58.

conjunction

conjunction of the planets, that he would never return, and that his end was at hand. That he was never to return to Rome proved true; but the conjectures published by the astrologers concerning his death, ought to have convinced the world of the falshood of that art, since it proved fatal to its professors, of whom many were, for their predictions, either put to death or involved in endless calamities, which, with all their knowlege of the stars, they had not foreseen; whereas Tiberius lived eleven years after his retreat.

However, their conjectures touching his death were very near being fulfilled soon after his departure; for as he was supping in a cave of one of his villas, called thence Spelunca, its mouth suddenly fell in, and buried under it some of his attendants. The rest were so frightened, that, abandoning the emperor, they all fled, except Sejanus, who, covering the emperor's body with his own, and stooping upon his knees and hands, received all the stones that fell from the roof, so that Tiberius escaped unhurt. From this time, the emperor esteeming his minister as a man quite regardless of his own safety, and only solicitous about his prince, reposed an entire confidence in him, blindly following all his counsels, however bloody and destructive. This confidence the wicked minister abused to the destruction of the family of Germanicus, which alone could thwart his ambitious designs.

Sejanus exposes his person for Tiberius.

He first attacked Nero, the eldest son of Germanicus, consequently next in succession, suborning persons to misrepresent all his actions to Tiberius. Nero was a young prince no-way ambitious, but regardless of that circumspection which his present situation required. He was also misled, and ill-advised, by his freedmen and followers, who, desirous of having the power in their own hands, were continually animating him to exert the courage and resolution becoming a person in his station. They told him, that both the people and soldiery longed to see him share the government with his grandfather; and that, as to Sejanus, he would not dare to oppose him, though he now equally insulted the tamehess of an old man and the sloth of a youth. As the young prince listened to such suggestions, some unguarded expressions escaped, which were immediately noticed by the spies placed upon him, and with aggravations carried to the emperor, who would not allow him the privilege of clearing himself. He was even betrayed by his wife Julia, the daughter of Drusus and Livia, who acquainted her mother, and by her means Sejanus, not only with the words, but

He brings Nero into disgrace with Tiberius.

* Tacit. Ann. lib. iv. cap. 57, 58.

even with the sighs and dreams of her husband. His brother Drusus was likewise drawn into the combination, with the hopes of immediately succeeding Tiberius, in case his elder brother, already in disgrace, should be effectually set aside.

*Endea-
vours to
destroy the
family of
Germani-
cus.*

The emperor, thus prejudiced against him by his nearest relations, and those who were thought to be his best friends, always received him with a stern countenance: if the youth spoke, there was something criminal in his words; and his silence was still more exceptionable. Sejanus, having by these base arts irritated Tiberius against Nero, began to consult with his creatures how he might inflame him, at the same time, against Drusus and Agrippina, that the whole family of Germanicus might be involved in the same ruin. This year Pontius Pilate was appointed by Tiberius governor of Judæa, in the room of Valerius Gratus². How he behaved during his ten years administration, appears from Philo³, and from what we have said in our history of the Jews.

*Fifty thou-
sand per-
sons de-
stroyed, or
maimed, by
the fall of
an amphi-
theatre.*

In the following year, M. Licinius Crassus and Lucius Calpurnius Piso being consuls, Atilius, one of the race of freed-men, having built an amphitheatre at Fidenæ, in order to exhibit a fight of gladiators, vast crouds flocked thither from Rome, eager for such shows, as during the reign of Tiberius they were debarred from diversions at home. As the spectators were intent upon the gladiators, the amphitheatre, which was but slightly built, and overcharged with the multitude, fell down, and with its fall destroyed or maimed fifty thousand persons¹ (G). Atilius, who had built the amphitheatre only for gain, and therefore employed bad materials, and unskilful workmen, was banished; and it was decreed by the senate, that for the future, no man, who was not worth four hundred thousand sesterces, should exhibit the show of gladiators^k. The public affliction occasioned by this terrible blow was yet fresh, when it

² Joseph. Antiq. lib. xviii. cap. 3.
¹ Tacit. Ann. lib. iv. cap. 60—62.

³ Philo Legat. ad Caium.
^k Idem ibid. cap. 63.

(G) Suetonius says, that twenty thousand souls perished by this accident (1). On this occasion the great men of Rome threw open their doors, to receive such as had been hurt, supplied them with medicines, and took all possible care of them till they recovered. Thus,

to the great satisfaction of the city, was revived, at this juncture, the public spirit of the ancient Romans, who, after great battles, constantly relieved the wounded, sustained them by their bounties, and attended them with care.

(1) Suet. lib. iii. cap. 40.

was increased by another accident. A fire breaking out on Mount Cœlius, burnt with such rage and violence, that it consumed all the houses in that quarter of the city. On this occasion Tiberius gave new proofs of a generosity worthy of a great prince; for, without the application of friends, or any ambitious views, every sufferer was relieved by his bounty. For this liberality the senate returned him thanks; and ordained, that Mount Cœlius should, for the future, be styled Mount Augustus, since the statue of Tiberius, which stood there, in the house of Junius the senator, was spared by the flames, though every thing round it was consumed.

Mons Cœlius consumed by fire.

Tiberius's generosity on that occasion.

As the universal zeal of the great men in Rome, and the bounty of the prince, administered great relief in the present misfortunes, so the fury and rage of the informers, which grew daily more dreadful, involved the most illustrious citizens in horrible calamities. Quintilius Varus, a man of great wealth, and related to the emperor (H), was accused by Domitius Afer, the same who had arraigned his mother Claudia Pulchra. The informer had squandered what he had earned by procuring the condemnation of Claudia; and therefore, in hopes of a more ample reward, had marked out, and doomed to destruction, Varus, one of the most wealthy men in Rome. The city was surprised to see Publius Dolabella, a man of an illustrious family, and nearly related to Varus, join a person of such an infamous character as Afer, against his kinsman. The senate was so shocked at this circumstance, that they refused to hear the charge, and voted, that the trial should be postponed till the return of the emperor¹.

Informers become more dreadful.

Tiberius, having dedicated the temples in Campania, though he had, by an edict, enjoined the public not to disturb him, and posted soldiers on the roads to prevent the concourse of people to the towns where he resided, nevertheless, retired to Capræ, an island separated from the cape of Surrentum by a channel of three miles. The air is mild there in the winter, the cold winds being intercepted

*Yr. of Fl.
2375.
A. D. 27.
U. C. 775.*

Tiberius retires to Capræ.

¹ Tacit. Ann. lib. iv. cap. 66, 77. Suet. lib. iii. cap. 41.

(H) Quintilius Varus was read in Seneca (2). Besides, probably son to the commander of that name, who was with the Roman legions cut off in Germany. He married one of Germanicus's daughters, as we

he was the son of Claudia Pulchra, whom Tacitus calls Agrippina's cousin, and by that means related to the reigning family.

(2) Senec. lib. i. controvers. 3.

by a mountain, and refreshed in the summer by gales from the west. The sea, open all around, presents a delightful view: from thence was seen at that time one of the most beautiful coasts in the world; but it was afterwards greatly damaged by the eruptions of Mount Vesuvius. The island was surrounded on all sides by inaccessible rocks, and a profound and almost bottomless sea, destitute of havens, with very few stations for the smaller vessels, and those very difficult of access; so that none could put in unperceived by the guards (I). Tiberius confined himself to twelve villas on the island; some of which were probably built by Augustus, who, liking the solitude and mild air of the place, had purchased it, according to Dio Cassius^m, of the Neapolitans.

Gives himself up to all manner of wickedness.

The effects of his suspicions.

There Tiberius spent the last ten years of his life, giving himself entirely up to the most infamous lewdness and debaucheries, which ought to be buried in oblivion. In that gloomy recess he threw off all concern for the commonwealth, though he had been, to that time, very assiduous in the administration of justice, and intent upon public cares. Nevertheless, he retained his suspicious temper, and gave more credit than ever to informers, Sejanus inflaming his jealousies, and fomenting his distrusts, for the private views of his ambition. Spies and informers were employed in all parts of the city: if a person of merit testified any zeal for the glory of the empire, Tiberius immediately suspected it was from a secret design of obtaining the sovereignty. If another made honourable mention of liberty, he was looked upon as a dangerous person, who aimed at re-establishing the commonwealth. To praise any of the ancient Romans, was a capital crime; and to regret Augustus was complaining of Tiberius. Every action became liable to forced interpretations; the most innocent discourses expressed evil designs; a discrete silence concealed mischievous intentions; joy betrayed hopes of the prince's death; melancholy implied envy of his prosperity; and fear, the just apprehen-

^m Dio, lib. lii. p. 495.

(I) Suetonius tells us, that, a few days after his arrival in the island of Capreae, a fisherman brought him a mullet of an extraordinary size; but that the emperor, instead of rewarding, barbarously, being frightened with the consideration, that the poor man had made his way to him through places which he thought unfrequented and inaccessible (3).

(3) Suet. in Tiber. cap. 60.

sons

sions of a guilty conscience: so that to speak, to be silent, to be glad, to be grieved, to be fearful, or confident, were all crimes, and frequently punished with death. Sejanus's pernicious practices and wicked devices were chiefly levelled against Agrippina and her son Nero. As there was now no access to Tiberius but by him, he no longer concealed his attempts upon them, but openly placed guards to observe the messages they sent, the visits and company they received, their behaviour in public, and their private conversation. Besides, he suborned some of their friends to advise them, as they were thus distressed, either to fly to the armies in Germany, or, embracing the statue of Augustus in the forum, to implore the aid and protection of the senate and Roman people. These counsels, though rejected by them, were laid to their charge, as if they had intended to put them in execution".

The following year, when Appius Junius Silanus and P. Silius Nerva were consuls, began tragically. Titius Sabinus, an illustrious Roman knight, was dragged to prison, for his steady and faithful adherence to the family of Germanicus (K). He was immediately after sentenced to death, and the same day, the first of the new year, which was a great festival among the Romans, executed, without being allowed time to make his defence (L). The city was never seized

Titius Sabinus accused.

He is condemned, and executed.

^a Tacit. Ann. lib. iv. cap. 68—70. Dio, lib. lviii. p. 621.

(K) Latinus Latiaris, having insinuated himself into his friendship, with a design to betray him, first bewailed the case of Agrippina, and her son Nero; and then inveighed bitterly against Sejanus's pride and cruelty, not sparing the emperor himself. Sabinus, not aware of the snare, approved all he said; and added many severe reflections of his own upon the cruelty of Tiberius, and imperious conduct of his favourite minister. The traitor having thus insinuated himself into the confidence of the unsuspecting Sabinus, procured evidence against him, by placing three degenerate senators betwixt the ceiling and the roof of an apartment, where he inveigled Sabinus in-

to a second conversation, which turned on the cruelty of Tiberius and his favourite. These abandoned informers communicated what they had heard to the emperor, who in a letter to the senate, required them to take vengeance on the traitor Sabinus. The names of those infamous senators were Porcius Cato, Petilius Rufus, and Marcus Opius.

(L) Sabinus, says Tacitus, was dragged away to immediate death, with his head muffled in his robe, and a rope about his neck: but, nevertheless, exerting his voice as far as he could, he cried out, "With these solemnities the year begins; these are the victims which Sejanus offers;" for, on the first day of the

The accusers meet their just doom.

seized with greater dread; one relation feared another; a general distrust reigned among men of all ranks; strangers and acquaintance were equally avoided; even dumb and inanimate things, roofs and walls, occasioned dread and circumspection. The emperor no sooner heard of the execution of Sabinus, than he wrote to the senate, thanking them for having punished an enemy to the commonwealth. He added, that he passed a life full of fear and anxiety, and that he was under continual apprehensions of the snares of his enemies. Though he named none, yet it was well known he meant Agrippina and Nero, against whom he was constantly incensed by Sejanus and his creatures. Just vengeance soon overtook the authors and contrivers of such infamous treachery; for some of them perished miserably under the emperor Caius, and some under Tiberius; who, though he would not suffer the ministers of his tyranny to be crushed by others, yet, surfeited with their infamy, often sacrificed them himself to the public vengeance, to make room for new emissaries, who were daily offering the same vile services.

The Frisians revolt, and defeat L. Apronius.

When Tiberius's letter was read in the senate, Asinius Gallus proposed, that the prince should be desired to explain his fears, and suffer the senate to remove the cause of them. This motion the emperor highly resented, thinking that Asinius was apprised of this dissimulation; but, however, he smothered his wrath, Sejanus striving to appease him, not from kindness to Gallus, but because he knew, the more his anger was restrained, the more tragical it would prove at last^p. This year the Frisians, no longer able to bear the tyranny of the Romans sent to govern them, shook off the yoke, and defeated L. Apronius, who was dispatched against them with a considerable force (M). But Tiberius chose rather

• Tacit. & Dio, *ibid*.

p Tacit. *ibid*. cap. 69.

the new year victims were slain in all the temples. Such a dismal sight occasioned universal terror, flight, and solitude: wherever the unhappy victim appeared, the people, to avoid betraying any marks of grief or compassion, fled, and withdrew in the utmost consternation; so that as he passed, the streets were empty, and the public places deserted.

(M) The Frisians, says Ta-

citus, rebelled, rather provoked at the avarice of their governors than impatient of the Roman yoke. Drusus laid a tribute on them suited to their poverty, obliging them only to furnish certain hides for the uses of the soldiers, without insisting upon any particular size or thickness. But Olennius, whom Tiberius appointed to govern them, having procured the large hides of some wild bulls, insisted upon their

ther to submit to the loss the empire had sustained, than trust any able general with the command of the army. The senate indeed met on this occasion; but, instead of deliberating about an affair of such importance, they only decreed statues to Tiberius and Sejanus, not being affected with the losses sustained on the extremities of the empire, but wholly intent on securing themselves, by the most shameful flattery, against the evils that threatened them at home¹. They importuned both the prince and his favourite with repeated solicitations, that they would be pleased only to shew themselves in Rome; but to no purpose: they could not, by any intreaties, be prevailed upon to approach the city, thinking it sufficient condescension to quit their island for a few days, and suffer themselves to be seen on the coast of Campania. Thither crowded senators, knights, and great part of the people, all eager to court the favour of Sejanus, who was more difficult of access than the emperor, and admitted such only as were either his creatures, or by his creatures recommended to his countenance and protection. Tiberius having betrothed Agrippina, his grand-daughter by Germanicus, to Cneius Domitius (N), and ordered the nuptials to be

Tiberius returns for a few days to the continent.

¹ Tacit. Ann. lib. iv. cap. 72—74.

their paying the tribute according to that measure. As their domestic cattle were but small, this proved a very hard task upon them. At length, not being able to pay yearly the required tribute, they parted with their herds; next resigned their lands; and, lastly, surrendered their wives and children to bondage. Their miseries and complaints made no impression on their hard-hearted governor; which so provoked them, that, in the end, they resolved to seek relief from war.

(N) Cn. Domitius was descended from a very ancient family, and, besides, was nearly related to the Cæsars; for he was the son of L. Domitius, of whom we have spoken above, and Antonia Major, the daughter of Octaviana and Marc Antony; so that Augustus was his

great-uncle. By Agrippina he had the emperor Nero, and was, as Suetonius observes, worthy to be the father of such a prince, being, in every part of his life detestable. In his youth, he attended Caius Cæsar into the Levant, and there slew one of his freedmen, because he refused to drink as much as he commanded him. On his return to Rome, he drove his chariot over a boy on purpose, and trod him to death. In the midst of the forum, he pulled out the eye of a Roman knight, for apprehending him with more than ordinary liberty. While he was prætor, he defrauded the victors in the chariot races of their prizes. About the end of Tiberius's reign, he was accused of treason, of adultery, and of incest with his sister Lepida; but, Tiberius dying, he escaped the

he celebrated at Rome, he quitted the continent, and returned to his island^r. This year died Julia, grand-daughter of Augustus, by whom, after her marriage with Paulus Æmilius, she had been, on account of her loose and scandalous behaviour, banished to the island of Trimetus, where she died, after twenty years of exile.

*The death
and cha-
racter of
Livia.*

The following year, when L. Rubellius Geminus and Caius Fufius Geminus were consuls, was distinguished by the death of Livia, the mother of Tiberius, styled, in the ancient inscriptions, Julia Augusta, because adopted by Augustus, in his last will, into the Julian family. We have already spoken of her descent, and marriage with Augustus, by whom she had no issue; but by the marriage of Germanicus and Agrippina, her blood came to be mixed with that of Augustus in their great grand-children. She had an absolute sway over Augustus, which she acquired and maintained, says Dio Cassius, by a ready acquiescence in his will, without ever betraying the least desire to know what he concealed from her, or any jealousy or dissatisfaction on account of his intrigues with other women^s. In her were united the wisdom of her husband, and the dissimulation of her son. She was so eager to aggrandize her children, that she was, not without good grounds, suspected of having obtained her end by the destruction of her husband's family.

*Tiberius's
ingrati-
tude to her.*

She was an irreconcilable enemy to Julia, the daughter of Augustus, and never ceased persecuting her whole offspring. She claimed an equal share with her son in the power which she had procured him. This Tiberius was not of a temper to allow. He frequently commanded her not to meddle with state-affairs, which, he said, were above the sphere of a woman. He avoided her conversation, especially in private, as much as he decently could, lest he should seem to be governed by her counsels. Being informed that, on occasion of a fire, she had run immediately among the people, encouraging both them, and the soldiers, to stop the rage of the flames, as she used to do in

^r Tacit. Ann. lib. iv. cap. 75. Suet. lib. vi. cap. 5. lib. lvii. p. 619.

^s Dio,

the punishment due to his crimes. He died, under the emperor Caius, of a dropsy, leaving behind him Nero by Agrippina. We are told, that, being congratulated by his friends upon the birth of his son Nero, he answered, that nothing could proceed from Agrippina and him, but what was detestable, and would prove pernicious to the commonwealth (1).

(1) Suet. in Ner. cap. 5, & 6.

the time of Augustus, he reprimanded her with some acrimony[†]. We are told, that, by degrees, he arrived at such an height of iniquity, as to hate and detest her[‡]. At least, it is certain, that, during the three years she lived after his retirement, he never saw her but once, and then for a very short time. In her last sickness, he never came near her, though he constantly affirmed, that he designed to pay the last offices to her; insomuch that her body was kept, in continual expectation of his arrival, till it began to putrefy. Afterwards, he excused himself to the senate, pleading the multitude of public affairs. He would not suffer any divine honours to be offered to her memory, pretending her express command to the contrary; nay, he reflected on those who courted the friendship of women, alluding to the consul Fusius, who was a great favourite of the sex, in high esteem with Livia, but hated by Tiberius, against whom he used to throw out abundance of sarcasms equally witty and severe[¶]. We are told, that he prosecuted all her friends especially those to whom she had committed the care of her funeral; that, of the many honours decreed her, he admitted but very few; and that he suppressed her last will, which was not executed till after his death, under his successor Caius. She died, according to Pliny^{*}, in the eighty-second, according to Dio Cassius, in the eighty-sixth year of her age.

Though Tiberius allowed his mother no great power, nevertheless, as he was indebted to her for the empire, he did not openly oppose her; so that, by her means, many innocent persons were saved from ruin, Sejanus not daring to arrogate an authority superior to that of a parent. After her death, the prince, and his favourite, being freed from all restraint, set no bounds to their unbridled fury. Letters were immediately dispatched to the senate against Agrippina and Nero, which were thought to have been written before, and suppressed by Livia. They were couched in terms remarkably severe; and yet they charged Nero with no crimes against the state, but only with unnatural lust, and other impure pleasures. Agrippina's known virtue screened her from any imputations of this nature: her haughty looks, however, and her violent, imperious, and ungovernable temper, were alleged as crimes against the state.

These accusations struck the whole assembly with terror: the fathers continued long silent, looking with surprise at

Becomes more cruel after her death.

Writes to the senate against Agrippina and Nero.

Division in the senate on this occasion.

† Suet. lib. iii. cap. 50.
Ann. lib. v. cap. 1.

‡ Dio, lib. lviii. p. 603.
* Plin. lib. xiv. cap. 16.

¶ Tacit.

each other, till at length some, desirous of ingratiating themselves with Sejanus and Tiberius, demanded, that they should proceed upon the emperor's letters. The magistrates and leading men knew not how to behave on so critical a subject; for though the expressions in the letter were very bitter, yet all the rest was left ambiguous. At length they concurred with Junius Rusticus, whom they thought well acquainted with the emperor's intentions, since he had been appointed by him to keep a journal of their proceedings. Rusticus had never before shewn the least instance of generosity; but nevertheless, either by some secret impulse, or because, unmindful of present dangers, he dreaded less Tiberius than the children of Agrippina, he opposed the cruel motion of Cotta Messalinus, and exhorted the consuls to suspend their deliberations, and allow the old man time to change his wrath into repentance, since one moment might give a new turn to affairs. At the same time the people, carrying with them the images of Agrippina and Nero, surrounded the senate-house; and, wishing happiness and prosperity to Tiberius, cried out incessantly, that the letters were counterfeit; and that the ruin of the prince's family was pursued against his will, and without his privity: nothing was therefore concluded that day.

*Sejanus's
letter to the
senate.*

*Tiberius's
second letter
to the
senate.*

*Agrippina
and Nero
condemned.*

In the mean time, several speeches were dispersed about the city, said to have been uttered in the senate against Sejanus by the consulars; but all fictitious, and filled with most bitter and satirical reflections. This insult exasperated Sejanus, who immediately upbraided the senate, in the sharpest terms, with despising the resentment of the prince; with listening to popular and disaffected harangues; and with passing new and unprecedented acts. He concluded, that nothing was wanted to complete their rebellion, but to take arms, and place at their head those whose images they had already chosen for their ensigns. Tiberius likewise wrote a second letter to the senate, repeating his reproaches against his grandson and daughter-in-law, and complaining of Rusticus, the senate, and the people, for insulting his authority, and despising his resentment; but, at the same time, he reserved to himself the final decision of the whole affair. The senate hesitated no longer; but instantly declared, that they were ready to inflict the deserved punishment on such as had, by their crimes, provoked his displeasure, provided he would allow them, on so just an occasion, to exert their authority. Agrippina was condemned, and banished to the island of Pandataria, now known by

the name of Santa Maria, opposite Tarracina and Gaeta. We are told, that, as she could not forbear reproaching Tiberius with cruelty, and bitterly inveighing against him, the centurion, to whose custody she was committed, gave her so many blows on the face, that he struck out one of her eyes^a. Nero, her eldest son, was likewise condemned, and banished to the island of Pontia, now Ponza, near that of Pandataria; and Drusus, her second son, by the same vile arts of Sejanus, declared an enemy to the state, and kept under close confinement in the palace. Nero died soon after, some say for want of necessaries, while others tell us, that the young prince, terrified at the sight of the executioner, who entered his room with the instruments of death in his hand, as if he had been sent by the senate, put an end to his life by voluntary abstinence^a. Agrippina and Drusus lived four years in exile, that is, to the year of Christ 33, when we shall have occasion to speak of their tragical end. Cn. Lentulus Gætulicus was this year appointed commander of the legions in Upper Germany; in which employment he was continued for the space of ten years^b.

The next consuls were L. Cassius Longinus and M. Vinicius. This year the senate decreed many extraordinary honours to Sejanus: among the rest; it was ordained, that his birth-day should be yearly celebrated; that his statues, which were erected in every quarter of the city, should be adored; and that vows and sacrifices should be offered for his safety. He became, after the disgrace and condemnation of Agrippina and her children, so powerful and formidable, that he was more respected and dreaded than Tiberius himself. As there was no access to honours but through his favour, the soldiers, the senators, and all the great men of the empire, were entirely at his devotion; so that, by their means, he was immediately informed of all the actions of the prince, while no one dared to discover to the emperor the ambitious designs and views of his minister^c. However, the emperor began to suspect him at last. Josephus tells us, that Antonia, the widow of his brother Drusus, having received private intelligence of the deep designs, and secret practices, of Sejanus, wrote a detail of them to the emperor, sending the letter to Capræ by Pallas, one of her most trusty domestics, the same who afterwards became so famous under the emperor Claudius^d. The emperor, thus warned of his danger, and recovering from his infatuation,

Extraordinary honours decreed to Sejanus.

Yr. of Fl.
2378.
A. D. 30.
U. C. 778.

Tiberius suspects him.

^a Suet. in Tiber. cap. 54. ^a Idem, cap. 53. ^b Dio, lib. liii. p. 657. ^c Idem, lib. lviii. p. 653. ^d Joseph. Antiq. lib. xviii. cap. 8.

began to consider how he might frustrate the ambitious views of his over-powerful minister, and deliver himself from the impending ruin. The prætorian cohorts were more attached to the minister than to the sovereign. The senate was entirely at his devotion; even those whom the emperor had about his person, were so many spies in the pay of Sejanus: so that Tiberius was kept in a kind of captivity, from which it was not easy to disengage himself: but he surmounted all difficulties with incredible address, which he thought it more adviseable to employ than open force, lest Sejanus, finding himself discovered, and thence driven to despair, should attempt to seize the empire.

He names him for his colleague in the consulship.

The first step he took was to remove him from Caprea: with this view he declared his intention of taking upon him the consulate the next year, and named Sejanus for his colleague. This declaration the haughty minister, not suspecting any snare, looked upon as the greatest mark of distinction the emperor could confer upon him. It is not to be doubted that he created him at the same time a senator; for Sejanus, five years before, when the emperor left Rome, was but a knight; and we have not, in the whole Roman history, an instance of a knight being raised to the consular dignity. In the end of the year, Tiberius dispatched Sejanus to Rome, to take possession of his new dignity, on the calends of January: but the emperor did not remove from his island, where he entered upon his fifth consulship, and held it to the fifteenth of May, when he resigned the fasces to Faustus Cornelius Sylla^e (O). As Tiberius continued to shew the same affection to Sejanus, the senate was, for the greatest part of the year, wholly employed in decreeing him new honours. His name was added to that of Tiberius in all inscriptions; new statues were erected to him, and victims slain before them: a decree passed, confirming the consulate to him and Tiberius for the term of five years; his house was

New honours conferred upon Sejanus.

^e Suet. lib. iii. cap. 26. Noris, Ep. Conf. p. 13. Grut. Inscript p. 1087.

(O) As the name of Sejanus was rased out of the consular tables, several writers of chronicles mark the name of Tiberius alone this year. Both he and Sejanus resigned the fasces before the consular year expired, the one to Faustus Cornelius Sylla, the other to Sex-

tidius Catullinus (1). L. Fulcinus Trio and L. Pomponius Secundus were substituted to them. The former held the consulate to the end of the year; but Pomponius resigned it, on the calends of October, to P. Maximus Regulus (2).

(1) Grut. p. 1087.

(2) Vide Pagi, An. 30.

crowded, from morning to night, with persons of all ranks; and the greatest men in Rome were not ashamed to court, with the meanest submissions, the favour of his slaves and freedmen. Tiberius, as Dio Cassius observes, might have been taken for the prince of his small island, and Sejanus for the sovereign of Rome. However, several prodigies are said to have happened at this time, which seemed to forebode the downfall of the favourite minister; but if any deity, says our historian, had revealed what happened soon after, no one would have believed him.

Tiberius, to sound the disposition of the senate and people, and discover the partisans of Sejanus, wrote frequent letters, acquainting the fathers, at one time, that he was greatly indisposed; at another, that he was perfectly recovered, and designed, in a short time, to return to Rome: in some of his letters he blamed, in others he commended, Sejanus. This conduct surprised the minister, and his friends, who insensibly began to abandon him, perceiving his authority with the prince in some degree diminished. The senate, however, conferred on him the proconsular power, on his relinquishing the consulship, which he resigned to Sextidius Catullinus. At the same time Tiberius honoured both him and his son with a place among the pontiffs; but could not, by any entreaties, be prevailed upon to give him permission to return to Capreæ. The pretence Sejanus alleged for such a permission, was to visit his future spouse, probably Livilla, the widow of Drusus, who was indisposed; but his real design was to secure the person of the prince, whose guards were all at his devotion. Tiberius, to keep him and the senate in suspense, returned no other answer to his earnest and repeated entreaties, than that he designed to come himself very soon to Rome.

*Is forsaken
by some of
his friends.*

*Tiberius
refuses him
leave to
return to
Capreæ.*

In the mean time he began to heap honours on Caius, surnamed Caligula, the only surviving son of Germanicus and Agrippina. This youth had accompanied his grandfather to Capreæ, and artfully concealed, under a deceitful appearance of modesty, his savage and inhuman temper. He had so well learnt to disguise his heart, that when his mother and both his brothers were condemned, not a word, not a groan, escaped him, though all arts were used to inflame his resentment. Young as he was, he suppressed, with the deepest dissimulation, all symptoms of tenderness and sorrow. He was so observant of Tiberius, that he made it his whole business to study the bent of his temper, and to submit to it in all things. He imitated his looks, affected

*The cha-
racter of
Caius Ca-
ligula.*

¹ Dio, lib. lviii. p. 623, 624. ² Idem ibid. p. 625.

his words and manner of expression, and conformed even to the change and fashion of his dress. Hence the observation of the orator Pasiemus, that never lived a better slave, nor a worse master.

*Honours
bestowed
on him by
Tiberius.*

Tiberius appointed him this year augur, in the room of his brother Drusus; and raised him, before he had entered upon that office, to the dignity of pontiff of Augustus, bestowing upon him the highest encomiums, as if he designed to appoint him his heir and successor. This promotion awakened the rage and jealousy of Sejanus, who could not forgive himself his past indolence. In the transports of his passion he condemned himself for not having taken arms, and openly revolted, when he was vested with the consular authority: he reflected, with the utmost anguish, on the many favourable opportunities he had neglected, to secure the person of the prince, and seize the empire; but the great joy the people testified at the preferments of Caius, deterred him, at present, from any attempts of that nature.

*The power
of Sejanus
insensibly
lessened.*

At the same time he had the mortification to behold some of his friends turned out of their employments, and his enemies placed in their room: but nothing mortified him so much as a letter from Tiberius to the senate, concerning the death of Nero; wherein he named Sejanus, without the encomiums and commendations which he constantly bestowed on him. Neither did he doubt but the emperor had him chiefly in view, when he exhorted the senate to renew and put in execution the decree, forbidding divine worship to be paid to any mortal man; for vows were every where made, and victims slain, before the statues of Sejanus: nay, this minister had arrived at such a height of arrogance, that he joined his adorers, and, with an impudence hardly to be matched, offered sacrifices to himself¹. After so many tokens of coolness in the emperor towards his favourite minister, many who had professed an inviolable friendship for him, began to withdraw, through fear of being involved in the calamities which they apprehended would soon overtake them, if they did not, by abandoning him in time, consult their own safety. The crowds which daily frequented his house, insensibly diminished: few persons, and those not of the first quality, attended him abroad; and no farther mention was made of him in the senate.

*Tiberius
resolves
upon his
destruction.*

This disposition of the Romans encouraged Tiberius to come to a final resolution, which was, to secure himself, without farther delay, against the dangers that threatened him, by the utter destruction of Sejanus and his friends.

¹ Dio, p. 625, 626.

To proceed in so nice an affair with all possible caution, and to prevent Sejanus from putting himself upon his defence, or taking any desperate measures, he declared, that he designed to invest him with the tribunitial power; but, in the mean time, privately gave the command of the prætorian guards to Nervius Sertorius Macro, one in whom he knew he could confide; and dispatched him to Rome, with a letter to the senate, after having communicated to him the contents of it, and carefully instructed him how to behave with respect to Sejanus and the senate. Macro entered Rome late in the night, and immediately imparted his orders to the consul P. Memmius Regulus, who had been substituted in the place of L. Pomponius Secundus; for the other consul, L. Fulcinius Trio, was a friend to Sejanus. Regulus, early next morning summoned the senate to assemble in the palace, whither Sejanus repaired, attended, according to his custom, by a detachment of the prætorian guards. As he entered the palace, he was greatly surprised to see Macro, the more because he had brought no dispatches for him from the emperor; but Macro whispered him in the ear, that he had brought letters to the senate, wherein the emperor recommended them to confer upon him the tribunitial power. Sejanus, overjoyed at these news, entered the palace, and there took his place in the temple of Apollo, where most of the fathers were already assembled.

*He writes
to the senate.*

Macro, having first shewn to the soldiers of the prætorian guard his commission from the emperor, appointing him to command them, in the room of Sejanus, and assured them, that Tiberius had ordered a very considerable sum to be distributed among them, took possession of his new office, by remanding the troops to their camp without the walls of the city. In their stead, Gracinus Laco, who was privy to the secret, and commanded the vigiles, that is, the troops appointed to watch all night and prevent disturbances, placed a strong detachment of his men at the gates of the temple. The fathers being assembled, Macro appeared before them, with the emperor's packet in his hand, which he had no sooner presented to the consuls than he withdrew, hastening to the camp, in order to prevent any disturbance that might happen in that quarter. Regulus read aloud the emperor's letter, which was long, and written with great craft and address; for after a preamble upon other matters, some complaints were made against Sejanus, which were immediately interrupted by quite different affairs; then followed other complaints, but without any bitterness of expression; so that Sejanus hitherto betrayed no great concern. When, at length, the emperor's orders were read, touching the execution

*The caution used by
Tiberius on
this occasion.*

*Tiberius
orders him
to be se-
cured.*

execution of two of his most intimate friends, who were privy to his ambitious and treacherous designs, he was struck with such terror, that he could not utter a single word in their behalf. Before he recovered from the consternation into which those fatal orders had thrown him, he heard, to his great surprize, another article relating to himself; wherein the emperor, in an angry style, enjoined the fathers to secure his person. The tribunes and prætors, immediately quitting their seats, placed themselves by him, to prevent him from making his escape and raising disturbances¹ (P). This article was no sooner read, than the whole temple resounded with curses and bitter invectives against the person on whom they had, a few minutes before, bestowed the highest commendations. Some inveighed against him, from the hatred they bore him, and others, through fear of being reckoned amongst his friends. Though all the senators declared against him, nevertheless, as he had many friends and relations among them, the consul Regulus thought it advisable not to propose condemning him to death, nor even to gather the suffrages of the whole assembly. He therefore only asked the opinions of some, whom he supposed the most impartial and unprejudiced; and finding they were for committing him to prison, he conducted him thither, attended by Gracinus Laco, and all the magistrates. A memorable instance of the vicissitude of fortune, and the instability of all human grandeur! He was followed from the palace to the prison by immense crouds, the populace loading him with curses, upbraiding him with the many murders he had committed, and insulting him with bitter sarcasms. His confusion was so great, that, not

¹ Dio, p. 626, 627. Juv. Sat. x. ver. 71—95.

(P) Suetonius tells us, that in this letter Tiberius betrayed a meanness of spirit altogether unworthy of a prince, begging, amongst other things, of the senate, that they would send one of the consuls, with a convoy of soldiers, to conduct to Rome a poor old man, forsaken by all. The same author adds, that he was under such apprehensions, that he had given private orders to Macro to set Drusus, in case of any disturbance, at liberty,

to present him to the senate and people, and even to declare him emperor. He had several ships ready to put to sea, and convey him to some of his legions, if his affairs at Rome should not take a good turn. He remained the whole time upon the top of a high rock, to know, by certain signals agreed on, what passed in the capital, fearing the messengers might betray him, or not bring him the news with the necessary expedition (1).

(1) Suet. in Tib. cap. 65.

able to bear these reproaches, he threw his robe over his head in order to cover his face; but the guards obliged him to shew himself to the multitude, eager to see him humbled; and to insult a tyrant who had so long trampled upon them. At the same time the populace, in a sudden transport, overturned and broke in pieces all his statues, those very statues which a few hours before they had adored.

Insulted by the people.

The same day the senate assembled the second time in the temple of Concord, near the prison; when the fathers, finding all quiet in the city by the care and vigilance of Macro, Granicus and the consul Regulus pronounced, without delay, sentence of death against Ælius Sejanus, accused and found guilty of high treason. The sentence was immediately put in execution, notwithstanding the late law, indulging ten days respite to every criminal after condemnation. His body was exposed, like those of common malefactors, on the Scalæ Gemoniæ, and afterwards abandoned to the rage of the populace, who dragged it for three days through the streets of Rome, and mangled it to such a degree, that the executioner could scarce find a limb entire to throw, according to custom, into the Tiber*.

Yr. of Fl.
2379.
A. D. 31.
U. C. 779.

Condemned and executed.

The death of Sejanus was followed by a general slaughter of his friends and relations. Tiberius, after having for a course of years cut off every man who was obnoxious to this execrable favourite, now destroyed every man who had been in his good graces. He spared none who was accused of having intelligence with Sejanus; and any circumstance, the most fortuitous, the most slight or foolish, served for proof of such intelligence. The streets of Rome were dyed with blood; persons of all ranks, without distinction of sex or age, were butchered, and their bodies cast into the public streets; neither their acquaintance nor kindred were allowed to approach or bewail them, nor even at last to behold them. Spies were placed every where to watch their countenances and the signs of sorrow; and when they putrefied and became noisome, and were thrown into the Tiber, whether they floated in the stream, or were cast upon the banks, no one ventured to give them the rites of sepulture.

The general slaughter of Sejanus's friends.

The chief friends and favourites of Sejanus, who could give the least umbrage, being to a man massacred, the senate ordered the two remaining children of the wicked minister to be executed, in order to cut off the whole family. Sejanus had three children, of whom the eldest son was already put to death, as Tacitus seems to insinuate; but we are quite in the dark as to the circumstances of his execution,

The execution of Sejanus's children.

* Dio, p. 627—629. Senec. de Tranq. cap. 11. Juv. Sat. x.

occasioned by the lamentable chasm in Tacitus's Annals, which has robbed us of the detail of many remarkable incidents. The unhappy children were immediately hurried to prison; the boy, sensible of his impending death, but the girl so ignorant of it, that she often asked whither they dragged her, and for what fault? adding, that if she had done any thing amiss, they might take the rod and whip her, and that she would do so no more. But the senate had no regard either to her age or innocence; she was, by the common executioner, strangled in prison with her brother, and the tender bodies of both first exposed on the *Scalæ Gemoniæ*, and thence dragged, with an iron hook, through the city, and thrown into the Tiber. We are told by some writers of that time, that as it was a thing unheard of to punish a virgin with death, the executioner despoiled her just before he tied the rope¹.

*Tiberius
more cruel
than ever.*

Every one hoped that after the execution of Sejanus and his accomplices, the reign of Tiberius would prove more mild, since to that powerful and cruel favourite they chiefly imputed the many executions which had occasioned such a dreadful havock of their best citizens: but when they expected some alleviation of their evils, they found themselves involved in greater calamities than ever, the emperor growing daily more cruel, and from this time commencing, as it were, an open enemy to his people, and delivering himself up to cruelty without restraint, and to every abomination, even to rapaciousness and plunder; a vice to which he hitherto seemed to have no inclination. No person, however virtuous and cautious, could be safe; for it was not enough for them to be upon their guard against the snares of the accusers, and the false reports of informers, but they were liable to be sacrificed to the jealousy and conjectures of the emperor, when they thought themselves secure by the innocence, not only of their actions, but even of their thoughts.

*Spare
nobody.*

He was under perpetual apprehensions of the great lords of the senate: their wealth and race, nay, their poverty, names, and quality, gave him offence: he was almost equally jealous of friends and enemies; those who advised him in council, those who diverted him at his leisure-hours, fell all, at length, victims to his furious and distrustful temper. He was so afraid of considerable men, and so unwilling to give them employments, that some, who were appointed governors of provinces, were never allowed to go thither; insomuch that great provinces, for a course of years, were left destitute of their governors, and abandoned to the

¹ Dio, lib. lix. cap. 9.

mercy of barbarous nations; Tiberius, choosing rather to suffer the insults and invasion of the enemy than trust any one with the power of avenging the state, and repulsing the public foe. This year Apicata, whom Sejanus had divorced, in hopes of marrying Livia or Livilla, the widow of Drusus, seeing the bodies of her children publicly exposed among those of the other criminals, acquainted Tiberius with the manner of his son Drusus's death, with an intention to torment him; and then laid violent hands on herself. Tiberius, who had ascribed his son's death to his own intemperance, and irregular life, was so transported with rage, when he understood he had been poisoned by a conspiracy of Livilla and Sejanus, that he resolved to exterminate all those who had ever shewn the least token of friendship to either ^m (Q). Such as he condemned in the island of Capreae, were from a rock thrown headlong into the sea, where a number of seamen were stationed, with their oars and long poles, to dispatch them. He suffered none to be executed, till they had undergone the most exquisite torments cruelty itself could invent; for he esteemed death as so slight a punishment, that when he heard one of his prisoners, named Carnullus, had killed himself, he cried out, "Carnullus has escaped me." One of his prisoners begging him to hasten his execution, "No (answered Tiberius), you and I are not yet such good friends." Notwithstanding the severity with which he punished others, Dio Cassius tells us, that he was inclined to pardon Livilla, his daughter-in-law, from regard to her mother Antonia; but that Antonia herself opposed such an unseasonable instance of mercy; so that Livilla was this year, by Tiberius's order, starved to death ^o.

Is informed of the secret of Drusus's death.

Various instances of his cruelty.

Livilla put to death.

In the following year, Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus and Furius Camillus Scribonianus being consuls, severe or-

^m Dio, lib. lxx. p. 623. lib. ix. p. 628.

ⁿ Suet. lib. iii. cap. 62.

^o Dio,

(Q) Suetonius tells us, that he applied himself to the examination of the affair so seriously, that word being brought him, while he was receiving the depositions of some witnesses, that an inhabitant of Rhodes was arrived, at whose house he had lodged, and whom he had invited by many kind letters, he immediately ordered him to be

put to the rack, having, at that time, nothing in his thoughts but blood, torments, and revenge. The same writer adds, that afterwards, when he was sensible of his mistake, he commanded the innocent Rhodian to be privately murdered, lest he should divulge the injury he had received.

dors were passed against the statues and memory of Livilla, and the senate decreed that the effects of Sejanus should be taken out of the public treasury, and placed in that of the emperor. This was the motion of Scipio, Silanus, and Cassius, the principal men in the senate, who all urged it almost in the same words, and with great zeal and eagerness. Tagonius Gallus moved, that Tiberius should choose twenty senators to wait upon him; under arms, and defend his person, as often as he entered the senate. The emperor, who was too wise to allow the senators arms, returned them thanks for such an instance of affection; but rejected, and even turned into ridicule, the motion, as well as the author of it; adding, that he did not think his life of such importance to have it thus guarded.

*The motion
of Gallio
resented by
Tiberius.*

*How his
flattery
was re-
warded.*

Junius Gallio moved, that the prætorian soldiers, after their term of service, should have the privilege of sitting in the theatre, among the Roman knights. This proposal was highly resented by Tiberius, who, in his letter to the senate, attacked Gallio with great warmth, demanding, as if he had been present, what business had Gallio with the soldiers, whose duty it was to observe only the orders of the emperor, and from the emperor alone to receive their rewards? Gallio, indeed, meant to flatter; but Tiberius highly resenting that motion, which, he affirmed, tended to corrupt the military discipline, and seduce the minds of the soldiers, he was instantly expelled the senate, and banished Italy. He chose the island of Lesbos for the place of his banishment; but the senate, thinking his exile would be too easy there, put him under close confinement, in the house of a magistrate. Such was the reward of his base flattery. At the same time the emperor demanded the death of Sextius Paconianus, who had conspired with Sejanus to compass the ruin of Caligula; but he escaped, by making an ample discovery of the plot, and naming all who were concerned in it. Among these was Latinus Latiaris, of whose detestable character we have already spoken. He was one of the most abandoned informers in Rome, and had procured the destruction of many illustrious citizens; but now met his just fate, being, to the great joy of the whole city, condemned and executed.

*Cotta. Mes-
salinus ac-
cused, and
by the fa-
vour of
Tiberius
discharged.*

The next person accused was Cotta Messalinus, the most forward man in the senate to gratify, on all occasions, the cruelty of Tiberius; and therefore universally hated. He was charged with having spoken contemptuously (R) of Caligula,

(R) He had traduced Caligula, as guilty of the most scandalous debaucheries, as a pathic as one destitute of all shame and modesty:

figula, Livia Augusta, and of Tiberius himself; and the charge was proved by men of the first rank in Rome. Cotta, appealing to Tiberius, a letter was soon after brought from him, in behalf of the criminal; wherein, after relating the beginning of his friendship with Cotta, and his many good services to himself, he besought the fathers not to wreathe into crimes words perversely construed, and humorous tales told at an entertainment (S). In consequence of this interposition, the fathers not only discharged Cotta, but inflicted on Cæcilianus the senator, who was the chief evidence against him, the same punishment which had been formerly decreed against the accusers of Lucius Arruntius, one of the most virtuous men in Rome; but what this punishment was, we find no where recorded.

While most men were renouncing the character of friends to Sejanus, a Roman knight, named Marcus Terentius, being accused on this account, owned the charge before the senate, in the following speech, which deserves to be recorded: "It would perhaps be more wise in me, conscript

*The noble
defence of
Marcus
Terentius.*

¶ Tacit. Ann. lib. vi. cap. 3—10. Suet. lib. iii. cap. 67.

modesty: in celebrating among the priests the birth-day of Livia, the emperor's mother, he had spoken of her with disrespect, without sparing Tiberius himself: in complaining of the great sway which Manius Lepidus and Lucius Arruntius, with whom he had a suit about money, bore in the senate, he had said, "They, indeed, will be supported by the senate, but I by my little Tiberius." These were the crimes alleged against him; and to any other the charge would have proved fatal; but as he studied in every thing to gratify the cruel temper of Tiberius, and was the author, as our historian tells us, of almost every bloody counsel, the emperor took him under his protection, and shewed that mercy to him, which he would have denied to the most worthy man in the senate.

ter was very remarkable; for he introduced it with the following words: "What to write to you, conscript fathers, or in what manner to write to you, at this time, if I know, may all the gods doom me to greater agonies than those under which I feel myself daily perishing!" Such were the horrors that haunted him, even among the rocks of Caprea; though hardly accessible to men, yet they could not keep off the avenging furies that pursued him, nor insure his tranquillity. This great prince, this sovereign of Rome, with his numerous armies, with his prætorian bands, and his unlimited power, was in hourly fear of secret assassins, incessantly racked by his own apprehensions; and consequently, with all the dignity of empire, the most miserable being in his dominions.

(S) The beginning of his let-

I am charged; but whatever be the result, I cannot, I will not, deny it. I therefore own, and publicly declare, that I was one of Sejanus's friends; that I courted and sought his friendship; that I gloried in it, after I had gained it. And what wonder that I did so? I saw Sejanus joined with his father in the command of the prætorian guards, and next governing the state and the soldiery, both as a minister and a general: his kinsmen and friends were raised to the first employments; as every man was in credit with Sejanus, he was favoured by Tiberius; such, on the contrary, as incurred his displeasure, were persecuted without mercy. Of this I need not give any instances. Sejanus therefore the Volturnian was not the man we courted, but Sejanus engrafted into the Claudian and Julian families; Sejanus, your son-in-law, O Cæsar! your colleague in the consulship, your favourite, and, under you, charged with the administration of the empire. It does not belong to us to judge, who he is whom you think fit to raise above the rest, nor on what considerations you have raised him. To you the gods have left the supreme disposal of all things, and to us the glory of obedience. We only behold the outward appearance of things;—we perceive upon whom you bestow wealth and honours, to whom you trust the greatest power of relieving or oppressing us, which no man can deny Sejanus to have had: but to pry into the secret thoughts of the prince, and the designs which he industriously conceals, is both unlawful and dangerous. Let us not, conscript fathers, fix our thoughts on the last day of Sejanus, but remember him for the space of sixteen years; during which time we adored such of his retainers as Satrius and Pomponius, and esteemed it a great honour to be acquainted with his porters and freedmen. I speak here of those only who were guiltless of his last designs. Let those be punished, who conspired with him against the state, who were privy to his wicked attempts upon the life of the prince; nothing can be more just: but as for us, who are charged only with offices of friendship, and instances of benevolence towards Sejanus, you cannot condemn us, O Cæsar, without condemning, at the same time, yourself."

who is absolved.

The freedom of this speech, and the joy that one was at last found, who had courage enough to declare aloud what they all thought in their hearts, had such a powerful effect upon the minds of the fathers, that Terentius was absolved, and his accusers, for this and other crimes, were condemned, some to banishment, and others to death¹. Tiberius

¹ Tacit. Ann. lib. vi. cap. 8; 9.

himself approved of the proceedings of the senate on this occasion, probably not daring to oppose a truth spoken with such liberty, and so generally applauded : but what induced him to dissemble an affront offered him, at this time, by L. Sejanus the prætor, probably one of the disgraced minister's kinsmen, is no easy matter to guess ; for the prætor, in the shews which he exhibited in virtue of his office, employed such only as were bald ; and disposed five thousand boys, all shaved, with torches in their hands, to light the spectators home. No person doubted but this was done to deride Tiberius, who was bald ; but, nevertheless, he took no more notice of it than if he had never heard of the incident.

Next came letters from Tiberius against Sextus Vestilius, formerly prætor, whom Tiberius had long since admitted into his friendship, from respect to his brother Drusus, to whom Vestilius was exceeding dear. He was accused of having composed a satire against Caligula, reproaching him with the lewdness of his life. Tiberius forbid him his table ; a disgrace which so affected him, that he resolved to destroy himself. Accordingly, having with a trembling and feeble hand, as he was very old, opened his veins, he bound them up, and wrote a letter to the prince, imploring his mercy ; but Tiberius returning him an angry answer, he opened them again, and bled to death. Not even women escaped the emperor's fury ; as they could not be charged with designs of usurping the sovereign power, their tears were made treasonable ; and Vibia, the mother of C. Fusius Geminus, consul three years before, was condemned and executed in her old age, for lamenting the death of her son, condemned by the senate. Neither did Tiberius spare his own friends ; for he sacrificed Vesularius Flaccus and Julius Marinus, two of his oldest friends, who had followed him to Rhodes, and even attended him at Caprea. The former had acted a chief part in the trial and condemnation of Libo Drusus ; and the latter had been employed by Sejanus to procure the ruin of Curtius Atticus. This year died Lucius Piso, who, being substituted to Taurus Statilius in the government of Rome, discharged that important office with such fidelity, that, by a decree of the senate, he was distinguished with a public funeral. He had obtained a triumph for his warlike exploits in Thrace, was universally esteemed and beloved, and nevertheless died, in the eightieth year of his age, by the course of nature ; a rare thing, as our historian observes, in a man of great parts, and of

*Tiberius
sacrifices
his own
friends.*

*Lucius Piso
dies.*

such an illustrious descent *. A motion was afterwards made in the senate by Quintilianus, tribune of the people, concerning a book of the Sibyl, which Caninius Gallus, one of the college of fifteen, had intreated might be received among the rest of that prophets. The decree passed without opposition; but Tiberius, in a letter to the senate, desired, that the book might first be examined by the quindecimvirs.

Other arraignments and executions.

This year the dearth of corn occasioned some commotions in the city, the people urging their wants in the theatre with great freedom, or rather licentiousness. Tiberius, alarmed at their boldness, censured, in a message to the senate, both them, and the magistrates for not quelling, by their authority, the mutinous populace. This reproach stimulated the fathers to pass a severe edict against rioters, and such as disturbed the public tranquillity. About the end of the year, Geminus, Pompeius, and Julius Celsus, all Roman knights, were arraigned of treason, and condemned. Geminus was indeed one of Sejanus's friends, but had never been trusted by him with his private designs; however, he was executed with Pompeius: but Celsus, by stretching his chain over his head, and straining with great violence against it, broke his neck, and escaped the infamy of a public execution †. This year Tiberius, having crossed the channel between Capræ and Surrentum, sailed along the coast of Campania, and, entering the Tiber, as if he designed to proceed to Rome, came as far as the gardens on that river, having first posted guards all along the banks, to keep off the multitude; but he advanced no farther, being ashamed of his cruelties and abominable lusts, and impatient to return to his gloomy rocks and beloved solitude, where he rioted, without check or controul, in the most infamous and unnatural debaucheries ‡.

The next consuls were, Servius Sulpicius Galba (T) and L. Cornelius Sylla Felix. This year Tiberius disposed of his

* Tacit. Annal. lib. vi. cap. 10, 11. Dio, lib. lviii. p. 633.

† Tacit. Ann. lib. vi. cap. 13, 14.

‡ Idem ibid. cap. 1. Suet.

in Tib. cap. 72.

(T) Servius Sulpicius Galba was afterwards raised to the empire. Suetonius observes, that he succeeded, in the consulship, En. Domitius, the father of Nero; and was succeeded by Salvius Otho, the father of the emperor of the same name. As

the name of Otho is not marked in the consular tables, Onuphrius, Cassiodorus, and the learned cardinal Noris, conclude, that he was substituted to Galba. Lucius Vitellius, one of the following year's consuls, was father to Aulus Vitellius,

his two grand-daughters, who were now of age, bestowing Drusilla on Lucius Cassius, and Julia on Marcus Vinicius. On this occasion he dispatched to the senate a short commendation of the young men; then touching upon the causes of his absence, and the hatred and ill-will he had drawn upon himself by his zeal for the republic, he desired, that Marco, commander of the prætorian guards, with some few tribunes and centurions, might always attend him into the senate. The fathers readily granted him his request, without any limitation either to the number or condition of the guards who were to accompany him: and they decreed, that whenever the prince came to the senate, all the senators should be searched, to prevent their carrying arms under their robes *. But notwithstanding the precaution, Tiberius never appeared in the senate, nor entered the walls of Rome, though he came sometimes to the very gates, for the most part by solitary and by-ways, and then retreated with much precipitation. Great disturbances being raised by the debtors, the emperor, to yield some relief, declared, that he would lend a hundred thousand great sesterces, for the term of three years, without interest, provided each borrower mortgaged, in land, double the value of what he borrowed: but this generosity did not in the least allay the public hatred which the emperor drew upon himself by his cruelties, many illustrious persons being this year condemned and executed, and many others banished, upon the most groundless suspicions (U).

Tiberius demands a guard.

So

* Tacit. Annal. lib. vi. cap. 15.

* Dio, lib. lvi. p. 633.

tellius, who was likewise emperor, and succeeded Otho. Tacitus tells us, that Tiberius having sent for Galba, during his consulship, and sitted him upon several subjects, he, at last, told him in Greek, that one day he should taste of empire, signifying thereby his short sovereignty (2).

(U) Among these, Confidius Proculus, while, void of all apprehension, he was celebrating his birth-day, was suddenly accused of treason, hurried to the senate, condemned, and executed. Pompeia Macrina was

sentenced to exile; her husband, and his father, two men of great distinction among the Greeks, were both executed; but her father, an illustrious Roman knight, and her brother, once prætor, prevented their execution by a voluntary death. The crime laid to their charge was, that Macrina's husband being descended from Theophanes, who had been one of the confidants of Pompey the Great, they had all paid divine honours to that illustrious Greek. The death of Sextus Marius, the most wealthy man in Spain, re-

(2) Tacit. Annal. lib. vi. cap. 20.

flected

*A general
massacre of
Sejanus's
friends.*

So many bloody executions, instead of satiating, served only to inflame Tiberius's cruelty; for this year he commanded all those to be put to death, without distinction of sex or age, who were confined under accusation of any attachment to Sejanus¹; inasmuch that twenty were executed on one day, and among them several women and children; their bodies were exposed on the Scaſe Gemoniæ, from thence, with iron hooks, dragged through the city, and then thrown into the Tiber. The butchery, ſays Tacitus, was dreadful and general; the carcaſes of the noble and ignoble lay expoſed to the ſun; thoſe of every ſex and age ſcattered up and down, or ignominiouſly thrown together in heaps; their ſurviving friends were not allowed to approach them, to bewail, or even behold them; but round the dead, guards were placed to watch the countenances, and obſerve the appearance of grief. When the bodies began to putrify, they were dragged to the Tiber, where they floated, or were driven upon the banks, no man daring to burn or touch them, the force of fear having cut off all intercourſe of humanity, and baniſhed every ſymptom of pity and tendereſs².

*The death
of Afinius
Gallus.*

Among the reſt who perished this year were three of the moſt illuſtrious perſons of the empire, Afinius Gallus, Drufus the ſon of Germanicus, and the celebrated Agrippina. Afinius Gallus was the ſon of the famous Afinius Pollio, one of Auguſtus's chief favourites, and married Viſpſania the daughter of Agrippa, after Tiberius had divorced her, to marry Julia: ſo that his children were brothers to Drufus, whom Tiberius had by Viſpſania, nephews to Agrippina, and nearly related to the Cæſars. Tiberius had long deteſted him, on account of his marrying Viſpſania, but, with his uſual diſſimulation, concealed his hatred till this period, when Gallus being, we know not about what buſineſs, diſpatched to him by the ſenate, he received him in a moſt obliging manner, but, at the ſame time, wrote to the ſenate, requiring his condemnation; ſo that the very day he was entertained as a familiar friend at the emperor's table at Capræ, he was condemned as a traitor at Rome, and a prætor was ſent to ſee the ſentence put in execution.

¹ Tacit. Ann. lib. vi. cap. 19.

² Idem ibid.

ſelected great diſgrace upon Tiberius; for though he was accuſed of inceſt with his daughter, and for that crime, as was pretended, thrown headlong from the Tarpeian rock, yet it was commonly believed, that his

immense riches had occaſioned his ruin; and, indeed, not without good grounds, Tiberius having, after his condemnation, appropriated to himſelf his mines of gold, though forfeited to the public.

cution.

cution. However, the inhuman tyrant would not allow him to be immediately dispatched, but caused him to be kept under close confinement, no one being suffered to come near him, except his guards, lest he should, by a voluntary death, put an end to his miseries. He perished at length, after three years painful confinement, through famine. The pleasure of the emperor being consulted; whether he would suffer him to be buried, he was not ashamed to reckon his allowing the last offices to be paid to him as a particular favour^a.

Drusus was condemned by the emperor to be starved; but protracted his life nine days, by feeding, for want of other sustenance, on the flocks of his bed. The inhuman monster, not satiated with the death of his grandson, pursued him even beyond the grave with cruel invectives; and, in a letter to the senate, charged him with many heinous crimes, ordering, at the same time, the minutes of his words and actions to be read; which had long and daily been registered by persons expressly appointed to observe his looks, and watch all his actions, and note down every expression, every complaint, he uttered. The recital of this journal filled all who heard it with horror: and, indeed, that a grandfather should appoint persons to notice all the actions, should have all the weaknesses, or crimes, of his grandson, registered by secret spies, and thus exposed to the world, argues such treachery and meanness, as would hardly be credited, were it not attested by the most eminent writers of antiquity. Tacitus quotes the letters of Actius the centurion, and Didymus the freedman, declaring particularly the names of the slaves appointed to abuse and provoke Drusus, with the several parts they acted, in order to extort from him complaints against Tiberius. The centurion to whose custody he was committed, being introduced to the senate, repeated, in the presence of the fathers, his outrageous language to the young prince; with the words uttered by that unfortunate youth, while suffering under the agonies of hunger.

He told them that Drusus, at first, pretending to be distracted, vented, in the style of a madman, dismal imprecations against Tiberius; but afterwards, finding his doom inevitable, he invoked, with great deliberation and sedateness, the vengeance of the gods, beseeching them, that, as Tiberius had massacred his daughter-in-law, his nephew, his grand-children, and filled with slaughter his whole house, so they would, in justice to the ancestors of

The death of Drusus.

The scandalous behaviour of Tiberius to him.

^a Tacit. Ann. lib. vi. cap. 23. Dio, lib. lvi. p. 622.

the slain, in justice to their posterity, avenge on this man of blood so many cruel and barbarous murders. The senators, hearing the centurion, broke out into loud exclamations, as if they detested those imprecations; but they were struck with amazement, in hearing the detail of the barbarities practised by the emperor's orders upon his grandson ^b.

*The death
of Agrippina.*

The death of the son was followed by that of the mother, which happened on the seventeenth of October. Agrippina had been confined before the disgrace of Sejanus, after whose execution she hoped Tiberius would use her and her son Drusus with more humanity; but finding him no less implacable than before, she ended her miseries, by abstaining from all food (X). The emperor observed to the senate, that she died on the same day on which Sejanus had been executed, two years before; adding that such a day ought to be particularly distinguished: nay, he boasted of his clemency, since he had not caused her to be strangled, and her body to be exposed on the *Scalæ Gemoniæ*, and thence dragged to the Tiber. For this instance of mock-mercy the senate solemnly thanked him, and, decreed, that, on the seventeenth of October, the day of the death of Agrippina and Sejanus, a yearly offering should be consecrated to Jupiter Capitolinus for ever ^c.

The death of Agrippina procured that of her declared enemy Plancina, the widow of Cneius Piso. She was guilty of many other crimes, besides that which was laid to her charge, of poisoning Germanicus. When her husband fell, she was protected by the solicitations of Livia, and also by the animosity of Agrippina, whom the spiteful Tiberius

^b Tacit. Ann. lib. vi. cap. 23, 24.
Suet. in Tiber. cap. 53.

^c Idem ibid. cap. 25, 26.

(X) Suetonius tells us, that, after she had taken a resolution to starve herself, Tiberius caused her mouth to be opened, and nourishment to be crammed down her throat. But Tacitus questions whether she abstained voluntarily from all food, or was denied it by Tiberius's orders; and a report was afterwards spread, that death had been her own choice. Be that as it will, her death did not put an end to the malice and cruelty of the

outrageous tyrant, who charged her with several abominable crimes, especially with adultery, as if she had maintained a criminal correspondence with Afrius Gallus; and, upon his death, became weary of life. But Agrippina's character, and known chastity, sufficiently cleared her from all imputations of that nature; for she had sacrificed, as Tacitus observes, to a manly ambition, all the passions and vices of her sex.

would

would not gratify with the death of a person whom she abhorred: but as there was now no farther room for favour or hatred, justice prevailed; and Plancina, being accused of crimes long since sufficiently proved, executed, with her own hand, that vengeance which was rather too late than too severe. Notwithstanding the pleasure Tiberius took in destroying the most illustrious families in Rome, yet he was sensibly affected with the death of Cocceius Nerva, though it was entirely owing to his cruelty. He was one of the most learned civilians in Rome, had been consul twelve years before, had attended Tiberius to Capræ, and was in high favour with him; so that he had no reason to be weary of life: but though thus in full prosperity of fortune, in perfect vigour of body, he resolved to die, and accordingly refused all nourishment. Tiberius, having learnt his design, did all that lay in his power to dissuade him from putting it in execution; examined his motives; and descended even to intreaties, declaring, that it would be a great affliction to him; that it would reflect disgrace upon him, and tarnish his reputation, if one of his most intimate friends, his inseparable companion, should thus shew himself weary of life. Notwithstanding the remonstrances and intreaties of Tiberius, Nerva persisted in his purpose, and ended his life by abstinence^d.

Plancina destroys herself.

The death of Cocceius Nerva.

This year Claudia, daughter to Marcus Silanus, a senator distinguished by his illustrious birth, and great eloquence, was married to Caius Caligula, the only surviving son of Germanicus. The people were no less pleased with this marriage than dissatisfied with that of Julia, the daughter of Drusus, and widow of Nero: she debased herself by marrying Rubellius Blandus, whose grandfather was a native of Tibur, and only a Roman knight^e.

This year, the thirty-third of the common æra, and nineteenth of Tiberius's reign, our Saviour was crucified, according to the opinion of the best chronologers. Phlegon, the emperor Adrian's freedman, who wrote sixteen books of the Olympiads, speaks of the darkness which happened at his death. He says, "There happened the greatest and most remarkable eclipse that ever had been known: at the sixth hour the day was suddenly turned into night, inasmuch that the stars were seen: at the same time an earthquake in Bithynia overturned many houses in the city of Nice." This darkness, which Phlegon calls an eclipse, happened, according to him, in the fourth year of the two

Yr. of Fl.
2381.
A. D. 33.
U. C. 785.

Christ crucified.

^d Tacit. Ann. lib. vi. cap. 26.

^e Idem ibid. cap. 27.

hundred and second Olympiad, which ended about the middle of the present year ^f.

*Several
persons ar-
raigned.*

In the following year, when Paulus Fabius Perficus, or, as some call him, Prifius, and L. Vitellius, were consuls, many eminent persons fell, either by their own hands, or those of the public executioner: among the rest Pomponius Labeo, and Marcus Æmilius Scaurus; the former, once governor of Mœsia, being charged with maladministration, and other crimes, prevented condemnation by opening his veins, his wife Paxea following his example; the latter, an able orator, a man of an illustrious descent, but a professed debauchee, was accused by Servilius and Cornelius of adultery with Livia the widow of Drusus, and of offering magical sacrifices: but his true crime was, the hatred Macro bore him; for Macro, who was, at that time, as much in favour with Tiberius, and no less vindictive than Sejanus, had been, informed the emperor, that Scaurus, in a tragedy which he had composed, described him, and displayed his cruelties, under the name of Atreus. The pretended criminal, before sentence was passed, laid violent hands on himself, encouraged to suicide by his wife, who died with him ^g. Servilius and Cornelius, his accusers, were soon after banished into different islands, for accepting a bribe, to drop the prosecution which they had begun against Varius Ligur. Abudius Ruso likewise, formerly ædile, was himself condemned, and driven out of Rome, while he attempted to effect the condemnation of Lentulus Getulicus, under whom he had commanded a legion, because he had espoused his daughter to a son of Sejanus.

*Lentulus
Getulicus
accused.*

Getulicus was, at this time, commander of the legions in Upper Germany, and by them extremely beloved, for his great mildness and clemency: he was likewise acceptable to the legions of Lower Germany, in consideration of their general Apronius being his father-in-law. Hence he was generally believed to have written to Tiberius that, not by his own inclination, but by his advice, he had sought the alliance of Sejanus; that he had been as liable to be deceived as Tiberius; and that it was not reasonable, a fault common to both should pass unblamed in one, and be punished in another. He added, that he had hitherto inviolably maintained the allegiance he owed him; and that he would continue unshaken in his fidelity to the last, provided no dark plots were framed against him; but that he would consider a successor as the messenger of death: and

*His bold
letter to
Tiberius.*

^f Orig. contra Celsum, p. 39, & 99. Edit. Græc. ^g Tacit. *ibid.* cap. 29.

therefore,

therefore, that they should form an agreement between them; by which the prince should enjoy the rest of the empire, and he always retain his province. This bold measure, however surprising, was believed, because, of all those who were attached to Sejanus, Getulicus alone escaped unhurt, and continued in favour to the last. Tiberius, sensible that he was universally hated, and that his authority was supported more by reputation than by force, durst not venture to attack a man who had both sufficient power and courage to defend himself ^b.

It was in the course of this year, if we believe Dio Cassius, *A counterfeit* or according to Tacitus, four years before this period, that *feit Drusus* a certain adventurer assumed the name of Drusus the son of Germanicus. He first appeared in the Cyclades, and soon after on the continent, attended by many of the emperor's freedmen, and by great crouds. of people, who flocked to him from all parts. Poppæus Sabinus, governor of Greece, and also of Macedon, where he was at that time, hearing the account, hastened to Nicopolis, a Roman colony, to obviate the evil consequences of such a report. There he learned, that this counterfeit Drusus, being carefully examined, had declared himself to be the son of Marcus Silanus; and that, many of his followers falling off, he had embarked, as if he designed to sail to Italy. Tacitus relates nothing farther concerning the origin, or issue, of that affair ¹ (Y).

In the following consulship of Cestius Gallus and M. Servilius Nonianus, the domestic evils continued, the cruelty of Tiberius being neither appeased by time, or the in-

^b Tacit. Ann. lib. vi. cap. 30.

¹ Idem lib. v. cap. 10.

(Y) Tacitus tells us, that in the consulship of Fabius and Vitellius, after many ages, the phoenix appeared in Egypt. He says it is a creature sacred to the sun; and that, as to its beak and feathers, it differs from all other birds; but, as to the length of its life, relations vary. The common opinion is, that it lives five hundred years: but there are not wanting some who extend its life to 1461. According to tradition, the true phoenix, having completed a certain course of years, builds, just before its death, a nest in its native land, upon which it sheds a generative power; whence springs up a young one, whose first care, when grown up, is to bury its father. This it does not undertake unadvisedly, but first tries its strength, by gathering, and carrying a great way, loads of myrrh. When it finds itself equal to the burden, and fit for a long flight, it takes upon its back its father's body, carries it to the altar of the sun, and there burns it (1).

(1) Tacit. Ann. lib. vi. cap. 28.

numerable victims he had already sacrificed : he still pursued, with fresh rage, stale and dubious imputations, punishing them as recent, heinous, and proved crimes (Z). In the end of the year died Poppæus Sabinus, who had been consul under Augustus, had acquired triumphal honours, and governed during the space of twenty-four years the two Mœrias ; to which governments Tiberius had added, in the second year of his reign, Macedon and Achaia ^k.

*Several
other per-
sons of dis-
tinction put
to death.*

In the following year, Q. Plautius and Sextus Papinius Allenius being consuls, Lucius Aruseius, and several others, were condemned, and executed. Such executions were now become so frequent and familiar, that they were very little regarded ; but that of Vibulenus Agrippa, a Roman knight, struck every person with terror and amazement. After his accusers had finished their pleadings against him,

^k Tacit. Ann. lib. vi. cap. 38, 39. Dio, p. 637.

(Z) The most distinguished persons who perished this year, were Fulcinus Trio, Granius Martianus, Tatus Gratianus, Trebellienus Rufus, and Sextus Pacionianus. Trio, who was consul the year in which Sejanus was executed, being accused of having been privy to the treacherous designs of that minister, made his last will ; in which he compiled a long charge of iniquities and dreadful invectives against Macro, and the emperor's chief freedmen, not sparing the prince himself, whom he styled an old dotard, and, on account of his long absence, a despicable exile. Granius Martianus, the senator, being charged with treason by Caius Gracchus, laid violent hands on himself. No wonder, that voluntary deaths should be so common at Rome ; for all those who fell by the hand of the executioner forfeited their estates with their lives, and

were debarred the honour of burial ; their bodies were publicly exposed to the insults of the populace, dragged through the streets with iron hooks, and thrown into the Tiber. The bodies of such as by a voluntary death prevented condemnation, were interred ; their wills remained in force ; and their estates devolved to their children (1). Tatus Gratianus, who had been prætor, was for the same charge sentenced to death, and also Trebellienus Rufus, who had been likewise prætor, and formerly appointed by the senate guardian to the sons of Cotys, king of Thrace ; but he prevented condemnation by a voluntary death. Pacionianus, who had been chosen by Sejanus to contrive the overthrow of Caligula, was, after three years confinement, strangled in prison, for verses made there against Tiberius (2).

(1) Tacit. Annal. lib. vi. cap. 29. Dio, lib. lviii. p. 630. Suet. in Tib. cap. 53. (2) Tacit. Annal. lib. vi. cap. 38, 39. Dio, p. 626.

he pulled out poison, which he had concealed under his gown, and swallowed it in open senate. He immediately fell; but, nevertheless, was hastily dragged by the lictors to the dungeon, where, though ready to expire, he was strangled by the common executioner. Caius Galba, a consular, and brother to the emperor of this name, with the two Blæsi, fell by their own hands; Galba, upon the receipt of a letter from the emperor, forbidding him to cast lots for the government of a province; and the Blæsi, because Tiberius bestowed their priesthoods, as vacant dignities, upon others; this hint they took as a signal of death, and obeyed it.

Tigranes, grandson to Herod king of Judæa by his father Alexander, and to Archelaus king of Cappadocia by his mother Glaphyra¹, who had himself reigned some time in Armenia, was accused like a private citizen, and, without any regard to the royal dignity, condemned, and executed, with the other pretended criminals. This prince, and his elder brother Alexander, had renounced the Jewish, and embraced the Pagan religion, in complaisance to their grandfather Archelaus. Agrippa their cousin-german was, in the month of September, dragged to prison, loaded with chains, and kept under close confinement, till the death of Tiberius.

The same year, the city suffered greatly by an inundation of the Tiber, and by fire, which burnt down that part of the circus which was contiguous to Mount Aventine, and all the buildings on the mount itself. Tiberius paid the value of the houses destroyed, and expended, in this bounty, a hundred thousand great sesterces. To make an estimate of every man's loss, he appointed his four sons-in-law, Cneius Domitius, Cassius Longinus, Marcus Vinicius, and Rubellius Blandus, assisted by Publius Petronius, nominated by the consuls².

The generosity of Tiberius on occasion of a fire.

The next consuls, and the last under Tiberius, were Cneius Acerronius Proculus and Caius Pontius Nigrinus, or, as Suetonius calls him, Niger. The emperor was now in the seventy-eighth year of his age, without having been ever once indisposed since his accession to the empire, though he neglected, and was even used to ridicule, the rules and prescriptions of physicians, and such as, after the age of thirty, wanted to be informed by them what helped or hurt their constitutions. At length he was taken ill at Astura, between Antium and Cerceii, as he was return-

Tiberius is taken ill.

¹ Joseph. Antiq. lib. xviii. cap. 7. cap. 45. Dio, lib. lviii. p. 638.

² Tacit. Ann. lib. vi.

ing to Capreae from the neighbourhood of Rome. However, he proceeded to Circeii, where, to dissemble his indisposition, he not only assisted at the military games, but even threw darts, and killed a boar with his own hand. From Circeii he advanced to Misenum; and finding his strength began to fail, took up his residence in a villa near the promontory which once belonged to the celebrated Lucullus. In order to conceal his indisposition, which was now very visible, he exerted the same vigour of mind, the same energy in discourse, and even affected sometimes to be gay^a.

Lucius Arruntius accused.

The course of executions was not interrupted at Rome by the emperor's illness. Acutia, once the wife of Publius Vitellius, being charged with treason by Lælius Balbus, was condemned. Afterwards Albucilla, who had been married to Satrius Secundus, a woman infamous for her amours and debaucheries, was accused of devising charms against the life of Tiberius. In the same charge was involved, as her accomplices and adulterers, Cneius Domitius, Vibius Marſus, and Lucius Arruntius, persons distinguished by their birth and employments: but, as the minutes transmitted to the senate imported, that Macro had presided in the examination of the witnesses and torture of the slaves, and these were not accompanied by any letter from Tiberius against the accused, the fathers suspected, that, while he was ill, the accusations were forged by Macro, an inveterate enemy to Arruntius. However, that brave Roman chose to die; notwithstanding the entreaties of his friends, who represented that the emperor's death, which was hourly expected, would deliver him from the present danger: he answered, that there was no prospect of better times in the reign of Caligula, bred up under the tuition and example of the infamous Macro; he therefore caused his veins to be opened, and bled to death^b.

His death.

Such was the end of Lucius Arruntius, a man of illustrious descent, great fortune, and extraordinary accomplishments. Domitius, by pretending to prepare for his defence, and Marſus, by resolving to end his life by abstinence, outlived Tiberius, and escaped the present danger. Albucilla attempted to destroy herself; but the blow proving ineffectual, she was, by order of the senate, dragged to prison, and there executed. Against the accomplices of her debaucheries, it was decreed, that Grafidius Sacerdos, formerly prætor, should be banished to an island; and that

^a Tacit. Ann. lib. vi. cap. 50. Suet. cap. 72. Joseph. lib. viii. cap. 8.

^b Tacit. Annal. lib. vi. cap. 48.

Pontius Fregellanus and Lælius Balbus, both senators, should be degraded. About the same time Sextus Papius, of a consular family, ended his life, by throwing himself from an eminence, to avoid the impure solicitations of his own mother; who was thereupon accused, but only banished Rome for ten years, till her younger son had passed the dangers of youth ^p.

Tiberius having read, in the journal of the senate, that some prisoners had been discharged, because he had only written, that informations were lodged against them, without mentioning witnesses, transported with rage, resolved to return to Capreae, and there, as in a place of safety, revenge the affront; but the bad weather, and his distemper, detained him, against his inclination, at Misenum ^q. However, he still hoped to overcome his present indisposition, depending upon the predictions of Thrasyllus, which he considered as so many oracles (A): that famous astrologer,

^p Tacit. Annal. lib. vi. cap. 49.

^q Suet. in Tib. cap. 73.

(A) Tiberius, during his retirement at Rhodes, applied himself chiefly to the study of judicial astrology, under the direction of Thrasyllus, whose skill in that art he proved by the following trial: he led him to a house built on the top of a steep rock, by the sea-side, and there minutely consulted him about various events. Thrasyllus gave satisfactory answers to all his questions; assured him that he should be soon raised to the empire; and foretold many revolutions, which afterwards happened, as they had been predicted. Tiberius, struck with amazement, asked him, whether he had calculated his own nativity, and could thence foresee what was to befall him the same year, nay, that very day? The reader is to be informed, that the way to the above mentioned house lay cross solitary rocks, and dreadful precipices; and that Tiberius, if

he suspected the predictions of any astrologer he consulted to be false, used, on his return, to throw him into the sea. This had been the fate of several, who, unskilled in the art they professed, had attempted to impose upon him with false predictions. Thrasyllus, therefore, when the above mentioned question was put to him, surveying the positions of the stars, and calculating their aspects, began, at first, to hesitate, then to tremble; and the more he meditated, the more he appeared dismayed with wonder and dread: at last he cried out, that just then he was threatened with a danger very near fatal. At these words Tiberius congratulated him upon his foresight of dangers, and his security from them; and thenceforth, esteeming his predictions as so many oracles, held him in the rank of his most intimate friends (1).

(1) Tacit. Annal. lib. vi. cap. 20.

A a 3

having

*Tiberius
endeavours
to hide his
dissemp.*

having assured him, that he was to live ten years longer, either deceived himself, or designed to deceive Tiberius, that he might not hasten the execution of those who were in prison. Many were indebted to Thrasyllus's prediction for their lives^{*}; for Tiberius, relying upon it, pursued his former course of life, without even relinquishing his shameful debaucheries, or mentioning his distemper to any physician: however, Charicles, an eminent man in that profession, who always attended him, pretending to depart upon some private affair, under the appearance of kissing his hand as he went out of the room, touched his pulse. Tiberius, suspecting the artifice, instantly ordered the entertainment to be served up, persuaded Charicles to sit down again, and continued himself at table longer than usual, as if he meant that honour only for a farewell to his friend, but in reality to feign health, and hide his weakness. When the entertainment was over, he did not forget his old custom; but standing in the middle of the room, with an officer by him; he called them all by their names, and took his leave of each of the guests in particular, as if he had been in perfect health. Nevertheless, Charicles assured Macro, that the emperor declined apace, and that he could not exist two days longer: hence the whole court was filled with close consultations; and expresses were sent to the generals and armies[†].

*Is puzzled
about settling the
succession.*

Tiberius had no surviving children of his own; he had indeed a grandson, the son of Drusus, named Tiberius Nero, and surnamed Gemellus, or the Twin, because born at a birth with another, who died in his infancy. Caius, surnamed Caligula, was his grandson too, but only by adoption, he being the son of his nephew Germanicus, whom he had adopted by order of Augustus. Hence he was at a loss to which of the two he should bequeath the empire. The son of Drusus was nearer in blood, and far more dear to him; but too young to govern such a mighty empire, being at this time in the seventeenth year of his age. Caius was in the flower and vigour of youth; and greatly beloved by the people, which was a sufficient motive for his grandfather to hate him. In this perplexity, the emperor thought even of Claudius, who was his nephew, and brother to Germanicus; but the weakness of his understanding seemed an insurmountable obstacle; for he had been hitherto reckoned incapable of any public employment. To choose a successor from any other family than his own, was disgracing,

^{*} Dio, lib. lviii. p. 638.
Suet. in Tib. cap. 72, 73.

[†] Tacit. Annal. lib. vi. cap. 59.

and,

and, in a manner, insulting the name of the Cæsars, and the memory of Augustus; for he had more at heart the grandeur of his race, than the welfare and security of the Roman state; so that his mind still wavering, and his strength decaying, he left the imperial dignity to the decision of fortune[†] (B).

The

† Tacit. Ann. lib. vi. cap. 46.

(B) Suetonius assures us, that two years before his death, he made his will; of which there were two copies, one under his own hand, the other written by one of his freedmen; but both to the same purpose, and witnessed by persons of no rank or distinction. By that will he left coheirs Caius his grandson by Germanicus, and Tiberius by Drusus, both in equal portions, and substituting them successively (1); for Dio Cassius tells us in express terms, that the prince left the empire, by his last will, to young Tiberius also; that he took care to make this his last disposition well known, and even caused it to be read by Macro in the senate (2). Suetonius likewise, in his life of Caligula, writes, that the senate and people unanimously declared Caligula sole emperor, contrary to the express will of Tiberius, who had left him but his coheir with another of his grandchildren, who was then under age, and still in his prætexta (3). Philo the Jew assures us, that young Tiberius was left coheir of Caius, and his colleague in the sovereignty; and adds, that Tiberius, if he had lived a little

longer, would have cut off Caius, and left the empire to his grandson, without either a partner, or a rival (4). Caius, doubting of the inclination of Tiberius, left no measure untried to secure the empire by other means: he even debased himself so far, as to court the favour of Ennia Nævia, the wife of Macro, with the promise of marriage, as soon as he attained the sovereign power. His view in this was to engage in his interest her husband, whose credit with the emperor was known to be great (5). Tacitus and Dio Cassius tells us, that after the death of Claudia, who had been espoused to Caligula, Macro himself, to make his court to him, obliged his wife to sacrifice her honour to his ambitious views, and to secure the young prince by a promise of marriage (6). Tiberius would have cut him off, instead of naming him for his successor, had not Macro diverted him from this design, by excusing the faults of the young prince, by ascribing to modesty his seeming want of parts, and assuring the emperor, that he had a great respect and affection for his grandson Tiberius (7). Ma-

(1) Sueton. in Tiber. cap. 76.

(3) Suet. in Calig. cap. 14.

(5) Suet. in Calig. cap. 12.

Dio, lib. lvi. p. 639.

(2) Dio, lib. lix. p. 640.

(4) Phil. Legat. p. 1002—1004.

(6) Tacit. Ann. lib. vi. cap. 43.

(7) Phil. Legat. cap. 4. p. 997. 998.

*Caius too
eager to
possess the
empire.*

Yr. of Fl.
2385.
A. D. 37.
U. C. 785.

*Death of
Tiberius.*

The emperor's strength failing him daily, on the sixteenth of March he fell into a swoon, which lasted so long, that he was believed to have finished his course. Caius, on this supposition, produced himself abroad, in the midst of a great throng of persons of all ranks, who came to pay him their congratulations upon his accession to the throne; but in the height of his joy, sudden notice was brought him, that Tiberius had recovered his sight and voice, and had called for some refreshment to recruit his fainting spirits. This unexpected intelligence struck all with dread and horror: the crowd about Caligula instantly dispersed; and the young prince himself, trembling, speechless, and unable to move, stood expecting immediate death, instead of empire. Macro alone continued undisturbed; and ordering the apartment to be cleared, caused the weak old man to be smothered with a weight of coverings, under pretence of keeping him warm^u. Tiberius died, according to Tacitus^w, and Suetonius^x, on the sixteenth, according to Dio Cassius^y, on the twenty-sixth of March; so that he reigned, from the death of Augustus, twenty-two years,

^u Tacit. Annal. lib. vi. cap. 50, et seq. Dio, lib. lviii. p. 639.

^w Tacit. ibid. cap. 59.

^x Suet. cap. 73.

^y Dio, ubi supra.

cro's partiality for Caius was not unknown to Tiberius, who upbraided his minister with it, telling him, that he "neglected the setting sun, and courted the rising." On several other occasions, he dropped certain words, which plainly shewed, that he foresaw what would happen after his death. As one day Caius ridiculed Sylla upon some occasional discourse, Tiberius told him, that he would have all the vices of Sylla, and none of his virtues. At another time, a debate arising between the two young princes, the emperor embraced, with many tears, his little grandson; and addressing himself to Caius, who, at this demonstration of kindness, betrayed great sternness in his countenance; "Thou

(said he), wilt one day murder him, and another will murder thee" (8). This he foretold, not from skill in astrology, but from his sagacity, and thorough knowledge of mankind (9).

According to Josephus, Tiberius left the empire to Caius alone; according to Dio Cassius and Suetonius, to Caius and Tiberius jointly; and, according to Tacitus, to neither, but to the decision of fate, that is, to the person for whom fate or destiny reserved it. The authority of Tacitus is of great weight with us, especially in what he relates here; since all authors agree in describing Tiberius as a fatalist, or one who was persuaded, that all things were governed by fate.

(8) Phil. Legat. p. 1004. Tacit. Annal. lib. vi. cap. 46. Dio, lib. lviii. p. 636.

(9) Joseph. Antiq. lib. xviii. cap. 8. Suet. in Tiber.

six months, and twenty-six days, or ten days more, as Dio relates. He was, at his death, in the seventy-eighth year of his age, which he had entered four months, and nine, or at most nineteen days ^z.

Though he had, the preceding year, highly obliged the city, by his bounty, on occasion of a fire, yet the news of his death were received with the greatest demonstrations of joy, the populace running up and down the streets in crowds, and crying, "Throw the tyrant into the Tiber!" or beseeching their mother earth, and the infernal gods, to vouchsafe him no place but among the impious: some threatened to drag his vile carcase to the Gemoniæ, and there expose it to the rage and fury of the multitude; provoked not only by his past cruelties, but by an instance of his barbarity, which took place even after his death; for whereas, by the decree we have spoken of above, it was provided, that no criminal whatsoever should be executed till the tenth day after sentence pronounced, that term happening to expire, with respect to several persons, on the same day the news of Tiberius's death reached Rome, they earnestly begged for a farther reprieve, not doubting but Caius would grant them their lives and liberty: but as he was absent, and no one else at Rome, to whom any petition in their behalf could be addressed, the keepers of the prison strangled them of their own authority, and exposed their bodies to public view: which cruel action increased the hatred of the people against Tiberius, as if his cruelty had outlived him ^a. Several others, however, were saved; for the emperor dying before the term of their reprieve expired, they had time to apply to his successor, who set them at liberty ^b.

Joy of the people at his death.

The body of the deceased emperor was carried from Misenum to Rome, by the soldiers of the prætorian guards, where it was burnt with the usual solemnity, Caius, who had never abandoned the body, pronouncing the funeral oration; in which he spoke little of Tiberius, but greatly extolled Augustus and Germanicus, without forgetting himself. He had written to the senate before, acquainting them with the death of the emperor, and his accession to the empire; and requiring them, at the same time, to decree those honours to Tiberius which they had formerly bestowed on Augustus. The senate, not yet acquainted with the inclination of the new emperor, postponed the affair till his arrival, when he took no farther notice of what he

His body conveyed to Rome, and there burnt.

^z Tacit. Ann. lib. vi. cap. 31.

^a Suet. in Tiber. cap. 75.

^b Dio, lib. lxxiii. p. 633.

*His character
from Tacitus.*

had written; but causing the body to be brought into the city in the night-time, exposed it the next day, and then ordered it to be burnt, without any extraordinary pomp or honours^c. As for his character, every reader may draw it after the detail we have given of the most remarkable actions of his life: however, to what we have already said, we shall subjoin the words with which Tacitus closes the history of his reign. "Tiberius (says he) was deservedly esteemed by all while he was a private man, or commanded under Augustus: with great address he feigned virtue, while Germanicus and Drusus lived: he bore a mixed character of good and evil till the death of his mother: he did not disguise his execrable cruelty, but concealed his lewdness, while he loved and feared Sejanus; at last he abandoned himself to all kinds of wickedness, being no longer restrained either by shame or fear, but following his own execrable disposition^d (C)." Many eminent writers flourished in his reign, of whom we shall give a succinct account, not to interrupt the thread of our history, in our notes (D).

As

^c Dio, lib. lix. p. 642.

^d Tacit, Ann. lib. vi. cap. 51.

(C) Tiberius was an eloquent and ready speaker, and in his writings imitated Messala Corvinus, a famous orator; but his affectation rendered his style perplexed and obscure. He wrote a lyric poem, intitled, *A Complaint on the Death of Lucius Cæsar*, which was greatly esteemed; and several Greek pieces, in imitation of Euphron, Rhianus, and Parthenius, poets whom he admired above the rest, and whose statues he caused to be dedicated, in the public libraries, amongst those of the most celebrated writers. The Greek tongue he spoke with great readiness and ease, but used it very seldom. He betrayed, even from his infancy, manifest tokens of a cruel, savage, and untractable temper; whence Theodorus Gadareus, who taught him the first rudiments of learning, used to call him, "A mass of clay

tempered with blood." He never forgave free speakers, never could endure men of a bold spirit, whom, first or last, he pursued to destruction; but at the same time he abominated flattery, when he knew it to be so: whence it was dangerous, says Tacitus, to practise no flattery, and dangerous to practise too much. As he was a man of great penetration, and endowed with extraordinary talents both for civil and military employments, he would have made a great figure in the times of the republic, supported the dignity of a senator, discharged with credit the first offices of state, and, in all likelihood, died in renown, and left behind him a high reputation.

(D) These were, Velleius Paterculus, of whose history the far greater part is lost; what still remains of it comprehends the ancient history of the Greeks,

As Caius, surnamed Caligula (E), was greatly beloved both by the senate and people, on account of the extraordinary

Greeks, and that of the Romans, from the defeat of Perseus to the seventeenth year of Tiberius's reign. He is thought to have written with candour and impartiality till the times of the Cæsars; in whose favour he miserably perverts truth, or utterly suppresses it. What he writes of Tiberius ought rather to be styled a fulsome panegyric than a history. His chief hero, after Tiberius, was the favourite minister Sejanus, on whom he bestows the highest encomiums, not foreseeing the doom that hung over his head, and soon after overtook him. Some writers think that Velleius himself fell with Sejanus, as a friend, if not an accomplice, of the traitor whom he so undeservedly commended. He was of an equestrian family, which came originally from Campania. He served nine years under Tiberius, first as military tribune in Thrace and Macedon, and afterwards in quality of commander of the legionary horse in Germany. As to his civil employments, he was honoured with the quaestorship, the prætorship, and, as some writers conjecture, with the consulate; which was not improbable, since he was in great favour both with Tiberius and Sejanus (1).

Valerius Maximus, who left behind him a collection of the memorable actions and sayings of the ancients, wrote about the latter end of Tiberius's reign, after the fall of Sejanus,

as is manifest from his own words, and from those of the ancients who quote him. His style, which has nothing of the purity of the age he is supposed to have lived in, has prompted some to imagine that his writings are of a much later date.

Strabo, whose seventeen books of geography are so much and so deservedly admired by the learned, observes, in his sixteenth book, that the kingdom of Comagene had been but very lately reduced to a Roman province. This happened, according to the opinion of the best chronographers, in the eighteenth year of the Christian æra, and the fifth of Tiberius's reign: so that we may reasonably suppose Strabo, who was then very old, to have ended both his work and his life before the death of Tiberius. He wrote other books, but none of them have reached us.

Dionysius, the geographer, who wrote a description of the earth in Greek verse, died, according to Vossius, in the reign of Tiberius.

Phædrus, who translated into Latin verse the fables of Æsop, was, according to Vossius (2), a native of Thrace, and one of Augustus's freedmen, and died in the reign of Tiberius.

Thraſyllus, the astrologer, was well versed in several other sciences, especially in Plato's philosophy. The emperor Julian assures us, that Thraſyllus acquired more fame by the

(1) Vide Voss. Hist. Lat. lib. i. cap. 24. cap. 2.

(2) Voss. Poet. Latin.

Caius Caligula Caesar declared emperor, with full power.

dinary merit of his father Germanicus, and the injuries done to him and his family, news were no sooner brought that he was advancing from Misenum with the corpse of the deceased emperor, than persons of all ranks and ages crowded out to meet their new sovereign. At his entrance into the city he was received with new names of honour, and all possible demonstrations of real affection. The senate immediately assembled; and the people, thronging into the hall with the senators, he was, by universal consent declared emperor, with the most extensive power, contrary to the express will of Tiberius, who had left him coheir with his grandson Tiberius, then under age, and in his prætexta. The joy for his accession to the imperial throne was not confined to the narrow bounds of Rome and Italy, but reached the most distant provinces; insomuch that, in the space of three months, a hundred and sixty thousand victims were slain on that occasion within the limits of the empire.

Honours the memory of his mother and brothers.

He had no sooner paid his last duty to the remains of his grandfather, than he hastened into the islands of Pandataria and Pontia, where he gathered, with great piety, the bones and ashes of his mother and brother Nero, brought them to Rome, and caused them to be deposited, with extraordinary

• Dio, lib. lix. p. 640—644. Suet, in Calig. cap. 14.

books he left behind him, than by his great credit with Tiberius (3).

L. Feneftella, the poet and historian, died towards the latter end of Tiberius's reign. He seems to have been greatly esteemed by the ancients (4); but some are of opinion, that none of his works have reached our times. The treatise of the Roman magistrates, which goes under his name, is of a later date, and generally ascribed to Andrea Domenico Flocco, a native of Florence.

Verrius Flaccus, a celebrated grammarian, and præceptor to Caius and Lucius Cæsars, died in the reign of Tiberius, extremely old (5).

(R) Caius, says Tacitus, was born in the camp in Germany, nursed in the arms of the legions, and by them named Caligula; a military term, from the boots which, of the same fashion with their own, in compliment to them, and to gain their affections, he frequently wore (6). The surname of Caligula, says Suetonius (7), was given him by the legions, because he was brought up amongst them in the habit of a common soldier; in consequence of which education, he was, to such a degree beloved by them, that, upon a mutiny, after the death of Augustus, his presence appeased them when in the height of their fury.

(3) Julian. Auguft. ad Themist. Hier. in Chron. Ann. lib. i. cap. 41.

(5) Suet. in Gramm. cap. 17.

(7) Suet. cap. 9.

(4) Plin. lib. xxxiii. cap. 11.

(6) Tacit.

pomp, in the maufoleum of Auguftus. All the decrees of the fenate ifſued againſt them, and againſt Drufus, who died at Rome, were annulled: and a ſtately villa on the ſea-ſide, where Agrippina had, for ſome time, been kept under confinement, was levelled with the ground, that no monument might remain of her misfortunes^f. Public ſacrifices were appointed by the ſenate to be yearly offered, to perpetuate their memory; ſolemn games in the circus, and chariot-races, were inſtituted in honour of his mother, in which her image was to be carried amongſt thoſe of the gods; and the month of September was, by a decree of the ſenate, to be thenceforth called by the name of his father, Germanicus.

Having thus ſignalized his piety towards his father, his mother, and his brothers, he honoured his grandmother Antonia with the name of Auguſta, appointed her prieſteſs of Auguſtus, granted her all the privileges enjoyed by the Veſtals, and all the marks of diſtinction which had ever been conferred upon Livia, either by Auguſtus or Tiberius. The privileges of the Veſtals he likewise granted to his ſiſters Agrippina, Drufilla, and Livilla or Julia (F); and ordained, that their names ſhould be added to his, in all ſolemn oaths, with this clauſe: “Neither am I dearer to myſelf, nor are my children dearer to me, than Caius Cæſar and his ſiſters.” To all the public acts the following form was ordered to be prefixed: “May it prove fortunate and happy to Caius Cæſar and his ſiſters!” All the papers, registers, and records which Tiberius had left, relating to the proceedings againſt his mother and brothers, he cauſed to be brought publicly into the forum, and there committed to the flames, after having ſolemnly called the gods to witneſs, that he had never read nor even opened them. This ſtep he took, as he then declared, that no room might be left for fear or apprehenſions in thoſe who had been the occaſion of the misfortunes which beſet them. However, as they were all afterwards, to a man, cut off, under the imputation of various crimes, it was commonly believed, that he had burnt

*Love to his
grand-
mother and
ſiſters.*

^f Senec. de Ira, lib. iv. cap. 21.

(F) Caius had, according to Suetonius, but three ſiſters, Agrippina, Drufilla, and Livilla; ſo that Livilla and Julia muſt be one and the ſame perſon. Germanicus's daughters, born in the ſeventeenth year of the Chriſtian æra, and, in the thirty-third, married to Marcus Vinicius (8).

(8) Tacit. Annal. lib. ii. cap. 54. & lib. vi. cap. 15.

only

Sets at liberty all state prisoners.

Discourages informers.

His seeming moderation.

only the copies, and preserved the originals². The day he made his entry into Rome, he was for setting at liberty Agrippa, the grandson of king Herod, whom Tiberius had confined six months before; but his grandmother Antonia, though a great friend to Agrippa, advised him to suspend for some time, the effects of his clemency, lest he should seem to insult the memory of his grandfather; however he was released a few days after, as were likewise all the other state prisoners, and, among the rest, L. Pomponius Secundus, of whom we have spoken before, after seven years close confinement. Such as had been banished by Tiberius were all recalled from exile, to the great joy of the Romans.

Nothing gave greater satisfaction to the nobility and people, than his solemnly declaring, that he would not suffer any one to be accused of treason, since, under the appearance of that crime, so many illustrious citizens, so many ancient and noble families, had been involved in the most dreadful calamities. A note being offered him, tending to the discovery of a conspiracy against his life, he rejected it, saying, "I am not conscious of any action that can deserve the hatred of any man; and therefore have no ears for informers." Though the will of Tiberius had been declared null by the senate, yet he executed every article of it with great punctuality, except that which related to the deceased emperor's grandson; the same regard he paid to the testament of Livia, which had been suppressed by Tiberius, causing their legacies to be immediately discharged, and adding to them large sums of his own, to be divided among the Roman people and the soldiery.

In his first speech to the senate he promised to govern with justice and moderation, to do nothing without their advice, and to follow their directions as their child and pupil. Pursuant to his protestations, he caused the famous institutions of Augustus to be revived and published, though they had been long neglected and disused by Tiberius; he gave free jurisdiction to the magistrates, without reserving any appeal to himself, and even attempted to restore the ancient method of elections by the votes of the people. The senate were for declaring him consul, as soon as the funeral ceremonies, performed in honour of his grandfather, were over; but he could not be prevailed upon to accept that dignity till Proculus and Nigrinus had ended their year, which expired in the month of July¹. In the mean time

² Dio. p. 641—646 Suet. cap. 15. ^h Joseph. Antiq. lib. xviii. cap. 8. ¹ Dio, lib. lix. p. 642—644. Suet. cap. 15, 16.

he deliberated with the consuls and senate about the reformation of many abuses which had crept into the state: he reviewed the Roman knights, and publicly took away the rings and horses of such as he found guilty of any notorious crime: smaller offences he thought sufficiently punished by passing over the names of the offenders as he read the roll; he intended to have cast the *spintrix*, or inventors of abominable lewdness, into the sea; but being dissuaded from that severity, he banished them from Rome: he allowed every one to keep and peruse the books of Titus Labienus, Cremutius Cordus, and Cassius Severus, which, in the reign of Tiberius had been, by order of the senate, prohibited and suppressed, saying, it nearly concerned him that all the actions of Tiberius should be transmitted to posterity: he likewise remitted several impositions, which had been exacted with great severity during the whole reign of his predecessor^k. Thus did Caligula happily begin his reign; and of him it may be truly said, that no prince ever came to a throne with greater advantages, or more to the satisfaction of his people.

In the month of July, Caius entered upon his first consulship, and chose for his colleague his uncle Claudius, then in the forty-sixth year of his age; who, till that time, had continued in the equestrian order, being judged unequal to any public employment, on account of the weakness both of his body and mind. We are told, that, when he first entered the forum with the fasces, an eagle perched upon his shoulder; an accident which was looked upon as a prognostic of his future grandeur. The same day Caius, in a speech to the senate, declaimed with great vehemence against the disorders of the late administration, promised to avoid them as much as lay in his power, and solemnly protested, that he had nothing so much at heart, as to render the people happy whom the gods had committed to his care. The senate decreed, that his speech should be publicly read every year, doubtless to remind him of the promises he had made, and to lay him under some obligation of performing them. On the last day of August, which was his birth-day, he entertained the people with the most magnificent shows that had ever been exhibited in Rome; and, on this occasion, cushions were first laid on the seats of the senators, who, till that time, had sat, both in the senate and theatre, on bare benches^l. Thenceforth no day passed without some shew, the emperor taking great pleasure in

Caius takes upon himself the consulship.

His speech to the senate.

* Suet. in Calig. cap. 16. Claud. cap. 7.

^l Dio, lib. lix. p. 644. & Suet. in

His generosity to Antiochus, king of Comagene,

and to others.

such diversions, and expending, on such occasions, immense sums.

During his consulship, he restored the kingdom of Comagene to Antiochus, the son of that Antiochus, who had been expelled by Tiberius, ordering, at the same time, a hundred millions of sesterces, that is, about a million of our money, to be paid him, by way of restitution for the revenues of his kingdom, which Rome had so long enjoyed, without any just title^m. Antiochus, in gratitude to so generous a benefactor, gave two of his names to a town of Comagene, calling it Cæsarea Germanica, which were afterwards changed into that of Germanicia. Of his generosity to Agrippa, we spoke in the history of the Jews; and therefore shall only observe here, that he bestowed on him the tetrarchy of his uncle Philip, with the title of king; but reserved for himself the rest of Judæa, whither he dispatched this year Marcellus, in qualityⁿ of governor, in the room of Pontius Pilate, whom Lucius Vitellius, governor of Syria, had sent to Rome, to answer the many grievous complaints of the Jewish people, whom he had oppressed in a most tyrannical mannerⁿ. His generosity to private persons was no less remarkable; for a fire happening in the first months of his reign, he made good the losses which every particular sufferer had sustained. To a freed-woman, who had endured most exquisite torments, without discovering the crime of a patron, he gave eighty thousand sesterces. For these and other bounties, a shield of gold, with his image, was decreed, which, by order of the senate, was to be carried annually, on a certain day, by the colleagues of priests, to the Capitol, the senators following it, and the children of noblemen singing hymns in praise of his virtues: besides, it was ordained, that the day of his accession to the empire should be called Palilia, as if Rome had been founded anew on that day. Caius, having held the consulate two months and ten days, resigned the fasces to those who had been appointed by Tiberius, for the rest of the year; but their names we find no where recorded.

It was probably about this time that Caius wrote to Lucius Vitellius, governor of Syria, to conclude a peace with Artabanus, king of the Parthians. Suetonius tells us in one place, that Vitellius used every kind of artifice to draw Artabanus to a conference^o; and in another, that the Parthian king, who had always shewn the utmost contempt, and an irreconcilable hatred, to Tiberius, fought, of his

^m Dio, lib. lix. p. 644, & seq. Suet. in Calig. cap. 16.

ⁿ Joseph. Antiq. lib. xviii. cap. 8.

^o Suet. in Vitel. cap. 1.

own accord, the friendship of Caius. According to Dio Cassius, that prince had already passed the Euphrates, and was upon the point of invading Syria, when Vitellius, coming unexpectedly upon him, obliged him to agree to a peace. Be that as it may, Artabanus and Vitellius came to an interview on a bridge, which they caused to be laid over the Euphrates, each attended by a certain number of guards; and concluded a treaty, the conditions of which were very advantageous to the Romans^p. The Parthian even condescended to give, by way of hostage, one of his own sons^q, or, at least, a youth of great distinction, named Darius, probably of the race of the Arsacidæ, whom he sent some time after to Rome, with a Jew, named Eleazar, seven cubits high. When the treaty was concluded, Herod Antipas, tetrarch of Galilee, gave a magnificent entertainment to Artabanus and Vitellius, under a rich pavilion, raised upon boats in the middle of the river. Suetonius^r and Dio Cassius tell us, that Artabanus passed the Euphrates, adored the eagles and ensigns of the legions, and kissed the images of Augustus and Caius Cæsar. Herod immediately dispatched messengers to Rome, with a minute account of this transaction, who arriving before the messengers of Vitellius, the emperor received the latter coldly, telling them, that Herod had already transmitted to him a detail of all that had been done on the Euphrates; a circumstance which occasioned a misunderstanding between the tetrarch of Galilee and Vitellius.

After Caius had thus happily reigned about eight months, he was seized with a violent fit of illness, occasioned by intemperance and debaucheries: while Tiberius lived, he was moderate in his diet; but, upon that emperor's death, he forsook his former way of living, and gave himself up to all manner of irregularities; which so affected his constitution, that, towards the end of October, he fell dangerously ill. As that was the time of the year in which those who traded to foreign countries returned home, news of the emperor's indisposition were immediately carried to all the provinces of the empire, and every where received with the greatest tokens of sorrow imaginable^s. At Rome, his palace was constantly crowded with multitudes of people of all ranks, enquiring after his health; many passed whole nights at his gate, and some, devoting their lives for his, promised to fight amongst the gladiators for his safety. At length his recovery restored happiness to the whole empire. Innumerable victims were slain, and sacrifices offered in the most

He is taken ill.

The joy of the people for his recovery.

^p Joseph. Antiq. lib. xviii. cap. 6.

^q Dio, lib. lix. p. 661.

^r Suet. in Calig. cap. 14. & in Vitel. cap. 2.

^s Philo Legat. ad

Caium. p. 994, 995.

*Strangely
altered.*

distant provinces subject to Rome, as a thanksgiving to the gods for so signal a favour. But how blind is man in his imagination; how vain in his hope, and ignorant of what is most to his advantage! This prince, so much beloved, and universally esteemed as the author of all public and private happiness, either suddenly changed his nature, or discovered that which he had hitherto artfully disguised. Some writers think, that this distemper affected his brain; for, ever after, he was much troubled for want of sleep, never resting above three hours in a night, and that not quietly, but constantly frightened with strange dreams, and dreadful imaginations; so that he passed great part of the night either sitting up in his bed, or wandering about the galleries of his palace, longing for day. He was himself, says Suetonius¹, so sensible of the infirmity of his mind, that he once resolved to retire, in order to purge his brain. He was troubled, when a child, with the falling-sickness; and in his youth, though patient of labour and hardships, subject to fainting-fits. Others ascribe this unaccountable conduct to a philtre or love-potion, which was afterwards given him by his wife Cæsonia, and impaired his understanding. Whatever was the cause of this change, it is certain, that, from the time of this malady to the hour of his death, he acted more like a madman than a considerate prince; so that, for the rest of his reign, the reader is to expect an uninterrupted train of execrable vices, monstrous extravagancies, and such ridiculous inconsistencies, as cannot be related with that gravity and decency which become an historian.

*Assumes
several
titles of
honour.*

On his accession to the throne, he would admit of no titles of honour; but, soon after his recovery, he assumed them all in one day, though Augustus had taken them separately, and Tiberius had declined some of them to the last². These were probably the titles of Augustus, emperor, high pontiff, perpetual tribune. From several medals which have reached our times³, it appears, that he bore all these titles before his second consulate; but that of father of his country he did not assume till the third year of his tribunitial power. To the above mentioned titles he added the following surnames, styling himself the most pious, the son of the camp, the father of the armies, the most gracious, the most mighty Cæsar. This year Tiberius, the son of Drusus, took the manly robe; on which occasion Caius, after many protestations of kindness, and sincere affection, first adopted him, and afterwards declared him prince of the Roman youth. These honours the un-

*Adopts
young Ti-
berius;*

¹ Suet in Calig. cap. 50. ² Dio, lib. lix. p. 641. ³ Goltz, p. 38.

fortunate

fortunate Tiberius enjoyed a very short time. Caius was not ashamed to put him to death a few days after he had solemnly declared, that his life was as dear to him as his own, and that he would ever cherish him as his own child.

He no sooner adopted him, than he commanded some tribunes and centurions of his guards to acquaint the young prince, that he must, with his own hand, put an end to his life, on the supposition it was unlawful for any inferior person to imbrue his hands in the blood of one of the imperial family. The innocent youth was struck with surprize and amazement, when the officers denounced to him the emperor's orders. As he was of a mild temper, and had ever avoided assisting at executions, and even at the combats of gladiators, he presented his throat first to the officer who stood next to him, and then to all the rest, intreating them, with many tears, to execute the cruel order they had brought. As they all declined that office, pursuant to the emperor's orders, strictly forbidding them to be in any degree aiding and assisting to his death, the young prince at length drew his sword; but not knowing where to strike, he begged they would at least shew him where the wound would prove mortal, and soonest put an end to his life and misery. So far they complied with his request; and then the unfortunate youth stabbed himself in their presence^x; Caius, to palliate this first act of cruelty, which was soon followed by many others, pretended, that Tiberius had, during his illness, wished him dead; and that, through fear of being poisoned, he had taken an antidote, which when he discovered, he cried out, "What! an antidote against Cæsar!" But this pretended antidote was only a remedy he had taken for a cough, with which he had been long troubled. Thus he destroyed the only prince, to whom those could apply, who might, in process of time, be dissatisfied with his government. As for his uncle Claudius, he considered him as a person utterly unfit for any office in the empire, or in private life, as he really was; and therefore spared him.

Being, by the death of Tiberius, delivered from all restraint and control, he gave a loose to his furious passions, and commenced an open enemy to mankind, an inhuman tyrant, or rather, as Suetonius styles him, an outrageous monster. Soon after his recovery, he obliged all those who, during his malady, had devoted their lives for his, and promised to fight amongst the gladiators, to fulfil their pro-

and orders him to put himself to death.

He abandons himself to all kinds of wickedness.

^x Suet. in Calig. cap. 23. Dio, lib. lix. p. 645, 646.

mise. Because one was somewhat backward in the accomplishment of his vow, he caused him to be adorned like a victim, and delivered to a company of rude and merciless boys, who, after abusing him in a most cruel manner, dragged him through the streets, and at last threw him down a precipice, and put an end to his life.

*The death
of his
grandmo-
ther An-
tonia.*

His grandmother Antonia, venerable for her age, and no less illustrious for her quality (for she was the daughter of Marc Antony, the niece of Augustus, sister-in-law of Tiberius, and mother of Drusus), having undertaken to admonish him, he repented that freedom to such a degree, that he reduced her to the necessity of laying violent hands on herself; whether by an express order, or only by the supercilious manner with which he treated her, we are not told. That illustrious princess having one day begged to speak with him in private, he refused her that favour, and ordered Macro to be present the whole time she continued with him. On another occasion, as she offered to advise him, he immediately interrupted her in a violent rage, bidding her remember, that he could do what he pleased with whom he pleased. With these indignities and affronts, it is most probable, he hastened her death. Some, indeed, have written, that he caused her to be poisoned. He bestowed no honours upon her after her death, and, from one of the windows of his palace, beheld the funeral pomp quite unconcerned.

Yr. of Fl.

2386.

A. D. 38.

U. C. 786.

The next consuls were M. Aquilius Julianus and P. Nonius Asprenas, appointed by Tiberius, whose promotion Caius did not think fit to alter. In the beginning of the year, the senate and consuls bound themselves, by a solemn oath, to observe all the constitutions of Augustus and Caius, without mentioning those of Tiberius; and this omission passed into a custom, which ever after prevailed. At the same time vows were made for the safety of Caius and his sisters. Dio Cassius observes, that, on the same day, a slave named Macaon, placing himself upon the bed of Jupiter Capitolinus, foretold many dreadful calamities; and, when he had done, killed first a small dog which he had brought with him, and then himself (G).

7 Suet. in Calig. cap. 27. Dio, lib. lix. p. 645.

(G) Suetonius tells us, that Caius, having advanced this year Flavius Vespasianus to the ædileship, and being angry with him for his remissness in seeing the streets kept clean, which was part of his province, com-

manded his guards to take some of the dirt, and besmear with it the ædile's embroidered robe. This disgrace some interpreted as a presage of Vespasian's future grandeur.

Dio

Dio Cassius and Suetonius give us affecting accounts of the cruelties practised by this bloody idiot in the second year of his reign. Among the rest, they relate, that one day, finding there were no criminals condemned to fight with the wild beasts, according to the barbarous custom which obtained at Rome, he commanded such of the people as were already come to behold the shews, to be thrown to them, having first ordered their tongues to be cut out, that they might not disturb, with their cries and complaints, his inhuman diversion. Finding it very chargeable to maintain the wild beasts, which were kept for such entertainments, he often visited the prisons in person; and, ordering all the prisoners to be ranged in a gallery before him, sentenced many of them to be thrown to the wild beasts, without examining whether they were guilty or innocent. Once, in particular, as they stood before him, he commanded all to be taken away to feed his beasts, a calvo ad calvum, i. e. from such a bald head, whom he pointed out, to another. Great numbers of old men, of infirm persons, and of such as were reduced to poverty, met with the same cruel fate, the inhuman tyrant pretending, that, by such unheard-of barbarities, he consulted the public welfare, since he delivered the state from persons who were only so many burdens to the commonwealth (H).

Various instances of Caius's cruelty.

(H) A Roman knight, whom he had caused to be thrown to the wild beasts, crying out, that he was innocent, he ordered him to be taken up, his tongue to be cut out, and then to be thrown in again. It was his constant custom to oblige parents, though free from all guilt, to assist at the execution of their children; and often ordered them to be assassinated the following night in their houses. To one of them, who pretended sickness, and begged to be excused, he sent his own litter (1). Having caused the son of an illustrious Roman knight, named Pastor, to be dragged to prison, because he was remarkable for his comeliness,

and extraordinary stature, the unhappy father went immediately to intercede for his child; but the cruel monster, instead of regarding his tears and intreaties, commanded the innocent youth to be executed without delay; and, when the news of his death were brought, to insult nature itself, he invited the distressed parent to dine with him that day, and forced him, by threatening to treat in like manner his other son, if he betrayed any symptoms of grief, to drink to excess, and, in the height of his affliction, to shew such outward signs of joy, as would have been, at any time, altogether unbecoming a person of his rank and age (2).

(1) Suet. in Calig. cap. 26, 27. Dio, p. 647.

(2) Senec. de Ira, lib. ii. cap. 33.

The constancy and intrepidity of Caninius Iulus.

Caninius Iulus having, in a private conversation, advised Caius, with great freedom, to alter his conduct, as he was withdrawing, "That you may not flatter yourself, Caninius, with vain hopes (said the emperor), I have already signed the warrant for your death." At these words Caninius, without shewing the least concern, turning about, "I return you thanks (said he), most gracious prince, for this favour." As the decree of the senate, granting to condemned persons ten days respite, was, in this instance, observed by Caius, the undaunted Caninius, during that interval, never betrayed the least uneasiness; insomuch that the centurion who came, when the ten days were expired, to see the sentence put in execution, found him playing, with his usual calmness, at chess. When the executioner appeared, he started up with a cheerful countenance, embraced his friends, and, taking his leave of them, told them, that he should soon know whether the soul was immortal; that, in the very article of his death, he would particularly remark in what manner it abandoned the body; and, after his decease, return to acquaint his friends with the state of souls after their separation. He then offered his neck to the executioner with the intrepidity of a true hero².

Instances of Caius's unparalleled cruelty.

The emperor, if such an inhuman madman deserves that name, assisted in person at most executions; so great was the delight he took in butchery and bloodshed; but always caused the mouths of those, who suffered in public, to be stopp'd; either with their cloaths, or a sponge, lest they should upbraid him with his wickedness². He seldom suffered them to be dispatched at once, that they might *feel themselves dying*; which was his usual expression. While he was at table, he often caused criminals, and sometimes innocent persons, to be racked in his presence, and their heads to be cut off by a soldier, who did it with great skill and dexterity. Being once mistaken in the name of a person, whom he ordered to be executed instead of another, when he understood his error, "It is no matter (said he); he deserved it, as well as the other." Five of the gladiators called retiarii, because they used, in fighting, certain nets, having yielded to the like number of secutores, who were their opponents, he commanded them to be slain; but one of the five, snatching up his arms, killed all the conquerors. This action Caligula condemned as cruel, lamented it in public, and loaded all those with curses who were so brutal as to behold it. As he pretend-

² Senec. de Ira, cap. 14.

² Idem ibid. cap. 19.

ed to great skill in fencing, a famous gladiator, with whom he often fought in jest, pretending to be conquered, fell down at his feet, as the gladiators, who were overcome, used to do. His flattery cost him dear; for Caius, taking advantage of his fall, stabbed him with a dagger; then, with a branch of palm-tree, the symbol of victory, in his hand, he ran up-and-down triumphing, as if he had fairly overcome his antagonist. One night at supper he burst suddenly into a loud laughter, and the consuls, who sat near him, desiring, with great respect, to know the cause of his mirth; "What makes me so merry (said he), is, that I can have both your throats cut with the least nod of my head." A victim being brought to the altar, and ready to be sacrificed, he appeared unexpectedly among the rest in the habit of a priest, and, lifting up the axe, as if he designed to kill the victim, he knocked out the brains of the priest who stood by him. Having demanded of one, who had been banished by Tiberius, and recalled by him, how he employed himself in his exile, upon his answering, that he had constantly prayed for the death of Tiberius, that he (Caius) might come to the empire, he immediately concluded, that those whom he had banished prayed likewise for his death; and, upon that presumption, dispatched officers to the islands, with orders to put them all to the sword without mercy^b.

To these, and innumerable other acts of cruelty, related at length by Suetonius and Dio Cassius, the latter adds the death of Macro and his wife, whom Caius, with the utmost ingratitude, caused to be put to death. To Macro he was indebted for his life and empire, and had promised him the government of Egypt, the highest post to which a knight could aspire; but, instead of the promised reward, he ordered both him and his wife, as some historians have written^c, to dispatch themselves with their own hands. With them were put to death all their children, and even their slaves; so that not one of the whole family was left alive. Macro, indeed, according to the character Tacitus gives us of him, deserved so tragical an end; but not at Caius's hands. The true cause of his death was, if Philo is to be credited, his using, with more liberty than the tyrant could endure, the authority which his eminent services gave him; but Caius charged him with other crimes, and pretended, that, unmindful of his condition, he had even challenged an equal share in the sovereign power^d.

*The death
of Macro
and his
wife.*

^b Suet. in Calig. cap. 30—34.

^d Idem ibid. p. 1001. Dio, p. 647.

^c Philo Legat. p. 1000.

and of M.
Sılanus.

The next person he sacrificed to his revenge was M. Silanus, whose daughter he had married in Tiberius's reign, a man of a most illustrious descent, and highly esteemed, on account of his great experience in affairs, his prudence, and eminent probity. He took upon him to disapprove of Caius's wild measures, and suggest a plan of conduct, by which he would have answered the expectation the public had entertained of him; but the jealous prince, having a great opinion of his own abilities, and looking upon those as his enemies who did not approve of his measures, resolved to seize the first opportunity to rid himself of so troublesome a monitor. One day he suddenly resolved to divert himself on the sea. Silanus, who could not endure the agitation of the ship, begged to be excused from attending him. This request Caius imputed to him as a great crime, pretending, that he remained ashore, with a design to seize on the empire, in case any misfortune had happened to him; and, upon this groundless pretext, he obliged him to cut his own throat with a razor^a (I). The death of Silanus was followed by that of many other persons of great distinction, whom he condemned, under pretence, that they had been accessory to the death of his mother or brothers, though his real motive was to seize on their estates; for he had already squandered away great part of the immense treasure left him by Tiberius.

^a Dio, 64.6. Suet. in Calig. cap. 23.

(I) Julius Gracinus, father of the famous Agricola, had, some time before, been ordered by Caius to accuse Silanus, and put to death for declining that infamous office. Gracinus was a senator, no less famous for his eloquence than his probity. Seneca often mentions him, and tells us, that, not being able to defray the expences of the public shews, which he was obliged to exhibit, in virtue of his office, Fabius Persicus, a man of great wealth, but of an indifferent character, sent him a very considerable sum; which he refused, answering his friends, who objected to his unseasonable generosity; "Would you

have me to accept a favour of one, with whom I should not care to eat?" Rubellius, who had been consul, but was a man of the same stamp with Persicus, sent him a larger sum than the other; which he likewise rejected: but, Rubellius pressing him, he begged to be excused, saying, "Neither have I accepted any thing of Persicus." The same writer tells us elsewhere, that he was murdered by Caius's orders, because he was a better man than was expedient for any one to be under a tyrant. He wrote a book upon agriculture, which is quoted by Columella.

This

This year, about the month of July, died his sister Drusilla. She had been given by Tiberius, five years before, to L. Cassius Longinus, and taken from him soon after by Caius, who lived publicly with her, as if she had been his own wife, and had, during his sickness, appointed her to succeed him in the empire (K). *Drusilla dies.*

Caius had continued a widower ever since the death of Julia, the daughter of Silanus. But C. Calpurnius Piso marrying Livia Orestilla, and inviting the emperor to his wedding, when the solemnity was over, he commanded the bride to be carried to his own palace, and there married her; but divorced her a few days after, and in the term of two years, or two months, as some assert, banished both her and Piso, under pretence that they had lived together *. Not long after, he married Lollia Paulina, the grand-daughter of M. Lollius, whom Augustus had appointed governor of Caius Cæsar, when he sent him into the East. Lollia was already married to C. Memmius Regulus, governor of Macedon *His marriages and divorces.*

* Suet. cap. 24.

† Suet. cap. 25. Dio, p. 646, 648.

(K) He had maintained with her, as well as with his other sisters, if Suetonius is to be credited, a criminal conversation even before she was married. She was immediately ranked amongst the gods, and thenceforth styled the goddess Drusilla; which impious title the prostitute bears on some Greek medals, which have reached our times. A senator, named Livius Geminus, declared in full senate upon his oath, that he saw her carried up to heaven. Seneca rallies him with a good deal of humour upon this vision; but nevertheless chose rather to adore the divinity of Drusilla than incur the displeasure of the prince. The emperor's passion for his sister appeared no less foolish after her death, than it had been infamous during her life. He immediately left Rome, and after having wandered some time up

and down Campania, he passed over into Sicily, where he exhibited most magnificent shews, and repaired, at a vast charge, the walls of Syracuse, and some temples that were decayed with age. He ridiculed many things, which were looked upon by the Sicilians as miracles; but was so terrified with the smoke and noise of Mount Ætna, that he fled from Messina in the night, being afraid to wait till day appeared. Upon his return to Rome, he pursued the course of his cruelties with more barbarity than ever. If any one betrayed joy, it was on account of the death of Drusilla; if sorrow, it was on account of the divine honours that were paid her; and both were crimes against the state, and punished with death: insomuch that they were all at a loss how to comport themselves, it being alike dangerous to mourn, and to rejoice (1).

(1) Senec. ad Polyb. cap. 36. Suet. cap. 24.

and Achaia; but Caius having heard in a private conversation, that her grandmother had been famous for her beauty, he immediately, forced her from her husband, and married her; but in a short time not only put her away, but threatened her with death, if she either returned to her former husband, or wedded any other man.

*His pride
and folly.*

The bloody monster, finding that no person presumed to oppose his will, notwithstanding the many murders he daily committed, began to look upon himself as raised above the condition of a mortal man. To confirm him in this childish opinion, he is said to have used the following ridiculous argument: as those to whose care sheep, oxen, and other cattle, are committed, are themselves neither sheep nor oxen, but of a nature infinitely superior to the condition of those animals; so those who are exalted above all men and creatures in the world, ought not to be regarded as men, but revered like gods^b. He first betrayed this extravagant notion at an entertainment with some foreign kings, who came to pay him homage. As a dispute arose amongst those princes about the nobility of their extraction, Caius, starting up, repeated a verse of Homer in the person of Ulysses: "Be there one king alone, one lord, below;" and was for assuming immediately the diadem, and changing the government into a monarchy. Being told, that he was already above all the kings and monarchs of the earth, he from that time challenged the honours paid to the demigods, such as Hercules, Bacchus, and Typhon, assuming the dress in which they were represented, and appearing sometimes with a lion's skin about his shoulders, and a club in his hand, to personate Hercules; sometimes with wings at his feet, and a caduceus in his hand, like Mercury. However, he soon thought it beneath him to be honoured only as a demigod, and claimed the worship paid to Apollo, Mars, and even Jupiter: he caused the heads to be taken off their statues, and his own to be substituted in their room. He often placed himself in the temple of Castor and Pollux, between the statues of those brothers, to be adored by all who came to offer their vows to them: he enlarged his palace, and bought one wing of it close to the temple of those two fabulous deities, which he altered to the form of a portico, that the gods themselves, as he used to say, might serve him in quality of porters; and frequently changed his godhead, being one day a male deity, and another a female; sometimes Jupiter, at other

Claims divine honours.

^b Philo, Chron. p. 1002.

times Mars; sometimes Neptune or Apollo, and sometimes Venus.

That he might be esteemed a true Jupiter, he had inventions to imitate thunder and lightning; and, when the thunder was supposed to fall, he used to throw a stone against heaven with the impious defiance in Homer, "Do thou take me from hence, or I'll take thee." He often went to the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, and, placing himself by his statue, sometimes whispered, then laid his ear close to it, as it were to receive an answer. Sometimes he seemed to be very angry with Jupiter, and was once heard to tell him in a threatening style, that "he would fend him back into Greece (L)." At length being overcome by the importunity of the gods, as he foolishly declared, who desired his company, he joined his palace to the Capitol by an arch built over the temple of Augustus; and some time after, that he might be yet nearer, he laid the foundations of a new house in the court of the Capitol¹.

His impiety.

¹ Suet. cap. 22, & 52. Dio, p. 660, 661. Philo, p. 1003.

(L) Dio Cassius tells us, that a Gaul, seeing him one day sitting on a throne in the figure of Jupiter, could not help bursting into a loud laugh; which Caius hearing, asked him, "What do you take me for?" "For a great fool," frankly answered the Gaul. This affront, which would have cost a senator or knight his life, Caius pardoned, thinking it perhaps below him to exert his vengeance on so contemptible a person; for he was by profession a shoemaker. He caused all the temples of Greece to be stripped of their statues, pictures, and other ornaments, which he conveyed to Rome, crowding with them his own temple, his palace, his villas, and his gardens (1). He ordered the famous statue of Jupiter Olympius, done by Phidias, and held in great veneration by the Greeks, to be tran-

sported to Rome. We are told, that the ship which was building for that purpose, was burnt by lightning; and that as often as the workmen attempted to remove the statue, a great noise was heard, like that of persons deriding their attempt. Memmius Regulus, governor of Greece, who was charged to see the celebrated statue conveyed to Rome, wrote to Caius, acquainting him, that he could not obey his commands on account of some extraordinary prodigies, and because the workmen assured him, that if once removed, it would fall to pieces. Hereupon, in the transport of his rage, he abused and threatened Jupiter for daring to oppose his sovereign will, and would have put Memmius to death, had he not been first put to death himself (2).

(1) Phil. Leg. 1004. Jos. Ant. lib. xix, cap. 2. (2) Dio, p. 662.

Finally,

*Institutes
priests in
honour of
his own
deity.*

*Temples
built, and
sacrifices
offered to
him.*

*His second
consulship.*

*His hatred
to the Ro-
man people.*

Finally, his pride, folly, and impiety, carried him so far, that he built a temple for himself, at a vast charge, and dedicated to his own divinity, placing in it his statue in gold, executed to the life, and every day cloathed in the same robes which he himself wore. He likewise instituted priests and priestesses to officiate in his new temple, the greatest and richest men in Rome, so great was their degeneracy at this time, purchasing the infamous priesthood with vast sums; for Caius sold it at such an extravagant price, that his uncle Claudius not being able to discharge the debt, amounting to eight millions of sesterces, which he contracted on that occasion, was obliged to surrender all his effects to his creditors, who publicly sold them by auction^k. The sacrifices which his priests daily offered, were peacocks, pheasants, Numidian hens, &c. He became at last priest to himself, and admitted to the same dignity his wife Cæsonia, whom he married the year following; and also his horse, the most proper priest for such a deity^l. Besides the temple which he built to himself in his palace, the senate decreed him another, which was begun and executed accordingly^m.

In the following year Caius resumed the fasces, having for his colleague Lucius Apronius Cæstianus; but held them only thirty daysⁿ. When he entered upon his consulship, and also when he resigned it, he took the usual oaths, like a private citizen; but while he thus affected popularity, he filled the city with blood and slaughter, causing those very persons who had been imprisoned by Tiberius, and by himself set at liberty, to be dragged to prison again, and executed for the pretended crimes with which they had been charged in the former reign. The people not assisting at the shews, which he exhibited almost every day, with the eagerness he expected, he commanded the public granaries to be shut up, with a design to starve them, and neglected no opportunities that offered to injure them. Once, in particular, he caused them all to be driven by his guards out of the circus; on which occasion great numbers of the common people were crushed to death in the throng, and above twenty knights, and as many women of distinction, lost their lives. At another time, because they did not declare for the gladiators, whom he favoured, he caused the awning, which covered the amphitheatre, to be taken down; and having thus exposed them to the scorching heat of the

^k Suet. in Claud. cap. 9.
ⁿ Dio, in Excerpt. Val. p. 673.
Tacit. Ann. lib. vi. cap. 4.

^l Senec. de Ira, lib. iv. cap. 24.
^m Dio, p. 649. Suet. cap. 17.

fun, he threatened with instant death such as should offer to retire°. The acclamations of the people in the theatre displeasing him, he uttered the inhuman wish, that the whole Roman people had but one neck, that he might dispatch them all at a blow (M).

Historians, amongst the transactions of this year, take notice of the foolish regard he paid to one of his horses, named Incitatus, whom he often invited to his table, fed with gilt oats, and presented with the most delicious wines in cups of gold. His stable was composed of marble, his manger of ivory, his collar of pearls, and his covering of rich purple. He appointed him a great number of attendants, and supplied him with furniture no less magnificent than his own, that he might receive and entertain in a manner suitable to his rank such as came to wait upon him; for he was a member of the college of Caius's priests, and colleague to Claudius, to Cæsonia, and to the chief nobility of Rome: the emperor designed to raise him to the consulship, and would have honoured him, as was generally believed, with that dignity, if he had lived longer P.

Caius had hitherto disapproved of Tiberius's conduct, and seemed to be greatly delighted with the invectives that were uttered against him. But this year, in the senate, he told the fathers, that he, who was emperor, might well censure the measures of his predecessor; but that it seemed very strange to him, that they should presume to find fault with one who had governed them as their lord and sovereign. "You inveigh against him (said he) as a tyrant, for having put many worthy citizens to death, without reflecting that yourselves are involved in the same guilt, since he caused

*His speech
to the senate.*

* Suet. cap. 26.

P Dio, p. 650. Suet. cap. 55.

(M) He often wished for some great calamity; and envied Augustus the happiness of an army massacred, and Tiberius the disaster at Fidenæ, where fifty thousand persons were maimed, or perished, by the fall of an amphitheatre. Declaring himself an enemy to his people, he often made use of the expression of the old tragedian; "Oderint dum metuant; Let them hate me as much as they please, so they fear me." The people, considering him no longer as

their lawful sovereign, but as an implacable tyrant, one day, to be revenged on him, rising up, they abandoned the shews, which he was exhibiting at an immense charge; an affront which piqued him to such a degree, that he immediately left Rome, and retired to Campania, whence he did not return to the city till the feast of his sister Drusilla, which he solemnized with extraordinary magnificence (1).

(1) Dio, p. 650. Suet. cap. 30.

none to be executed, who had not been first convicted by your evidence, and condemned by your decrees. Since you honoured him so much during his life, it ill becomes you thus to insult his memory after his death. Your conduct shews me what I may expect from you when I am gone." Having said many things to this purpose, he upbraided the whole senate as the creatures and dependents of Sejanus, as the betrayers of his mother and brothers, as a herd of mean-spirited slaves and flatterers; and concluded with introducing Tiberius, addressing him in the following terms: "You have said nothing, O Caius, but what I have by long experience found to be true: despise them therefore as unworthy of your esteem and affection, and use them with all the severity they deserve. They all hate you in their hearts, wish for your death, and will assassinate you, if they can with impunity. Lay aside therefore all hopes of gaining their affections, despise their impotent rage, and employ all your thoughts on your own safety: whatever most conduces to that, is most just and equitable. By these means you will have nothing to fear, you will enjoy your pleasures in safety, and at the same time be honoured by them; for they have not the courage to oppose you. If you study to gain their affections, you may perhaps acquire an empty reputation, which will die with you; but must resign your power, which will offer them an opportunity of attempting your life, and destroying you; for the yoke of sovereignty is ever grievous; a prince is honoured so long as he is dreaded; when he is not feared, he is despised; and woe to that prince whose subjects are more powerful than himself."

*Revises
the law of
majesty.*

*The slavish
spirit of the
senate.*

Caius, having thus spoken, revived the law of treason, and, withdrawing from the senate, retired into the country. The senators, alarmed by such an unexpected speech, and in the utmost consternation on account of the dangers that threatened them (for who had not exclaimed against Tiberius?) were not capable of coming to any resolution that day; but the following, long speeches were made in commendation of so merciful, so gracious a prince, who, after such just and well-deserved reproaches, had been so generous as not to exert his vengeance: they decreed, that the day on which he made this memorable speech, should be yearly solemnized with victims and sacrifices as a festival; and heaped innumerable other honours upon a prince who had given such uncommon instances of clemency and good-nature. One would think, that such adulation must have pass-

ed for satire and mockery : but vanity is a credulous passion ; Caius was highly pleased with such honours and praises ; but nevertheless put afterwards many of those to death, who had spoken ill of Tiberius, though he hated all who spoke well of that emperor ¹.

This year is also remarkable for the famous work which Caius undertook at Puteoli: it is difficult to determine which was greater, the folly or the extravagance of the attempt. To shew his power and greatness, and that he was able to walk upon the sea as well as the land, he caused an infinite number of ships to be assembled in all parts, and a great many new vessels to be built, which were all brought into the bay of Baiæ and Puteoli in Campania. There from the point of Baiæ to the opposite shore of Puteoli they were placed in two rows in the form of a crescent, being fastened and moored together with anchors, chains, and cables. So many ships were employed in this romantic undertaking, that, none being left to convey corn to Rome, the city was greatly distressed by famine, which continued to the reign of Claudius ², and, to the great satisfaction of the tyrant, swept off daily great numbers of the people. Seneca tells us that, when Caius was killed, there was not sufficient corn in the public granaries to maintain the people eight days longer ³. When the ships were well secured, vast quantities of large planks and boards were laid over them, and covered with earth. Then to make this stupendous work the more magnificent and surprising, he sent for an infinite number of artificers and workmen, who, at an immense charge, and with incredible expedition, Caius punishing the least remissness with instant death, built houses, and convenient inns, on the bridge, for the reception of the emperor, and his numerous retinue. Into these public buildings was conveyed fresh water in pipes from the land, Caius delighting in such things only as to others seemed impossible. When this work was completed, Caius repaired to it with all the great lords of Rome, attended by crowds of people, who flocked from every quarter to behold the parade. Upon his arrival at Baiæ, he offered solemn sacrifices to the gods, especially to Envy, lest the other deities should be touched with jealousy in seeing their glory eclipsed.

Caius builds a bridge upon the sea.

The expense and extravagance of this undertaking.

His revels on this occasion.

Then, proudly adorned with magnificent robes of gold, and armed with the breast-plate of Alexander the Great, having a civic crown on his head, accompanied with the great officers of his army, and all the nobility of Rome, he

¹ Dio, p. 652.
cap. 1.

² Suet. cap. 37. Joseph. Antiq. lib. xix.
³ Senec. de Brev. Vit. cap. 18.

mounted on horseback, and entering upon the bridge at Baiæ, rode in triumph to Puteoli. There he passed the remaining part of the day, and the following night, when, with an infinite number of torches, lanterns, and other lights, placed in different parts of the work, the sea, the neighbouring mountains, and the shore, were illuminated to a vast distance, Caligula boasting, that he had turned the night into day, as well as the sea into land. Next day he appeared in the habit peculiar to the charioteers in the circus, and in a carriage drawn by two fine horses, attended by young Darius, the Parthian hostage, a squadron of his guards, in bright armour, and a great train of his friends, magnificently attired, he set out on his return to Baiæ. He halted, however, about the middle of the bridge; and there ascending a magnificent throne, made a solemn oration in praise of his own exploit in riding so many miles upon the sea, and of the pains and care taken by his soldiers and workmen, among whom he distributed large rewards. He spent all the day, and the next night, in this place, revelling and banqueting with his friends. When he began to be heated with wine, that he might perform some memorable action before he left his bridge, he suddenly caused great numbers of people to be thrown into the sea, without distinction of friend or foe, noble or ignoble; and, when they attempted to climb up into the vessels, he ordered them to be thrust off; so that many perished, though the far greater part saved themselves by swimming, though intoxicated, the sea proving extremely calm and smooth the whole time, a circumstance which Caius ridiculously ascribed to the respect Neptune had for him as a more powerful deity * (N).

*Causes
many per-
sons to be
thrown in-
to the sea.*

*His avarice and
enormous
actions.*

Caius having by this and many other extravagancies exhausted his exchequer, was guilty of all manner of rapine, and invented such penalties, confiscations, and imposts, as had never been heard of before. He would not allow any one to be legally a citizen of Rome whose grant ran in the following terms, "To him and his posterity;" unless he was the son of him who obtained the grant; pretending,

* Dio, p. 653. Suet. lib. iv. cap. 19, 37. Joseph. Antiq. lib. xviii. cap. 6. & lib. xix. cap. 1. Senec. Brev. Vit. cap. 18.

(N) After this Caius returned to Rome, and entered the city in triumph, for having overcome, as he boasted, nature itself. Upon his departure, the bridge, as Dio Cassius seems to insinuate (1), was immediately broken down.

(1) Dio, p. 653.

that

that the word *posterity* did not extend beyond that degree : so that most of the Roman citizens were again obliged to purchase their freedom. He declared void and of no effect the wills of all from the beginning of Tiberius's reign, who had not named either that prince or himself amongst their heirs. In consequence of this declaration several persons named him in their wills amongst their friends and children, which he knowing, caused them, under various pretences, to be put to death, that he might receive his share the sooner : he was even heard to say, that it was a great presumption in them to live and keep him out of his inheritance. No commodities whatever, not even the necessities of life, were exempt from taxation. For all actions at law, in what place soever commenced, he exacted the fortieth part of the subject in controversy, and laid heavy fines on such as were convicted either of compounding or dropping the suit. He enacted a law, enjoining all artificers, labourers, porters, and carriers, to pay into the exchequer the eighth part of their daily gains. Every prostitute was obliged to give a certain portion of what she earned ; he was not ashamed to turn his own palace into a brothel-house, maintaining there great numbers of prostitutes, and sending his officers to invite people of all ranks to his diversions (O) :

*Turns his
palace into
a brothel
and a gam-
ing-house.*

The

(O) He received the money himself of such as came, and ordered his officers to enter their names in his books as persons well affected to Cæsar. He likewise encouraged gaming-houses, frequenting them himself ; and at last he appointed an apartment in his own palace for gamesters, and there spent great part of his time. We are told, that one day observing two Roman knights of great estates accidentally passing by, he immediately went down, caused both to be apprehended, and their estates to be confiscated ; and then, returning with joy to his game, boasted that he had never had a better throw. Another time, wanting money for his stake, he went down and caused several noblemen to be put to death ; then returning,

told the company, that while they sat playing for small sums, he had won six hundred thousand sesterces. He used frequently to expose to sale the effects of the condemned persons, and oblige the rich citizens to buy them at the price he was pleased to set upon them ; which was so high, that many noble families were by these means reduced to poverty. He forced a wealthy citizen, named Apollonius Saturninus, to pay nine millions of sesterces for thirteen gladiators, whom he exposed to sale with all the furniture of the amphitheatre. A daughter being born to him about this time, he complained publicly of his poverty, not only as an emperor, but as a father ; but applied to his own use all the presents and contributions made by

*Puts many
to death for
their
wealth.*

The law of majesty, which he revived, proved an inexhaustible fund for increasing his revenues. Dio Cassius enumerates many citizens who suffered death for their wealth; and tells us, that Junius Priscus, prætor, who had been condemned and executed under pretext of some other crime, being found, after his death, possessed but of a small estate, the emperor cried out, "I have been imposed upon; Junius was not guilty (P)." Lucius Vitellius, governor of Syria,

the people for the education and portion of the child (1).

(P) Dio Cassius tells us in this place how Domitius Afer escaped condemnation. He had been under Tiberius a zealous accuser, and acted that part against Claudia Pulchra. It was not, however, this that provoked Caius against him, but his being esteemed the most eloquent orator of his age, which glory Caius thought due to himself; and therefore resolved to rid himself of the only person who disputed it with him. Domitius erected this year a statue to the emperor, with an inscription, importing, that he was consul the second time in the twenty-seventh year of his age. This expression he meant as a compliment; but Caius, who wanted to destroy him, pretended, that he thereby reproached him with his youth, and a violation of the laws forbidding any one to be raised to the consular dignity at that age. He therefore took upon himself to accuse him, and delivered in the senate a long speech, which he had composed against him. Domitius, instead of answering it, extolled the eloquence of the speaker, admired the propriety of his expressions, repeated the most remarkable pas-

sages, giving them their due weight, and pointing out their beauties. When he was ordered to make his defence, instead of answering the emperor's oration, he threw himself at his feet, acknowledged him for his master in eloquence, and declared, that he despised life after he was thus bereaved of the glory on which he piqued himself, of being esteemed the best orator of his age. Caius was so well pleased with this pretended submission, that he not only forgave him, but raised him that year to the consulate (2). Philo places in this year the massacre of the exiles, and tells us, that Caius, not being able one night to take any rest, being haunted, as it frequently happened, with inward horrors, began to think that the banished persons were too happy, that they lived in ease and tranquility, and wanted neither the necessities nor conveniences of life: concluding with himself, that it was not reasonable criminals should enjoy any happiness, as soon as day appeared, he made a list of the most eminent persons among them, and dispatched officers with orders to put them all to death (3). Eusebius fixes this horrid execution in the last year of Caius's reign (4); but Philo

(1) Sueton. cap. 38—43. Dio, p. 650.

(2) Dio, p. 644, 645.

(3) Philo in Flacc. p. 990, 991.

(4) Euseb. in Chron.

Syria, had acquired prodigious wealth in that province; and besides his great power, and the reputation he had gained amongst the soldiery, gave Caius no small uneasiness, who thereupon recalled him, with a design to put him to death, under pretence that through his negligence the Parthians had driven Tiridates from the kingdom of Armenia, which had been bestowed on him by Tiberius. Vitellius was a man of superior talents and qualifications, had eminently distinguished himself in the army, and in the government of provinces, says Tacitus ^w, exercised the integrity of a primitive Roman: but his dread of Caligula changed him into a contemptible slave; and he is transmitted to posterity as a pattern of the most infamous flattery. The first time Caius deigned to admit him to his presence, he appeared before him in humble attire, approaching him as a deity, his head veiled, turning himself round, and then falling prostrate ^x. Caius was so pleased with this unexpected behaviour, that he not only pardoned him, but henceforth numbered him amongst his most intimate friends; for he was the first who introduced amongst the Romans the Parthian custom of approaching the emperors ^y. We shall have occasion to relate, in the course of this history, other instances of his slavish spirit and servile submission (Q).

Designs to destroy Lucius Vitellius, governor of Syria;

who forfeits his reputation to save his life.

The

^w Tacit. Ann. lib. vi. cap. 32. ^x Suet. in Vit. cap. 2. ^y Dio, p. 661. Philo Legat. p. 1008. Suet. ibid.

places it before the disgrace of Lepidus, which happened this year (5).

(Q) We are told that Seneca was about this time in imminent danger of losing his life, for having pleaded a cause in the senate with great eloquence, and universal applause. This Caius, who was present, and pretended to be the best orator of his age, could not bear, and would therefore have dispatched him, had he not been assured by one of his courtisans, that Seneca was infected with a distemper, which would soon corrupt his body and put an end to his life (6). Caius despised the

eloquence of Seneca, though then in great esteem, calling his writings sand without lime. Caius himself was no contemptible orator, had a great fluency and command of words, and such a clear voice and distinct pronunciation, that he was heard at a great distance. He often pleaded in the senate for or against such persons of distinction as were accused, not being governed by friendship or enmity, but by the subject; for he was ready to accuse a friend or defend an enemy, according as he thought the subject most proper to display his eloquence. When he declaimed, he con-

(5) Idem ibid.

(6) Dio, p. 665.

*Caius de-
poses both
consuls.*

The last of August, being his birth-day, the consuls got to order the people to observe it as a festival; a neglect which incensed Caius to such a degree, that on the second of September he deposed them, and caused their rods to be broken. This proved such a severe mortification, that one of them laid violent hands upon himself. The pretence which Caius took for thus stripping them ignominiously of their dignity, was their observing the second of September, the anniversary of the battle of Actium, as a festival. This indeed was customary; but the emperor, who was descended from Augustus by his mother Agrippina, and from Antony by his grandmother Antonia, previously informed his friends, that the consuls could not avoid giving him on that day a favourable opportunity to revenge the late affront, either by omitting to celebrate the victory of Augustus, or by solemnizing the defeat of Antony*. Accordingly, the consuls having celebrated, with the usual ceremonies, the anniversary of the Actiac victory, they were the same day deposed by Caius's order, who alleged, that they had solemnized not so much the victory of Augustus, as the defeat of his great-grandfather Antony. The city was then three days without consuls, that is, the third, fourth, and fifth of September^b; but on the sixth Domitius Afer, and another, whose name has not been transmitted to us, were nominated to that dignity. Caius prohibited the victories gained by Augustus in Sicily and at Actium to be solemnized for the future, saying, that they had proved tragical and calamitous to the Roman people; though at the same time he declared, that his mother Agrippina was not the daughter of Agrippa, but of Augustus, by his own daughter Julia. Thus he chose rather to asperse the memory of his great-grandfather, and owe his birth to an abominable incest, than derive his pedigree from Agrippa, who was not of an illustrious descent^c.

*Forbids the
victories of
Augustus to
be solemn-
ized.*

Yr. of Fl.
2387.
A. D. 39.
U. C. 787.

Towards the end of the year, Caius undertook an expedition into Gaul, under colour of opposing the Germans, who were said to have committed some hostilities; but his real motive was, to plunder that wealthy province and

* Dio, p. 655.

^b Suet. cap. 26.

^c Idem ibid. cap. 23.

stantly invited, by a public proclamation, the knights, who never failed to applaud him: indeed he deserved their applause; for though he slighted

the other liberal arts, he studied eloquence with great application and generally spoke very pertinently (7).

(7) Suet. cap. 53.

Spain, after he had, with extravagant tributes and taxes, quite drained Italy. He never imparted this design, till, going one day to Mevania, at a small distance from Rome, to see the celebrated river and forest at Clitumnus, he was advised to complete the number of the Batavians, who were then his guards. Upon this hint he resolved to make war on the Germans, and without farther deliberation ordered a great number of legions and auxiliaries to be drawn together, new levies to be made with great diligence, and a prodigious quantity of provisions to be got ready. His orders being executed with surprising expedition, he immediately began his march, moving sometimes so rapidly, that the prætorian cohorts were obliged to have their standards brought after them on their sumpter-horses; at other times so slowly, that he seemed to walk only for his amusement. He was carried the greatest part of the way in a litter on eight men's shoulders, having dispatched messengers, commanding the neighbouring cities to have their roads well swept and watered, that he might not be troubled with dust. He was attended in this mock expedition by Herod king of Batanea and Trachonitis, and by Antiochus king of Comagene, and followed by a train of gladiators, comedians, buffoons, and loose women, with whom he spent his whole time^b.

Prepares against the Germans.

His march.

Arrives at the Rhine,

and passes that river.

When he arrived at the place where the legions were encamped that guarded the banks of the Rhine, he reviewed his forces, which amounted to two hundred or two hundred and fifty thousand men. To acquire the reputation of a rigid observer of military discipline, he dismissed, with ignominy and disgrace, several old officers, pretending that they were unfit for the service, but in reality to exempt himself from the obligation of paying them the rewards due to veterans^c. He passed the Rhine; but after advancing a few miles into the country, he returned without having killed, or even seen, a single enemy; though it might have been expected from his preparations, that he would have soon over-run the whole country. Tacitus tells us, that one Brinio, or Brenno, prince of the Caninefates, ridiculed with impunity this foolish expedition of Caius^d. And indeed there was reason to censure his absurd conduct; for while he, who had threatened the Barbarians with utter destruction, was passing in his chariot through a narrow lane, and his troops were forced to break their ranks on account of the narrowness of the place, an officer observing, that great would be their confusion, if the enemy should

^b Dio, p. 656. Suet. lib. iv. cap. 43.

^c Ibid. lib. iv. cap. 44.

Dio, p. 657, 658.

^d Tacit. Hist. lib. iv. cap. 15.

*His fright
and con-
sternation.*

*His ex-
ploits.*

appear, he immediately threw himself out of his chariot, mounted his horse, and galloped to the bridges with a design to repass the river; but finding them crowded with the servants and baggage of the army, he made them hand him from one to another, and convey him over their heads, thinking he could not too soon get out of the enemy's country. Being afterwards recovered from his fright, and assured that there was nothing to fear, he ordered some of his German guards to cross the Rhine, and after having concealed themselves for some time in a neighbouring forest, rise out of their ambuscade in a great tumult and hurry; and that upon the alarm, which this would occasion, word might be brought him that the enemy was at hand; which ridiculous order being obeyed, the mock hero, starting from table, and putting himself at the head of a party of the prætorian horse, hastened to oppose the enemy, and, advancing to the forest, spent the remaining part of the day in cutting down trees to erect trophies for so signal a victory. Upon his return he reproached with cowardice those who had not followed him, but rewarded such as had borne the brunt of the day with a new sort of crowns, which, to distinguish them from all others, he called exploratoræ (R).

(R) This expedition, however glorious and successful, not satisfying his martial ardor, he resolved to signalize himself by some other still more noble achievement. With this view, he ordered some children, whom he kept as hostages, to be privately conveyed away, and information brought him that they had made their escape; upon which he immediately mounted on horseback, pursued the supposed fugitives with a detachment of cavalry, and brought them back loaded with chains. After these heroic achievements, he wrote a letter to the senate, complaining of them and the people, for indulging themselves in banquets, pleasures, and diversions, while Cæsar was fighting, and exposed for their safety to so many pe-

riils and hazards. But the most glorious of all his exploits was, his receiving under his protection Adminius, who, being banished by his father Cinobelinus, one of the kings of Britain, fled to him with a small retinue. This seemed to him so memorable an action, that he immediately wrote boasting letters to the senate, as if he had subdued the whole island, strictly enjoining the messengers to ride directly through the forum to the palace, and not to deliver his letters to the consuls, but in the presence of the senate assembled in the temple of Mars. In the mean time he caused himself to be seven times proclaimed emperor by his victorious troops on the banks of the Rhine (1).

(1) Sueton. lib. iv. cap. 44. Dio, p. 657.

The Gauls would have esteemed themselves happy, had he done them no more harm than he did the enemy; but his avarice, equal to his prodigality, prompted him to harass and oppress that unhappy nation with such extortions, as reduced even the most wealthy to beggary. Not satisfied with the great presents, which he obliged both the cities and particular persons to make him, he caused the most wealthy men in the province, though free from all guilt, to be accused of treason, that he might confiscate their estates, which he sold in person, obliging others to purchase them at the price he thought proper to prescribe. Having one day lost at dice an immense sum, he caused the registers, which served for the census, to be brought to him; and writing a list of those who possessed the greatest estates in the province, ordered them to be immediately put to death, and seized all their effects^e.

His extortions and cruelties in Gaul.

About this time a conspiracy was discovered against Caius; but whether it was real, or only imaginary, is still uncertain. Lepidus and Getulicus were said to be at the head of it. Cneius Lentulus Getulicus had commanded the legions in Higher Germany for the space of ten years, Tiberius not daring to remove him, as we have related in the history of that prince's reign; but he was doomed to death by Caius, says Dio^f, for being greatly beloved by the soldiery on account of his clemency and good-nature. Some monuments have reached our times of the sacrifices which were offered on the twenty-seventh of October, by way of thanksgiving for the happy discovery of the wicked designs of Cn. Lentulus Getulicus^g. His employment was given to Sulpitius Galba, afterwards emperor. M. Æmilius Lepidus is supposed to have been the son of Julia, Augustus's grand-daughter, and sister to Agrippina the mother of Caius^h, who nevertheless pronounced him guilty of treason, and commanded a tribune, named Decimus, to cut off his headⁱ. At the same time he condemned his two sisters, Agrippina and Livilla or Julia, for being guilty of adultery with Lepidus, and privy to the conspiracy; and confined them to the island of Pontia, adding with threats, "That he had swords as well as islands^k." After having taken these measures, he wrote a letter to the senate, acquainting them, that he had escaped a dangerous conspiracy; and inveighing with great bitterness against his sisters, whom he scrupled not to charge with the most in-

The conspiracy of Lepidus and Getulicus.

Caius banishes his sisters, Agrippina and Livilla.

^e Dio, p. 657.
Ann. lib. vi. cap. 30.
in Calig. cap. 29.

^f Idem ibid.

^g Grut. p. 137.
ⁱ Dio, p. 648. Senec. Ep. 4.

^h Tacit.
^k Suet.

famous crimes. He sent three daggers to Rome, to be consecrated to Mars the Avenger, with an inscription, importing, that they had been designed for his destruction; and obliged Agrippina to carry the urn with the bones of Lepidus from Gaul to Rome. He sold all the furniture, jewels, slaves, and even the freedmen of his sisters, after their condemnation (S).

When

(S) As he degraded himself to sell them in person, he put his own price, and obliged the Gauls to purchase them. This kind of traffick proving very advantageous, he ordered the rich furniture of the imperial palace, with the robes of Marc Antony, of Augustus, of his mother Agrippina, and others of the imperial family, to be sent from Rome; and sold them in the same manner. So many carriages, and beasts of burden, were employed in conveying the furniture of the imperial palace from Italy to Gaul, that no horses being found to turn the mills, according to the custom of those times, the city was reduced to great distress for want of bread.

In luxury and extravagance, he outdid all the prodigals that the world had hitherto produced. He used baths of sweet oils with the most costly perfumes that could be purchased. At his entertainments he often caused the largest pearls to be dissolved in vinegar, to display his grandeur and magnificence. Sometimes, to divert himself with his guests, he caused empty dishes of pure gold to be served up, which he distributed among them, saying, that "at Cæsar's table their bread and meat must be nothing but gold." For several days together he delighted in throwing down from the top

of a tower considerable sums among the people. He built certain galleys of cedar, having the sterns, which were of ivory, adorned with precious stones, the sails of silk, the cabins and galleries spacious and convenient, with great variety of vines and fruit-trees, under the shade of which he often dined, coasting along the shore of Campania, with great pomp and splendor, entertained by the mixed melody of voices, and all sorts of instruments. He raised pillars and towers in the sea, cut his way through rocks of almost impenetrable flint, levelled mountains, and raised valleys. He never undertook any thing worthy of a prince, except a harbour, which he began in the neighbourhood of Rhegium, for the convenience and safety of the ships which conveyed corn from Alexandria to Italy; but this he left unfinished. We ought also to except a fine aqueduct, which Claudius finished fourteen years after. He caused an obelisk to be brought out of Egypt, and placed it in the circus on mount Vatican. He designed to rebuild the palace of Polycratès at Samos, to finish the temple of Apollo Didymæus at Miletus, and to found a new city on the top of the Alps; but his favourite project was to cut the isthmus of Corinth, and open a communi-

When the death of Lepidus and Getulicus was known at Rome, Flavius Vespasianus, then prætor, and afterwards emperor, who studied to insinuate himself by any means into the emperor's favour, advised throwing the bodies of the conspirators into the Tiber, and depriving them of the honour of sepulture. Neither did the senate omit so favourable an opportunity of conferring new honours upon the prince; amongst others, they decreed him an ovation. They deputed his uncle Claudius, with several other persons of the first rank drawn by lot, to go into Gaul, and congratulate him, in their name, upon the discovery of so dangerous a conspiracy, and the deserved vengeance he had taken upon the traitors. Caius, not satisfied with the honours decreed him, especially with an ovation, and complaining of the small number of the deputies, ordered some of them to return even before they entered Gaul, and received the others with great coldness. He chiefly resented their sending his uncle, as if he were a child, and wanted a governor: he did not, however, send him back; but treated him in a most ignominious manner¹; and we are told, that he caused him to be thrown into a river the moment he arrived^m. The senate, thus tutored, decreed him greater honours, and sent him a more numerous deputation; which he received with great marks of satisfaction, and even went out to meet the deputies. In the mean time prosecutions were carried on at Rome against the friends of Caius's sisters, and of those who had been executed for the late conspiracy. Several ædiles and prætors were obliged to lay down their employments, and appear before the senate in the habit of criminals. Among the rest, Sophronius Tigellinus was banished for a criminal correspondence with Agrippina. These proceedings terrified the senate, who apprehended still greater evils from a prince, who was cruel by nature, and guided, as was supposed, by the pernicious counsels of the kings Agrippa and Antiochus.

New honours decreed him by the senate.

Caius, after the condemnation of his sisters, divorced his wife Lollia Paulina to marry Milonia Cæsonia, who was neither beautiful nor young, but mother of three children by another husband, who was still alive. She had, how-

He marries Cæsonia.

¹ Dio, p. 658.

^m Suet. in Claud. cap. 9.

communication between those better success than those who two seas; in which undertaking attempted it after him (1). ing he was attended with no

(1) Jos. Antiq. lib. xix. cap. 2. Plin. lib. iv. cap. 4. Suet. in Claud. cap. 21.

ever,

ever, a particular talent and address in gaining the affections of all with whom she conversed; insomuch that Caius sincerely loved her, and lived longer with her than with any other ^a ('T). He married her, according to Suetonius, the same day that she was delivered of a daughter, declaring himself her husband, and the father of the child; but Dio says, that he married her about a month before her delivery. To the child he gave the name of Julia Drusilla, carried her to the temples of all the goddesses in Rome, and put her into the arms of Minerva, as if to that powerful goddess he committed the care of her education. He laid her likewise at the feet of Jupiter Capitolinus, saying, that she was common to him and Jupiter, and leaving all men to judge which of her parents was the greatest, from which she derived the more noble origin ^o. But nothing more convinced Caius that she was his daughter (for her mother was not renowned for chastity), than her natural fierceness, of which she soon gave sufficient indications, by scratching and tearing the faces of the little children who played with her (U).

Galba defeats the Germans.

This year the Germans, having collected their forces to oppose Caius, made, upon his departure, an inroad into Gaul; but were repulsed by Galba with such vigour and expedition, that Caligula could not forbear commending and rewarding both him and his troops, though he gene-

^a Dio, p. 658. Suet. cap. 25. cap. 1.

^o Joseph. Antiq. lib. xix.

(T) Suetonius tells us, that Cæsonia gained and maintained the affections of Caius by her monstrous lewdness. After her husband's death, she was charged with having fixed his affection to her with an amorous potion, which affecting his brain, had disordered his understanding, and occasioned that fury and madness which had brought so many calamities upon the state. The emperor often shewed her to his soldiers habited like them, and to his friends, without any garments.

(U) Upon her birth Caius complained of his poverty, and obliged the people to contribute

large sums for the educating and marrying her suitably to her rank, which he applied to his own use. He likewise declared, that, on the first of January, he intended to receive new-year's gifts, which he did accordingly, standing in the porch of his palace, while the people and nobility, with full hands and laps, poured out their presents before him. He is said to have had such a passion for money, that his chief delight was to walk barefoot, and even roll himself upon heaps of gold, which he had accumulated by all manner of rapine (1).

(1) Suet. cap. 25.

rally,

rally, out of jealousy and envy, discountenanced such of his officers as had gained any considerable advantage over the enemy. Caius, who was then in Gaul, arrogated to himself the whole glory of this action, and acquainted the senate with it by a letter, which he sent wrapt up in a branch of laurel, the symbol of victory, boasting that he had utterly defeated the enemy's numerous forces, and rendered them incapable of disturbing for the future the tranquillity of Gaul &c. Vespasian, then prætor, intreated he might be allowed to exhibit extraordinary sports on occasion of so signal a victory^a.

In the following year Caius was consul without a colleague for the first twelve days, not designedly, but because he was not acquainted sooner with the death of the person named for his colleague, who died at Rome a few days before he was to enter upon his office^c.

Caius held the consulship only twelve days: on his resignation two new consuls, probably Publicola and Nerva, were nominated. The first decree they made was, that the anniversary of the death of Tiberius and Drusilla should be solemnized in the same manner as that of Augustus. This distinction Caius had required in a letter to the new consuls^d. Caius began the year with the murder of Ptolemy, king of Mauritania, and cousin-german to his father Germanicus (X). He had invited him to court, and received him at his arrival with great demonstrations of kindness; but observing one day, as he entered the theatre to behold the sports, that the lustre of his purple drew upon him the eyes of the whole company, he caused him to be immediately arrested, condemned him to banishment, and privately ordered him to be assassinated on his journey^e. Dio Cassius ascribes his death to the great riches he possessed. It is certain, however, that the Mauritians, upon the news of his death, revolted, being excited by Edemon, one of the deceased prince's freedmen, desirous to revenge the death of his master. The inhuman and imperious tyrant caused likewise Mithridates, king of Armenia, to be arrested, but only condemned him to banishment.

The murder of Ptolemy, king of Mauritania.

Caius, before he left Gaul, declared, that he designed to invade Britain; and accordingly ordered his troops, from all quarters, to march to the Gaulish shore, opposite to that

Caius's memorable expedition against Britain.

^a Persius, Satir. vi. ver. 43.

^c Suet. in Vespasian. cap. 2.

^d Dio, p. 653.

^e Dio, p. 656, 659.

^f Suet. cap. 35.

(X) He was the son of Cleopatra, as Germanicus was the son of Antonia, daughter to the same Antony.

island. Upon his arrival at the place of rendezvous, he drew up his men along the coast; and embarked in a magnificent galley. Having advanced a small distance from the shore, he returned precipitately, and, ascending his tribunal, ordered the warlike engines to be disposed in order, and to the best advantage, the trumpets to sound, and the signal of battle to be given. Neither soldiers nor officers could conceive what he had in view, till, at length, he suddenly ordered them to gather the cockle-shells on the shore, and to fill with them their laps and head-pieces, saying, "These are spoils of the conquered ocean, due to the palace, due to the Capitol." Then, to reward his fellow-soldiers for such an important victory, he distributed among them a very inconsiderable sum, bidding them be merry, and enjoy, in safety, the rewards of their valour. That so glorious a conquest might never be forgot, he erected a high tower, according to the model of the pharos, at Alexandria, furnished with lights to direct ships at sea, in the night^a.

*His folly
and ambi-
tion.*

Caius now thought of nothing but the preparations for a triumph due to his noble achievements. Accordingly, he wrote to his officers at Rome, enjoining them to get every thing ready for the most magnificent triumph that had ever been exhibited; but, at the same time, cautioning them not to put him to any extraordinary expence, since every man's estate was at their disposal. Before he left Gaul, he chose the tallest men of that province, without distinction of rank or condition, to grace his triumph, giving them German names, and obliging them to learn that language, to let their hair grow, and colour it red, that they might resemble Germans. He likewise commanded the gallies, in which he and his chief officers had put to sea, to be conveyed to Rome, the greatest part of the way, by land^b. Before he left Gaul, he designed to have put those legions to the sword that had mutinied after the death of Augustus, and embarrassed his father Germanicus. His officers, with the utmost difficulty, dissuaded him from cutting them all off; but could not, by any means, divert them from decimating them for a crime which had been so many years before committed, and forgiven. Notwithstanding the warm remonstrances of his friends, and chief officers, he ordered them to assemble, without arms, to receive his commands. The legionaries, not suspecting, in the least, his design, readily obeyed; and, in the mean time, the cavalry began to surround them. This circumstance appeared suspicious,

*His cruel
design.*

^a Suet. cap. 46. Dio, p. 659.

^b Suet. cap. 47.

and many of them stole away, to take their arms, with a design to sell their lives dear, in case any violence should be offered. He no sooner perceived their intention, than he dismissed the assembly, and hastily fled to Rome, that he might vent his rage upon the senate, for the wrong he pretended they had done him, by not decreeing him a triumph; though he had declared the year before, that they had no right to decree him any honours; and that he would punish them with the utmost severity, if they pretended to assume any such privilege. As he drew near Rome, he forbade any of the senators to meet him: he would not, however, enter the city in triumph, but contented himself with an ovation, making his entry on the last of August, which was his birth-day, four months and some days before his death: From this time he resolved utterly to extirpate the senate; and would have put his horrid design in execution, had he not been prevented by death. Mean while, he caused several senators of distinction to be inhumanly murdered; one in particular for no other crime but because he begged permission to shut his eyes, being commanded by him, though nothing was laid to his charge, to assist at the execution of his son *Y*. However, he was reconciled to the senate, before his death, on the following occasion: Protogenes, his chief favourite, coming one day unexpectedly into that assembly, under colour of delivering some message from the prince, and all the senators crowding round him to pay their court to him, he fixed his eyes on Scribonius Proculus; and, with an angry tone, "How dare you (said he) presume to appear before me, you who are an enemy to Cæsar?" There wanted no more; the other senators instantly fell upon him with their daggers, stabbed him in several places, and then delivered him over, as a public enemy, to the mob, who tore him in pieces, and dragged his mangled limbs about the streets, Caius beholding, with infinite pleasure, so dismal a spectacle (*Y*).

Sets out for Rome.

Various instances of his cruelty.

The cruel death of Scribonius Proculus.

It

Y Suet. in Cal. cap. 27, 28. Dio, p. 660.

(*Y*) Suetonius relates, that this worthy senator was thus inhumanly butchered, merely to gratify the bloody disposition of Caius, who, wishing to see a senator thus mangled, had, without the least provocation, pitched upon him. Neither was his cruelty satiated, till the limbs and bowels of the inno-

cent victim were brought before him. Being highly pleased with so dismal a sight, and the readiness the senate had shewn to take vengeance on his supposed enemy, he declared himself, by a public edict, reconciled with that body: and the senate, on their side, to acknowledge so great a favour, honoured

*The Jews
persecuted
at Alex-
andria.*

It was about this period that the Jews underwent a terrible persecution at Alexandria, where they were very numerous; had a chief intitled alabarchus, and a council of their own; so that they formed a distinct and separate body from the Egyptian natives, by whom they were detested and abhorred. When the emperor Caius insisted upon being worshipped as a deity, the Alexandrians not only complied with this impious order, but, in order to gratify their malice, they set up by force and violence his statues in the Jewish oratories and synagogues. In these outrages they were encouraged by the connivance of the Roman governor C. Avilius Flaccus, who thwarted and oppressed the Jews on every occasion, in order to ingratiate himself with the Alexandrians. These outrages against the religion of the Jews produced frays and seditions, in consequence of which Flaccus published a decree, declaring the Jews strangers in Alexandria, and confined all of that nation to one quarter of the city, which could not possibly contain one half of their number: by these tyrannical proceedings, they were not only exposed to miseries of all kinds, but many of them were driven to despair, and acts of extravagance, which gave their enemies a handle for inflicting upon them the most cruel punishments: in a word, they groaned under every species of oppression, until Flaccus was recalled, when they began to enjoy a little respite. In this interval, by means of their king Agrippa, who was at Rome in high favour with Caius, they obtained permission to send deputies thither, in order to justify their own conduct, and specify their grievances before the emperor. This deputation was headed by the celebrated Philo, the most learned Jew of Alexandria, whose brother was alabarch of the nation. At the same time the Alexandrians dispatched another deputation, under the conduct of Apion the grammarian, in order to oppose the remonstrances of the Jews. These deputies found means to interest in their case the famous Helico, originally an Egyptian slave, but now chamberlain to

*They send
a deputa-
tion to
Caius.*

honoured him sometimes with the title of hero, and sometimes of god; which scandalous flattery inflated him to such a degree, that thenceforth he shewed himself more ambitious than ever of divine honours, punishing with death, or dooming to the mines, or to the drudgery of

mending the public roads, persons of great merit and distinction, for neglecting to invoke his celestial genius: nay, some, for pretended offences against his godhead, were first torn and mangled with stripes, and then sawed asunder (1).

(1) Sueton. in Calig. Dio, p. 661.

Caius, with whom he was in high favour. Another lucky circumstance for them, was the information just received by the emperor, that the inhabitants of Jerusalem had absolutely refused to admit his statue into the temple. Caius was exasperated at this mark of disrespect, and in the audience which he granted to both deputations together, received Philo and his colleague with indignation and disdain. Both sides pleaded their cause before him, while he ran about the apartments of a country villa at a small distance from Rome, interrupting them with ridiculous questions, and behaving more like a buffoon than an emperor. Though the Jewish deputies derived unlucky presages from this reception, it does not appear, that Caius took any steps to the prejudice of their nation. They had a powerful advocate in Agrippa, who retained his influence with the emperor to the last; and the storm from Jerusalem blew over: nevertheless the Jews at Alexandria continued to be oppressed, till the accession of Claudius to the empire, when they had recourse to arms, and raised an insurrection; which, however, was soon appeased. Finally, by the intercession of the two kings Agrippa and Herod, an edict was obtained from Claudius, restoring to the Jews all the privileges they had formerly enjoyed at Alexandria, and annulling all the decrees which Caius had issued against them².

The inconstancy of Caius's temper.

Dio Cassius, after a long detail of his cruelties, and the dismal effects of his pride, avarice, lewdness, and prodigality, observes, that he was chiefly remarkable for the inconstancy and fickleness of his temper, which often hurried him, in a moment, from one extreme to another. Sometimes he liked to see his palace crowded, and sometimes would see no company, not even his most intimate friends. He was displeased when any petition was presented to him; and more so, when nobody appeared to ask him any favour: sometimes he dispatched business with great expedition; at other times he was slow and tedious, putting off, from day to day, matters which required the greatest diligence. He squandered away immense treasures, with a prodigality which knew no bounds; and amassed fresh sums with the most sordid avarice: sometimes he was pleased with liberty of speech, and abhorred flattery; but, soon after, punished the least liberty, and took delight in being flattered. He often pardoned those who were guilty of enormous crimes, and condemned such as were not charged with any: upon some of his favourites he heaped honours and riches, while he treated others, without any cause, with the utmost con-

² Phil. in Legat. p. 1043. Joseph. Antiq. lib. xviii. cap. 10.

tempt. So changeable was his humour, so various and inconsistent was his conduct, that his most intimate friends were at a loss what they should say or do to please him, seeing he was often disgusted with what he had been pleased with a few hours before^a.

*A conspiracy
formed against
him.*

*Cassius
Chærea at
the head of
it.*

In the following year Caius entered upon his fourth consulship, having Cn. Sestius Saturninus for his colleague, but held it only to the seventh of January, when he resigned the fasces to Quintus Pomponius Secundus. Rome had, for the space of near four years, groaned under the oppression of the most cruel and inhuman tyrant that had ever been invested with sovereign power; when at length vengeance overtook the author of so much bloodshed and slaughter. The conspiracy, which, for the present, terminated the public evils, was chiefly formed, carried on, and executed by Cassius Chærea, tribune of a prætorian cohort, who had signalized himself in a very eminent manner, as we have already observed, in the beginning of Tiberius's reign, when the legions in Germany revolted. As he was a man of no less probity than bravery, the hatred he bore Caius, on account of his cruelties and extortions, inspired him with the design of ridding the world of such a detestable monster. He was already resolved to resign his employment, and spend the remaining part of his life in retirement, when he received a commission from Caius to collect the taxes, for no commodity escaped; and the emperor levied the taxes not by the publicans, as was usual, but by the centurions and tribunes of the prætorian cohorts, that they might reap the advantages accruing. In this commission Chærea, who was naturally compassionate, acquitted himself more to the satisfaction of the oppressed people, than to that of the emperor; who reproached him with want of spirit, and took pleasure in exposing him to the derisions of the soldiery: for though he was a man of great courage and resolution, yet, from the manner of his speaking, and the tone of his voice, no one would have taken him for a person of that extraordinary bravery which he shewed on all occasions. Caius, now incensed against him, took occasion from his outward appearance to reproach him with effeminacy and cowardice, and rally him as one more fit to converse with women than to command soldiers.

When it was his turn to come for the parole, the emperor, by way of raillery, gave him always some obscene word, or the name of some famous prostitute; insomuch that the soldiers could not forbear laughing when he brought

^a Dio, p. 641—644.

them the parole, and often diverted themselves with guessing what word Chærea would bring. As he was a man of too great spirit to endure such gross affronts, he resolved to convince the emperor how undeservedly he was taxed with effeminacy and want of courage: having therefore determined to be revenged on the tyrant, for thus attempting to blacken, with his unseasonable sarcasms, the reputation he had deservedly acquired by his gallant behaviour, he imparted his design to some of his intimate friends, and only waited for a favourable opportunity of putting it in execution. In the mean time a senator of great distinction, named Propedius, was accused by one Timidius of having uttered injurious speeches against Caius: the only evidence produced against him was Quintilia, a celebrated comedian; but she, when summoned to appear before the judges, declared, that she had heard no such speeches. Timidius then requiring that she might be examined by torture, Caius ordered Chærea to see her immediately put upon the rack.

What provoked him against Caius.

The tribune was never so much at a loss how to behave as on this occasion; for Quintilia was privy to the conspiracy; whence he was afraid she might discover it upon the rack, if tortured severely; on the other hand, to shew any mercy to her might cost him his life. Quintilia delivered him from his uneasiness; for meeting, as she was led to the torture, one of the conspirators, she trod upon his foot, giving him thereby to understand, that no torments could extort from her a discovery of the plot. She bore the rack with unparalleled constancy, without suffering a word to escape her, in prejudice either of Propedius or the conspirators, though she was reduced to so deplorable a condition that Caius himself, when she was brought back to him, being moved with pity, and admiring her resolution, ordered her a sum of money, and dismissed Propedius untouched. Chærea was so affected with the constancy of Quintilia, and the torments she had suffered, of which he himself had been the minister, that he immediately imparted his design to Papinius and Clemens, the former a fellow-tribune of the prætorian cohorts, and the latter the commander of the whole body, encouraging them to exert their courage, and deliver Rome and the world from a tyrant, who employed them not as the officers of his guards, but as his executioners. They both approved of the design; but Clemens, desiring to be excused from bearing any share in the execution of it, on account of his age, promised to assist them with his advice; and taking his leave, left them under no small anxiety and apprehension of his betraying the secret.

The constancy of Quintilia.

*He gains
several
persons of
distinction.*

Chærea, therefore, without loss of time, had recourse to Cornelius Sabinus, tribune likewise of a prætorian cohort, whom he knew to be a man of great resolution, a lover of liberty, and consequently highly dissatisfied with the administration of Caius. Sabinus had formed the same design, but had not yet imparted it to any person, for fear of being discovered. He therefore readily joined Chærea, and with him went immediately to sound Annius Minucianus, or, as others call him, Vinicianus, a senator of great distinction and merit, and hated by Caius, who suspected him ever since the conspiracy of Lepidus, with whom Minucianus had lived in confidence. After the usual ceremonies were over, Minucianus asked Chærea, what was the parole for that day? which he taking for a sufficient declaration of his intention, "Do you (said he, without any farther preamble) only give me the word Liberty; and, under your conduct, I will revenge my private injuries and the public calamities. Give me the word of command, and Rome shall no longer groan under the oppressions of an insulting tyrant." At these words, which Chærea uttered with great vehemence and ardour, Minucianus, embracing him, commended his resolution, exhorted him to pursue his design, and promised to assist, to the utmost of his power, with his sword and counsel.

*His intrepidity and
resolution.*

The number of the conspirators increased daily; a circumstance which retarded the execution of the design, some of them being over-cautious, lest they should miscarry in an enterprize, on the success of which depended their safety, and the welfare of their country. Chærea offered to dispatch him when he went to the Capitol to offer sacrifices for his daughter, or when in his palace he assisted at certain religious ceremonies which he had himself instituted. He proposed throwing him down headlong from the top of the Julian basilic, whence he used to scatter money among the populace: but the rest of the conspirators, thinking they could not use too much caution, did not judge any of these opportunities sufficiently safe and proper for the execution of their design.

*A day fixed
upon for
putting
Caius to
death.*

However, they all agreed to make the attempt during the sports which were to be exhibited in honour of Augustus, in the palace, on the twenty-first of January, and the three following days; for, after these sports, Caius intended to leave Rome, and repair to Alexandria, probably to plunder the wealthy kingdom of Egypt, as he had pillaged the other provinces of the empire. Notwithstanding their agreement, the conspirators were still for deferring the attempt; but Chærea, having called them together on the third day
of

of the sports, exhorted them not to lose the present opportunity: he represented the dangers to which their irresolution exposed them; and, by a speech abounding in noble and generous sentiments, inspired them with such courage, that they unanimously agreed to make the attempt next day, when Chærea was to be upon guard, and consequently to receive from the emperor, according to custom, the parole, with his sword by his side ^b. Caius came that day, the twenty-fourth of January, more early than usual, to the theatre; and appeared, contrary to his custom, gay, affable, and good-humoured; insomuch that the spectators were greatly surprised at his obliging behaviour, and the complaisance he shewed to all who approached his person. After he had sacrificed to Augustus, in whose honour the sports were exhibited, he took his place, having his friends and favourites about him, and Chærea, with the other officers that day upon guard, stood at some distance behind. When the sports began, Bathybius, who had been prætor, happening to sit by a consular of his acquaintance, named Cluvitus, asked him softly, "Whether he had heard any news?" "None at all," answered Cluvitus: "But I can tell you something (replied Bathybius), to which you are, perhaps, a stranger: in the piece which is to be acted to-day, will be represented the death of a tyrant." Cluvitus answered with a verse out of Homer, which he whispered in his friend's ear: "Be silent, lest some Greek should overhear ^c." Another entertainment was to be exhibited in the night, representing some fabulous accounts of the infernal regions; for Caius, who delighted in such representations, declared, that as this was the last day, the sports should continue all night, with a design, as was believed, to appear himself on the stage, and there display his skill and address in dancing ^d (Z):

About

^b Joseph. Antiq. lib. xix. cap. 1. ^c Ibid. ^d Dio, p. 663.

(Z) He was, says Suetonius, an excellent fencer, dancer, and charioteer: he sometimes danced on the stage, and frequently before his friends, in the palace. One night, while he was in that humour, he sent for three grave consuls, caused them to be awaked out of their sleep, and by his guards hurried away to his palace; where, while they were waiting in a great hall, and trembling, in apprehension of immediate death, they suddenly heard a great noise of musical instruments, and, at the same time, saw the emperor come leaping out, in a long robe, to display before them his skill and address in dancing. When he was tired, he withdrew; and sent the three consuls word, that they might, when they pleased, return home. He took such

The conspirators meet with disappointments.

About noon, when the emperor used to withdraw for a short time, to bathe, and refresh himself with some nourishment, Chærea stole out, with a design to kill him, as he passed from the theatre to his apartment: but Caius, contrary to his custom, shewed no inclination to leave the sports, telling those who sat by him, that since it was the last day of the shews, he would not bathe till they were over. At the same time he called for some refreshment, which he shared with those who were about him, amongst the rest with Pomponius Secundus, then consul, who sat at his feet, and often kissed them. Minucianus, who was next to him, and had seen Chærea go out, rose with a design to depart, and acquaint the tribune with the emperor's resolution; while Caius, taking hold of his robe, "Sit still, friend," (said he, in a very obliging manner), *you shall go with me.*" Minucianus, as it were out of respect, sat down again, but soon after rose up, and went out; neither did Caius offer to detain him, thinking he went away upon some necessary occasion, and would soon return. He found Chærea waiting in the entry which led to the theatre; and acquainted him with the emperor's resolution. In consequence of this intimation, the resolute tribune thinking it advisable to fall upon him in the theatre, rather than lose the present opportunity, offered to go immediately, and stab him in his seat. Minucianus, and such of the conspirators as were with him, expecting the signal, approved of Chærea's bold proposal, who was actually entering the theatre, when he understood that the emperor, at the persuasion of Ampronas, and some others, who were privy to the conspiracy, had altered his resolution, and was coming forth. The conspirators immediately drew together; and, under pretence of clearing the way for the emperor, removed such as they imagined would afford him any assistance. Caius at length came out, his uncle Claudius, and M. Vinicius, who had married his sister Julia, walking before

such pleasure in seeing Mæster the famous mimic dance, that he punished, with great severity, such as gave him the least disturbance. A Roman knight making some noise while he was dancing, the emperor immediately ordered him, by a centurion, to depart that instant for Oria, and there wait for a letter,

which he would send after him, for Ptolemy king of Mauritania. The knight obeyed, crossed over to Africa, and presented the letter to Ptolemy, who could not forbear laughing in reading it; for it contained only the following words: "To the bearer neither good nor harm (1)."

him, with some persons of great distinction. When he entered the palace, instead of going directly to his apartment, as usual, attended by his officers, he turned unexpectedly into a gallery, which led to a private apartment, to see certain youths who had been sent him out of Asia, to act and dance upon the stage; and were just then arrived. He was so pleased with them, that he would have immediately returned to the theatre, being impatient to see them perform, had not the chief of them complained, that he was cold, and begged leave to warm himself.

While he was entertaining himself with the Asiatic youths, Chærea came for the parole; and Caius gave him one, as usual, reflecting on his effeminacy and want of courage. Chærea returned Caius a smart answer; and, at the same time, drawing his sword, discharged a violent blow at him, and wounded him in the neck. Though the wound did not prove mortal, yet we cannot give credit to those who assert, that Chærea did not, as he might, dispatch him at one blow, lest he should be too soon out of his pain^f. Caius, struck with amazement at the boldness of the tribune, had not the presence of mind to call for assistance: he attempted to fly; but Cornelius Sabinus having pushed him down upon his knees, Chærea, with another blow, broke his jaw-bone; then the rest rushing in, dispatched him with thirty wounds, he for some time crying out, "I am still alive;" and the conspirators exclaiming, "Repeat, repeat the blow." We are told that Aquila was the person who gave him the wound that put an end to his life. Some of the conspirators mangled his body, even after his death; and they are said to have carried their rage to such a height, as to cut off, and eat, pieces of his flesh^g.

Such was the end of Caius Cæsar Caligula, the fourth emperor of Rome, a prince so monstrously wicked, that nature, says Seneca, seemed to have brought him forth, to shew what mischief could be effected by the greatest vices, supported by the highest authority^h (A). His body remained in

Yr. of Fl.

2388.

A. D. 40.

U. C. 788.

Caius assassinated.

* Joseph. Antiq. lib. xix. cap. 1. Sueton. cap. 58. Dio, p. 664.
^f Joseph. Antiq. lib. xix. cap. 1. ^g Dio, p. 663. ^h Senec. de ira.

(A) His death happened on the twenty-sixth of March; the twenty-fourth of January: or three years, ten months, and so that he reigned but three eight days, if we suppose him, years, nine months, and twenty- as some do, to have begun his eight days, according to those reign on the sixteenth day of who fix the death of Tiberius the said month. He had lived, accord-

*His body
privately
conveyed
away, and
buried.*

in the place where he had been assassinated, till the night was far advanced, when it was privately conveyed to the Lamian gardens, where being half-burnt upon a pile hastily erected, it was, without farther solemnity, committed to the earth. This last duty was paid him, according to the Roman writers, by his wife Cæsonia; but Josephus says, by king Agrippa, who, mindful of the obligations he owed him, caused his body to be removed, lest it should be insulted by the incensed populace.

Chærea, in order to extirpate the whole race of the tyrant, sent the night after his death a centurion, or rather a tribune, named Julius Lupus, to dispatch his wife Cæsonia, and, with her, his only daughter, an infant. The tribune stabbed, without mercy, the mother; and, taking the innocent child out of the cradle, dashed her brains out against a wall¹. The senate, even after Claudius was raised to the empire, were inclined to declare Caius infamous. This sentence Claudius, who was his uncle, would not ratify; but, nevertheless, ordered all his statues to be pulled down and broken, annulled most of his acts, and gave his assent to a decree of the senate, commanding his money to be melted down, that both his name and features might be unknown to future ages.

*The birth,
education,
&c. of
Claudius.*

As we have hitherto had no proper opportunity to speak of Claudius, who succeeded his nephew, but had led a retired life till he was raised to the empire, it may not be improper to prefix to the history of his reign, a succinct account of his birth and education, of his good and evil qualities; and also of his wives, children, and freedmen; whom we shall frequently have occasion to bring upon the scene. Claudius was born at Lyons, on the first of August, Iulus Antonius and Fabius Africanus being consuls; so that he was now in the fiftieth year of his age^k. He was named Tiberius Claudius Nero Drusus Germanicus^l. Upon his accession to the empire, he assumed the names of Cæsar and Augustus, as did likewise all his successors: by which means the name of Cæsar, which was peculiar to the Julian family, became a title of dignity, and was given to the presumptive heirs of the empire; whereas that of

¹ Suet. cap. 59. Dio, p. 663. Joseph. Ant. lib. xix.
in Claud. cap. 2. ^l Dio, p. 665.

^k Suet.

according to Suetonius (1), four months, and twenty-four
twenty-nine years; according days (2).
to others, twenty-eight years,

(1) Suet. cap. 59.
in Vit. Claud.

(2) Clem. Strom. lib. i. p. 539. Eutrop.

Augustus was a mark of the sovereign power. The name of Julius was entirely laid aside, and never after assumed by any of the emperors^m. Claudius was, by his mother Antonia, the grandson of Marc Antony and Octavia, sister to Augustus, and, by his father Drusus, who died in Germany, the grandson of Livia Augusta, and consequently, nephew to Tiberius, brother to Germanicus, and uncle to Caius. However, no person imagined he would ever have attained to the sovereign power, till the day he was vested with itⁿ; for, being very sickly during the whole time of his childhood and minority, he was so weakened, both in his body and mind, that he was thought incapable of any public employment; and, long after he was of age, kept under a governor, of whom he complained, in a book which he published, as of a barbarous and unmannerly person, who had formerly been a groom, and was placed over him, on purpose to plague and chastise him upon every trivial occasion.

His mother Antonia used to call him “a human monster, just begun by nature, but never finished;” and, when she upbraided any one with dulness and stupidity, her common expression was, “You are as stupid as my son Claudius.” His grandmother Livia could not endure him: his nephew Caligula, when he had butchered many of his kindred, saved him for the purposes of ridicule: he was held in the same contempt by his sister Livilla, by Augustus, and all his family (B): the kindest word Augustus gave

Despised by all his relations.

^m Goltz, p. 140.

ⁿ Tacit. Annal. lib. iii. cap. 18.

(B) Augustus, apprised of the weakness of his understanding, honoured him with no other dignity but that of augur; and, in his last will, mentioned him only amongst his third heirs, who were no-way related to him, and left him but a legacy of eight hundred sesterces. His uncle Tiberius honoured him with the consular ornaments, but never allowed him to discharge the office of consul; and, when the young prince importuned him for some real preferment, he sent him forty pieces of gold, against the Saturnalia, or feasts of Saturn, to lay out as

he pleased, in the Sigillaria; which was a kind of fair after the Saturnalia, lasting seven days, and so called from the little images and puppets, in Latin, *figilla*, which were then sold. Upon this answer, Claudius, laying aside all hopes of rising to any considerable employment in the state, abandoned himself to a retired life, spending his time with persons much below his rank, either in the gardens he had in the suburbs, or at his country-house in Campania, where he gave himself entirely up to gaming and drinking; diversions suitable to the

His timorousness.

gave him was, that of Misellus, Poor Wretch^o. Being thus despised and neglected by his own relations, he became the jest of the court, and was treated, even by the freedmen of his uncle and nephew, with great disrespect. He was not only destitute of parts, but extremely timorous; insomuch that there was no accident so trivial, no man, woman, slave, or child, so contemptible, as not to frighten him; and, when frightened, he was altogether incapable of reasoning. This timidity was owing to his education; for he was brought up among women and freedmen, and obliged, from his infancy, to depend entirely upon them, and submit to their will and pleasure, without having any passions, or even discernment, of his own^p. He declared, after he came to the throne, that, in the reigns of Tiberius and Caius, he had counterfeited folly, to escape their cruelty; but his conduct too plainly shewed, that it was not assumed, but real^q. Suetonius taxes him with being naturally cruel, while others ascribe to his wives and freedmen the many executions, of which we shall have occasion to speak, in the history of his reign. Though he had many great faults, yet, when compared with Tiberius or Caius, he was not a bad emperor^r.

His learning.

From his childhood he applied himself to the study of the liberal sciences, and frequently gave public testimonies of his proficiency in them^s. He arrived at no small perfection in oratory; and his discourse was not without elegance, when it was the result of study. He was well skilled in the Latin and Greek tongues, wrote several books (C), and added

^o Suet. in Claud. cap. 2. & 3. ^p Dio, p. 665. ^q Suet. cap. 38.
^r Dio, lib. lx. p. 665. Aur. Vict. cap. 4. ^s Suet. cap. 3.

the low company he kept. However, the senate, in consideration of his high birth, enacted, that he should be added, above the limited number, to the college of the priests of Augustus, into which none had ever been before admitted but by lot; that a house belonging to him, which had been burnt down to the ground, should be rebuilt at the public charge; and that he should have a vote in the senate, and deliver his opinion among the consulars. But this decree

did not take place, Tiberius alleging against his voting in the senate, the weakness of his understanding; and promised to make good, at his private expence, the losses he had sustained by fire. Nevertheless Tiberius, in his last will, named him amongst his heirs, and left him a legacy of about two millions of sesterces (1).

(C) At the persuasion of Livy, the celebrated historian, he wrote, in forty-three books, the history of Rome, from the

(1) Tacit. Ann. lib. iii. cap. 2, y. Dio, p. 665. Sueton, cap. 2.

death

added three letters to the ancient alphabet[†]: which, however, continued in use no longer than his reign[‡]. Seneca commends his works, and speaks of him as an encourager of learning. He was tall and well-shaped; but had something very disagreeable in his mien, something very unbecoming in his action, which, together with his feeble voice, and inarticulate pronunciation, is the chief subject of Seneca's raileries. These defects, as well as his stammering, and the trembling of his head, Dio Cassius takes to be the effect of the infirmities to which he was subject in his childhood and youth[‡].

His person.

His wife, when he came to the empire, was Valeria Messalina, his cousin. He had already by her a daughter, named Octavia, who was afterwards married to Nero. Not many days after his accession to the empire, his wife Messalina was delivered of a son, named first Claudius Tiberius Germanicus, and afterwards Britannicus Cæsar[‡]. By his second wife Ælia Petina, whom he divorced, he had a daughter called Antonia, whom he married first to Pompeius Magnus, and afterwards to Faustus Sylla, both descended from illustrious ancestors. His first wife, Plautia Urgulania, brought him Drusus, and a daughter called Claudia. Drusus lost his life at Pompeii before he was fourteen, being choked by an apple, as already related. As for Claudia, though she was born five months before he divorced her mother, yet he would not acknowledge her for his daughter; but, suspecting her to be the child of one of his freedmen called Botes, he caused her to be stripped naked, and to be exposed, after the divorce, before her mother's door[‡].

His wives and children.

[†] Tacit. Ann. lib. iii. cap. 3.
cap. 60. p. 665.

[‡] Senec. cap. 41.
[‡] Idem ibid.

[‡] Dio,

death of Cæsar the dictator to his own time. He published also seven volumes of his own life, which were wrote with more elegance than judgment (1); and a defence of Cicero against the writings of Gallus, which, in the opinion of Suetonius, was a learned performance. His history he recited in public, submitting it to the judgment of his auditors. He

had a particular esteem for the Greek tongue, spoke it fluently, and wrote, in that language, the history of the Tyrrhenians, in twenty books, and that of the Carthaginians, in eight. To make these histories the more famous, he added a new school to the old one at Alexandria, calling it by his own name, and ordering his two Greek histories to be read in both schools.

(1) Suet. cap. 41, 42.

Messalina,

*His freed-
men.*

Messalina, and Agrippina, whom he married after her death, bore an absolute sway over Claudius, who acted under them more like a slave than a prince^a, disposing of honours, governments, employments, and armies, as they and his freedmen, whose power he made equal to his own, thought fit to direct. Amongst the latter, his chief favourites were, Possides the eunuch, Felix, Harpocras, Polybius, and, above all, Narcissus and Pallas. To these we may add Callistus, or, as others call him, Calixtus, a man of great art and address: he was privy to the conspiracy against Caius, and gained the favour of Claudius, by pretending that he had been commanded by Caius to poison him; but had, under various pretences, deferred from day to day the execution of his orders^b. Calixtus's office was to receive the petitions which were presented to the emperor; Narcissus was his secretary; and Pallas had the whole management of the finances. These three divided the sovereign power amongst them^c. Each of them was, according to Pliny^d, richer than Crassus had ever been; and possessed greater wealth than the emperor himself, who was told one day, as he complained of his poverty, that he would be rich enough if he could but prevail upon his freedmen to take him for their partner. Having premised thus much in general concerning Claudius, and those who governed under him, we shall now resume the thread of our history.

*The alarm
which the
death of
Caius oc-
casioned in
Rome.*

The unexpected news of Caius's death, which was brought while the people were intent upon the shows, and, in an instant, diffused all over the city, occasioned a general commotion. Upon the first alarm, the deceased emperor's litter-men hastened, with their poles, to his rescue, and were immediately followed by his German guards, named the Celtic band; who, finding Caius lying dead on the ground, and his body shockingly mangled, vented their rage on all they met, without examining whether they were privy to the conspiracy, or not; and in this confusion were killed L. Asprenas, who had been consul three years before; Norbanus, descended from one of the most illustrious families in Rome; Anteius, a senator of great distinction; and several others, who came merely out of curiosity to know what truth was in the report. Chærea retired, before the emperor's death was publicly known, to the house of Germanicus, which was contiguous to the palace, and

*Several
persons of
distinction
killed.*

^a Suet. cap. 29.
lib. v. Suet. cap. 28.

^b Joseph. Antiq. lib. xix. cap. 1.
^d Plin. lib. xxxiii. cap. 10.

^c Zonar.

there,

there, with the chief of the conspirators, lay concealed, till the Germans, by whom Caius was extremely beloved, on account of his prodigality, had vented their fury. The people, suspecting Caius had caused the report of his death to be spread abroad, on purpose to discover their sentiments, continued in the theatre, without taking any notice of the rumour; but they were greatly alarmed, when they found that the emperor's guards had surrounded the theatre, and were ready to enter it sword in hand, to sacrifice the whole multitude to the manes of their massacred general. And this vengeance they designed to take, in the first transports of their rage; but a public herald, appearing unexpectedly in the theatre, clad in deep mourning, after having proclaimed the emperor's death, commanded the people quietly to retire to their respective houses, and the soldiery to withdraw to their quarters, without raising any farther disturbance. They all obeyed without hesitation; so that the tumult was soon appeased, and tranquillity restored to the city.

Then the consuls, Q. Pomponius Secundus and Cn. Sentius Saturninus, having, at the head of the city-guards, who were under their command, seized on the forum, and the Capitol, assembled the senate, in order to deliberate about the most proper measures to be taken in so critical a juncture. While they were assembled, both the populace and soldiery, whom Caius had gained with the immense sums he distributed amongst them, and the magnificent shows he exhibited almost every day, cried aloud for vengeance. These clamours so terrified the senate, that they were ready to pass a decree, enacting, that the conspirators should be apprehended, and executed as traitors and enemies to their country; when Valerius Asiaticus, a senator of high quality and reputation, rising up, spoke with great vehemence against these measures; he commended the zeal of the brave patriots, who had delivered their country from so cruel a tyrant; wishing that the tyrant had fallen by his hand; and exhorted the fathers to despise the clamours of the multitude. Thus animated, they, by an edict, which was ordered to be read to the people, commanded them to return to their several employments, and the soldiery to keep within their camp.

Then the conspirators publicly owned the fact. Sentius Saturninus, one of the consuls, having with great zeal and ardour displayed the benefits of liberty, and miseries of tyranny, encouraged the fathers to resume their ancient authority, and to begin the exercise of that power, to which they alone had a just claim, by conferring such honours and rewards on Chærea, as the eminent service he had rendered

The consuls seize the Capitol.

Valerius Asiaticus commends the zeal of the conspirators,

who appear, and own the fact.

the

*The senate
resolves to
restore
Rome to
her ancient
liberty.*

the republic well deserved. The senators, thus encouraged, agreed to restore Rome to her ancient liberty, and utterly to abolish the authority of the Cæsars. They spent all that day, and the following night, in deliberating on the measures to be taken for bringing about so great a change, without kindling a civil war within the very walls of the city; but parted, after long and warm debates, without determining upon any. When the senate rose, Chærea, whom they had appointed commander of the city-guards, went to the consuls for the parole, who gave him the word Liberty. No such honour had been paid to the consuls ever since the establishment of the monarchy.

*The soldiery find
Claudius;*

*and carry
him to the
camp;*

In the mean time, the soldiers in the camp took such measures as utterly defeated those of the senate. Claudius, who had been with Caius a few minutes before he was murdered, and was retired to a room in the palace called Hermaum, upon the first alarm of his death, hid himself behind the hangings in a dark corner of the palace, whence he heard the noise of the soldiery, and saw some of the German guards pass, with the head of Alprenas, which they carried in triumph. This sight increased his fright to such a degree, that he continued motionless in the same place, scarce daring to breathe, through fear of being discovered, till a common soldier, running about the palace in quest of plunder, perceived his feet, and dragged him from his hiding-place. Claudius, not doubting that the soldier designed to murder him, threw himself on the ground, and begged for mercy; which the soldier, finding who he was, not only granted, but saluted him emperor, and carried him to his comrades, who, at his instigation, honoured him with the same title. They then placed him in a chair, and carried him upon their shoulders to the camp, the people, who imagined they were conveying him to execution, lamenting his misfortune; for he had hitherto done nothing that could deserve any man's hatred.

He was joyfully received in the camp; but, being naturally timorous, passed the night in no small apprehension. He was inclined to refuse the empire; but king Agrippa, who had just interred the body of Caius, hearing the army designed to raise Claudius to the sovereign power, encouraged him to embrace the present opportunity; and, leaving him in that resolution, returned home. The soldiery, convinced that the state could not long subsist without an emperor, and reflecting, that it would prove far more ad-

* Joseph. Antiq. lib. xix. cap. 1, & 2. Suet. in Calig. cap. 59. Dio, lib. lx. p. 664. † Suet. in Claud. cap. 19.

vantageous for them to give, than to receive a sovereign, the very next day, the twenty-fifth of January, took an oath of allegiance to Claudius, who promised them fifteen sesterces a man^s. He was the first emperor, as Suetonius observes, who distributed money to the soldiers upon his accession to the empire; but his example was followed by most of his successors. The people, who had expressed great joy upon the hopes of recovering once more their ancient privileges, no sooner heard that Claudius was declared emperor by the army, than they approved, with loud acclamations, what had been done in the camp, and openly declared, that they had rather obey one prince than many tyrants. The senate, however, persisted in their former resolution of asserting the public liberty, and were even for making war against Claudius; but growing cooler, on account of the differences that arose amongst them, and not being able to come to an agreement, they sent for king Agrippa, to advise with him in the present emergency.

where the soldiery take an oath of allegiance to him.

The people join the soldiery.

The king, appearing in the senate dressed and perfumed, as if he had not been out of his house that day, asked what was become of Claudius, as if he suspected him to have been murdered together with his nephew. The senate informed him of what had passed, to which he pretended to be an utter stranger, and, at the same time, asked his advice. The king protested, that he was ready to sacrifice his life to the glory of the senate, and to the public liberty; but, nevertheless, starting innumerable difficulties, and exaggerating the dangers and evils of a civil war, he artfully endeavoured to deter them from having recourse to arms. He told them, that, in his opinion, they were not in a condition to oppose the prætorian guards; and therefore advised them rather to send a deputation to Claudius, intreating him not to accept of the empire. This embassy he offered to take upon himself. The senate thanked him for his zeal, accepted his offer, and dispatched him the same day to the camp, with two tribunes of the people, Veranius and Bruchus. The tribunes conjured Claudius to submit to the authority of the senate and people; reminded him of the evils and calamities which the republic had suffered under the former tyrants; assured him, that the senate had resolved, at all events, to attempt the recovery of their ancient privileges; and earnestly intreated him seriously to reflect on the calamities attending a civil war, and the unhappy end of Caius.

The senate advises with king Agrippa.

A deputation sent to Claudius.

^s Joseph. Antiq. lib. xix. cap. 1, & 2.

*The senate
betrayed by
Agrippa.*

The speech of the tribunes made a deep impression on the mind of Claudius, who was naturally timorous; but Agrippa, in a private audience, encouraged him to seize the present opportunity; acquainted him with the fears, perplexity, and irresolution of the senate; and exhorted him to assume forthwith the imperial power, and return an answer to the deputies becoming an emperor. Claudius followed the advice of Agrippa, which occasioned great confusion in the city, the senate declaring, that they were determined rather to risk a civil war than submit to the will of one man. This was in effect declaring war; and accordingly Claudius, being acquainted with their resolution, began to put himself in a condition to repel force with force. In the mean time the people, surrounding the place where the senate was assembled, demanded with threats an emperor; loudly declaring, that they would never acknowledge the authority of the senate. This declaration frightened the fathers to such a degree, that they immediately separated; but the consuls summoned them to meet again next morning before break of day. Only a small number obeyed the summons, scarce a hundred persons, the rest being either retired into the country, or keeping close in their houses, through fear of being insulted by the populace.

*The people
demand an
emperor;*

*and are
joined by
the city-
guards.*

*Claudius
declared
emperor.*

While the senators were deliberating how to frustrate the designs of Claudius, the city guards, the only troops that obeyed the senate, joining the populace, began to exclaim, that the senate might take what measures they thought proper, but the soldiery were resolved to yield obedience to none but an emperor. This defection put an end to the deliberations of the senate; all thoughts of liberty were laid aside, and Claudius, with the usual ceremonies, was saluted emperor (D). After this declaration the senators hastened to the camp,

(D) Several persons were proposed, all better qualified than Claudius, for that high station, namely, Annius Minucianus or Vinicianus, Valerius Asiaticus, who had been both privy to the conspiracy against Caius, and Camillus Scribonianus, who revolted the following year. In the mean time the gladiators, on whom the senate chiefly relied, and the city-guards, went over in crowds to Claudius; so that

Minucianus and the others ceased to solicit for a dignity which they knew they could not long enjoy. Chærea did all that lay in his power to put a stop to the desertion of the soldiery, but to no purpose; for while he was encouraging the few who remained to exert themselves in the defence of their liberties, instead of listening to him, they took up their standards, and, marching sword in hand out of the city, joined their comrades

in

camp, each of them striving to be the foremost in paying his court to the new prince. The soldiery received them with insults, wounded some, and would have killed the consul Pomponius Secundus, who had been the most strenuous of all in the cause of liberty, had they not been restrained by Claudius, who received him with the greatest tokens of respect, and placed him next to himself^b.

Claudius, being declared and acknowledged emperor, left the camp, accompanied by the senate and prætorian guards; and, entering the city in triumph, offered a solemn sacrifice in the Capitol, as a thanksgiving to the gods, who had thus raised him to the empire. Then he withdrew to the palace, where he immediately summoned a council to deliberate on his conduct with respect to those who had murdered Caius. He secretly approved of the action, but as he thought it nearly concerned all princes, that the death of one should not pass unrevenge, with the advice of his friends he caused the brave Chærea (E), with Lupus, and a few more, to be condemned and executed; but pardoned the rest, and, amongst them, Cornelius Sabinus, though he had acted a chief part in the murder of Caius; but the brave tribune, grieved for the death of his friend Chærea, and scorning to out-live him, laid violent hands on himself. After these examples were made, the emperor passed an act of oblivion with respect to all that had been transacted in the senate, from the death of Caius to the time of his accession to the empire, and observed it so strictly, that he even raised those to the first employments who had been the most sanguine in the cause of liberty.

Yr. of Fl.
2389.
A. D. 41.
U. C. 789.

Chærea, and some of the conspirators, put to death.

The senate immediately decreed Claudius all the honours which they had conferred on other emperors; but he modestly declined the greater part of them, and forbade any one

Instances of Claudius's modesty, equity, &c.

^b Jos. Antiq. lib. xix. cap. 1, & 2. Dio, p. 666. Suet. in Claud. cap. 10.

in the camp of the prætorian guards. The senate, seeing themselves thus abandoned by all their troops, were forced to join the people and soldiery, and declare Claudius emperor; which they did accordingly, decreeing him, at the same time, all the titles annexed to the imperial dignity. However, Chærea and Sabinus con-

tinued protesting, that they would rather fall by their own hands than submit to Claudius (1).

(E) Chærea died with the constancy of a true hero; but Lupus betrayed great marks of fear, notwithstanding the illustrious example he had before his eyes.

(1) Joseph. Antiq. lib. xix. cap. 3. Dio, p. 665.

to pay him divine worship, or style him a god. Having a few days after he was declared emperor, married his daughter Antonia to Cn. Pompeius, he would not suffer the people to make any public rejoicings on that occasion, nor even on his own birth-day, or on the anniversary of his accession to the empire¹. He no sooner began to exercise the authority with which he was vested, than he suppressed the law of majesty, which, under the two preceding emperors, had proved fatal to Rome. At the same time he recalled all the exiles, eased the people of the tributes with which Caius had loaded them, prohibited such as had any relations of their own, however distant, to name him among their heirs; restored the estates which had been unjustly seized by Tiberius and Caius to the owners, or their heirs; and ordered all the statues, which Caius had caused to be brought to Rome from Greece, and other countries, to be restored to the cities whence they had been taken (F). With these, and innumerable other instances of his clemency, justice, and affability, he gained the hearts of the people to such a degree, that, upon a groundless report of his being assassinated, they raised dreadful disturbances in the city, calling the soldiers traitors, the senate parricides, and loading with curses and imprecations all whom they suspected to have been accessory to his death. The tumult continued till the magistrates assured the people from the rostra, that Claudius was only gone to Ostia, whence he would return in a short time².

*Is beloved
by the people.*

*His timor-
ousness.*

The zeal which the people testified on this, and several other occasions, for his safety, was not sufficient to cure his natural timidity. His friends could not prevail upon him, during the first month of his reign, to appear in the senate, because Cæsar, the dictator, had been murdered there. He caused all whom he admitted to his presence, to be first carefully searched, lest they should have some

¹ Dio, p. 667. 669.

² Suet. in Claud. cap. 12.

(F) When news of Caligula's death reached Gaul, several persons of distinction in that province solicited Servius Sulpitius Galba, who commanded on the Rhine, to seize the sovereignty for himself. The legions offered to support him, thinking they had as good a

right to dispose of the empire as the prætorian guards: but Galba rejected their offer with indignation; a refusal which so pleased Claudius, that he received him into the number of his intimate friends, and ever after shewed a particular affection for him (a).

(a) Suet. in Galb. cap. 7.

Weapon concealed under their garments. It was a long time before he could be persuaded to excuse women, and even children, from being examined in a very rude and unbecoming manner. At public entertainments he was constantly surrounded by his guards, whom he also obliged to attend him at table, distrusting the domestics even of his most intimate friends. He never failed to visit in person such of the senators as were indisposed; but always sent his guards before to search every corner of the house¹. These unnecessary and ridiculous precautions did not render him so contemptible in the eyes of the multitude as the weakness and want of judgement which he betrayed in the administration of justice. He was totally unqualified for that office, but nevertheless could not be prevented from hearing and deciding the most intricate causes; which served only to expose him to public derision, and often to insults, which he bore with incredible patience (G).

Renders himself contemptible.

In the first year of his reign he enlarged the kingdom of Agrippa, by the addition of Judæa and Samaria, which had been formerly possessed by his grandfather Herod the Great. To his brother Herod he gave the principality of Chalcis, at the foot of Mount Libanus; and granted to both the privilege of entering the senate, allowing Agrippa to appear there with consular, and Herod with prætorian, ornaments^m. He also restored Mithridates, the Iberian, to his kingdom, Mithridates, the Cilician, to the kingdom of Bosphorus, and Antiochus to that of Comagene: all these princes had been unjustly deprived of their dominions by Caius. Soon after his accession to the empire he recalled his two nieces, Agrippina and Julia, from the island of Pontia, to which they had been confined by their brother Caius; but his wife, Messalina, who governed him with an absolute sway, jealous of the power which Julia assumed, prevailed upon him to send her back to the place of her former banishment, under pretence that she was guilty of adultery, and several other crimes, which by the envious Messalina were laid to her charge, but never proved. The celebrated Seneca had his

Restores several princes to their dominions.

¹ Suet. in Claud. cap. 35. Dio, p. 670.

^m Joseph. Antiq. lib. xix. cap. 4.

(G) Suetonius relates, that a Greek pleading one day before him, not only reproached him with ignorance, but called him to his face an old fool; and that a Roman knight, thinking himself wronged by him, had the boldness to throw his penknife at him, which wounded him in the cheek(3).

(3) Suet. in Claud. cap. 15.

*Seneca
banished.*

*Advantages
gained
by Claudi-
us's lieutenants.*

share in the misfortunes of the unhappy princeſs, being, after his quaſtorſhip, baniſhed to the iſland of Corſica, upon a groundleſs ſuſpicion of a criminal converſation with her.

This year the Romans gained ſome advantages over the Mauritanians, who had taken arms to revenge the death of Ptolemy, their king, barbarouſly aſſaſinated by Caius's ordersⁿ. About the ſame time Sulpitius Galba overcame the Catti, and P. Gabinus Secundus obtained a victory over the Marſi, two German nations. Gabinus, after his victory, had the good fortune to diſcover, and bring back with him to Rome, one of the eagles which the Germans had taken upon the defeat of Varus. For theſe victories Claudius aſſumed triumphal ornaments, and the title of emperor. Gabinus defeated likewiſe the Chauci, another German nation, and was allowed by Claudius, on account of his gallant behaviour on that occaſion, to aſſume the ſurname of Chaucius^o.

*Claudius
obliges the
ſenators to
obſerve the
laws of
Augustus.*

In the following year, Claudius entered upon his ſecond conſulſhip, having for his colleague C. Largus; but held it only for two months: to whom he reſigned the ſaſces, we are no where told. Largus continued conſul to the end of the year. The emperor, when he firſt aſſembled the ſenate in quality of conſul, cauſed the ſenators to bind themſelves by a ſolemn oath, to obſerve all the laws of Auguſtus, and took the ſame oath himſelf; but would not allow any of the magiſtrates or ſenators to lay themſelves under any obligation with regard to his own laws. This year, the Mauritanians were again defeated by Suetonius Paulinus, who extended his conqueſts to the river Niger, which ſeparates Africa from Ethiopia. Cn. Hoſidius Geta, ſucceeding Paulinus in the command of the Roman troops in Africa, gave Salabes, the Mauritanian general, two great overthrows; which obliged the whole country to ſubmit to the yoke. Claudius divided the kingdom of Mauritania into two provinces, the Cæſariana and the Tingitana; the former being ſo called from Cæſar, a name at that time common to all the emperors; and the latter from Tingis, the metropolis of that province. Both theſe provinces were, by the appointment of Claudius, governed by Roman knights. This year Claudius cauſed a law to be paſſed, commanding, that thoſe who were appointed by the ſenate to the government of provinces, ſhould depart from Rome before the beginning of April; but the year following he allowed them to remain in Rome till the middle of that month. At the ſame time he publiſhed an ediſt, forbid-

ⁿ Tacit. Ann. lib. xi. cap. 8. Dio, p. 670.
cap. 24.

^o Suet. in Claud.

ding those whom he should charge with the government of provinces to return him thanks, as was customary, in the senate, since they owed no obligations to him; while he, on the contrary, was greatly indebted to them for easing him of part of his burden ^P.

The great famine which raged this year at Rome, prompted Claudius to undertake the forming of a large and convenient haven at the mouth of the Tiber; which work he happily completed, though Cæsar the dictator, if some mistake has not crept into Suetonius, had many years before attempted it in vain. It was an undertaking, says Dio Cassius, worthy of the grandeur of the Roman empire: but the successors of Claudius were not able to maintain it; so that, soon after his death, it was filled with sand, and became entirely useless ^q. At the same time, Claudius undertook the draining of the lake Fucinus in the country of the Marsi, and the conveying of its waters, by a deep canal, into the Tiber, or rather the Liris; in which work he employed thirty thousand men for eleven years, but to no effect.

Claudius makes a harbour at the mouth of the Tiber.

This year Messalina and Claudius's freedmen began to abuse the prince's weakness, and the too great power he allowed them, to the destruction of such of the nobility as gave them umbrage, or incurred their displeasure. The first who fell by their treachery was Appius Silanus, a person of great distinction and known integrity. He first married Æmilia Lepida, grand-daughter of Julia the daughter of Augustus, and had by her L. Junius Silanus, to whom Claudius had betrothed his daughter Octavia: upon the death of Æmilia Lepida, which happened this year, Claudius, who considered Silanus as his intimate friend, persuaded him to marry Domitia Lepida, mother of his own wife Messalina; but, to his great misfortune, the empress, whose lewdness knew no bounds, fell in love with him herself, and was not ashamed to disclose her passion. Silanus rejected, with the utmost indignation, her incestuous solicitations; a repulse which provoked her to such a degree, that she resolved upon his ruin, and effected it, with the assistance of the freedman Narcissus, in the following manner: Narcissus rushed into Claudius's chamber one morning by break of day, in a great fright, and told the emperor, who was still in bed, that he had dreamed Silanus designed to murder him that very day. Messalina, as had been agreed on between them, pretended to hear the freedman's account with surprize and amazement, assured

Lewdness of Messalina.

^P Dio, lib. lx. p. 671.

^q Suet. in Claud. cap. 20.

*Death of
Silanus.*

the emperor, that she had been, for several nights together, alarmed with the same dream. In the mean time Silanus, who had been told the day before, that he was to wait upon the emperor at that hour, suddenly came in; and his appearance so terrified Claudius, that, without any farther enquiries, he commanded him to be immediately seized, and executed. The same day he acquainted the senate with what had passed, and was not ashamed publicly to return thanks to his freedman for watching over his safety, even in his sleep * (H).

*Camillus
revolts,*

The death of Silanus alarmed the nobility, who, finding their lives and estates precarious under a weak prince, entirely governed by his wife and freedmen, resolved, by his death, to deliver themselves from the dangers with which they were threatened. Annius Vinicianus, or, as Josephus calls him, Minucianus, a principal actor in the murder of Caius, and, after his death, had been, by the senate, judged equal to the empire, was at the head of the conspiracy, and drew into it Furius Camillus Scribonianus, governor of Dalmatia, who had been consul ten years before, and with him a great number of knights and senators. Camillus, who was at the head of a powerful army, openly avowed his design; and, by assuring his troops under his command, that he had nothing in view but to restore Rome to her ancient liberty, persuaded them to take an oath of allegiance to him. At the same time, being well acquainted with Claudius's timorous temper, he wrote a letter to him, filled with reproaches, and threatening him with a cruel death, if he did not immediately resign the empire, and, retiring to a private life, save him the trouble and expence of mak-

* Sueton. in Claud. cap. 37. Dio, p. 674. Tacit. Annal. lib. xi. cap. 37.

(H) Suetonius tells us, that the poor unmanly wretch was, at the least apprehension of danger, easily put upon the most cruel and sanguinary precautions, fear getting the better of his reason and temper. When returned to himself, he often testified great grief and concern for the executions which he had commanded in a sudden fright, without knowing what he did or said; nay, he fre-

quently enquired what was become of those persons who had been executed by his order: he sometimes sent to invite them to dine with him the next day, and was under the utmost concern when informed of their death, protesting, with tears in his eyes, that he had given no such orders (1). Thus was his whole life governed by fears, and his tears were influenced by his wives and freedmen.

(1) Sueton. in Claud. cap. 37—39.

ing war against him. The emperor, terrified by this letter, assembled, in the utmost consternation, his friends, to deliberate whether he should resign the sovereign power to Camillus: but he was soon delivered from his fears; for Camillus's soldiers, not being able, by some strange accident, to remove their ensigns, when they were ordered to march out and meet their new emperor, began, upon that omen, to repent of their revolt; and being persuaded that the gods disapproved of it, fell upon their officers, and cut most of them in pieces. Camillus himself escaped to the island of Issa, on the coast of Dalmatia, where he was stabbed, in the arms of his wife Junia, by a common soldier named Volaginus, after he had borne the title of emperor five days*.

but is abandoned by his men, and murdered.

Upon his death, most of the conspirators, and among the rest Vinicianus, destroyed themselves: some were seized and executed; and others, by purchasing with large sums the favour of Messalina, and the emperor's freedmen, never were enquired after; while many innocent knights and senators were, under colour of being concerned in the conspiracy, stripped of their estates by the rapacious Messalina and Narcissus, and either sent into banishment, or executed without mercy. The courage and resolution of Arria is celebrated by most of the ancient writers: she was wife of Cæcina Pætus, of consular rank, who, having joined Camillus, was seized in Dalmatia, and sent to be tried at Rome. Arria being, by the merciless soldiers, denied the satisfaction of attending her husband in the same vessel, followed him in another; and, arriving at Rome, there publicly reproached Junia, the wife of Camillus, with want of courage, and conjugal affection, in living after she had seen her husband inhumanly murdered in her arms. Her friends, concluding from thence, that she was resolved not to outlive her husband, watched her day and night; but she, to convince them that all their precautions were to no effect, beat her head against the wall with such violence, that her friends believed her dead. However, she recovered; but finding she could not, with all her interest (for she was in great favour with Messalina), save her husband, and that he had not the courage to fall by his own hand, she took a dagger, plunged it into her own breast, and, pulling it out again, presented it to her husband, saying, "Non dolet; I don't feel it." Otho, father to the emperor of that name, being appointed the successor of Ca-

Most of the conspirators kill themselves.

The constancy, firmness, and death of Arria.

* Sueton. in Claud. cap. 13. Dio, p. 674. Plin. lib. iii. epist. 16.
Tacit. Hist. lib. ii. cap. 75. † Plin. lib. iii. epist. 16.

millus, in the command of the troops in Dalmatia, ordered all those soldiers to be put to death who had any concern in the murder of their officers, although he well knew that Claudius had approved of what they had done. His behaviour, on this occasion, displeased the emperor: but Otho soon regained his favour by discovering a conspiracy formed against him by a Roman knight, who was convicted and thrown headlong from the Tarpeian rock, by a sentence of the consuls and tribunes of the people ^u.

*The two
Julias put
to death.*

The following year, Claudius was the third time consul, having for his colleague L. Vitellius, the second time consul. At this period Claudius deprived the Lycians of their liberty, to terminate the differences that reigned amongst them, and to punish them for having, in a tumult, put some Roman citizens to death ^v. Their country was added to the province of Pamphylia ^z. Messalina, abusing the absolute sway she had over her weak husband, persuaded him, by her malicious insinuations, first to put to death his niece Julia, the daughter of Germanicus, whom he had banished the year before to the island of Pontia; and afterwards Julia the daughter of Drusus, and grand-daughter of Tiberius: she was likewise niece of Claudius, being the daughter of his sister Livilla. They were both condemned and executed, says Suetonius, without being allowed to defend themselves, though no person could prove the charge that was brought against them. However, the latter Julia well deserved, on another account, the fate that overtook her; for she was chiefly instrumental, as we have related before, in the ruin of her husband Nero, the son of Germanicus. When Claudius quitted his consulship, the senate decreed him triumphal ornaments; which induced him to engage in some enterprize, that might entitle him to a real triumph. The theatre he chose for his warlike exploits was Britain, at that time harassed with civil wars.

*Claudius
designs to
subdue
Britain.*

Beric, a British prince, having been expelled from the island by a contrary faction, repaired to Rome, and implored the assistance of Claudius, who resolved to restore him, and even to make a conquest of the country. With this view he ordered A. Plautius into Britain, with the legions that were under his command in Gaul. The legions at first refused to embark in an expedition to a country which they considered as a distinct world: but the mutiny was at length appeased by the discretion and address of Plautius, who shipped them at Gesoriacum, now Boulogne,

^u Sueton. in Oth.
p. 676.

^v Sueton. cap. 25.

^z Dio,

and landed on the coast of Kent without opposition: for the brothers, Caractacus and Togadumnus, who ruled the Cattivellauni, and had expelled Beric, chief of the Dobuni, were actually prepared to give the Romans a warm reception; but being informed of the mutiny among the legions, they retired from the sea-side, and thus afforded an opportunity to Plautius of landing unmolested. This general advanced by the same route which Julius Cæsar had formerly taken, as far as the river Thames, which he crossed, and in Oxfordshire defeated the brothers in two successive battles. Caractacus, after a third unsuccessful effort, retreated along the banks of the river Thames, and another battle ensuing in the neighbourhood of London, his brother was slain, and his army routed with great slaughter. Plautius having given the emperor notice of the progress he had made, Claudius immediately embarked at Ostia in the latter end of July, for Marseilles, and marching by land to Boulogne, where he took shipping, landed, with a considerable reinforcement, at the Portus Rutapinus, now called Sandwich. He forthwith proceeded to the banks of the Thames, on which Plautius was encamped, and the forces being joined, crossed the river in the face of the Britons, who disputed his passage with great bravery. From thence he advanced into the country of the Trinobantes, and took their capital Camulodunum, now called Malden, in Essex. All the Belgic Britons submitted; but Caractacus still kept the field at the head of the Cattivellauni: Claudius having disarmed those that submitted, and reduced a good number of petty states to obedience by force of arms, was saluted emperor by the legions; and the vanquished Britons erected temples to him, ranking him among the number of their deities. Thus loaded with glory, which he owed entirely to the valour and conduct of his general, he returned to the continent, after having stayed sixteen days in Britain. He entered Italy on the side of Lombardy, and embarking at the mouth of the Po, returned by sea to Rome, in the consulship of L. Quintius Crispinus, and M. Statilius Taurus; having been absent about six months ^y. The senate decreed him a triumph, with the surname of Britannicus to him and his son; besides two triumphal arches, one at Rome, and the other in Gaul, on the spot where he embarked for Britain. Farther, to encourage the emperor and his lieutenants to pursue their conquests, they decreed, that all the treaties made by them should have the same force as if made by the senate and people of Rome ^z. Clau-

His triumph.

^y Dio, p. 68a. Suet. in Claud.

^z Dio, p. 68o, & seq.

dius, after his triumph, restored to the fathers the provinces of Achaia and Macedon, which thenceforth began to be governed again by proconsuls*. He likewise honoured M. Julius Cottius, prince of the Alps called Cottiz, with the title of king, and enlarged his barren territories; but deprived the Rhodians of their liberty for crucifying some Roman citizens, yet he restored it to them nine years after, in the fifty-third year of the Christian æra.

Some wise ordinances of Claudius.

The next consuls were M. Vinicius, whom Claudius raised to that dignity, though he had caused his wife Julia, the daughter of Germanicus, to be put to death, and T. Statilius Taurus Corvinus. As the city was filled with statues, Claudius enacted a law, forbidding any new ones to be erected within the walls of Rome, without the consent of the senate; and, at the same time, ordered many that were already raised to be taken away. He punished with great severity some governors of provinces, who had been guilty of oppression; and enacted several wholesome laws for bringing such to justice as should, for the future, be guilty of the same peculation; ordering all governors to return to Rome when the time of their command expired, to answer the complaints that might be brought against them. The prerogative of granting leave to senators to travel out of Italy, which Augustus had lodged in the senate, he claimed himself, and obliged the senate to confirm by a decree.

Vinicius poisoned by Messalina.

In the following consulate of Valerius Asiaticus and M. Junius Silanus, died M. Vinicius, brother-in-law to Claudius, being poisoned by Messalina. He was a man of a mild temper, and lived retired, interesting himself only in the affairs of his family; but, to his misfortune, the lewd Messalina conceived a violent passion for him, and poisoned him, because he could not, by any solicitations, be prevailed upon to injure Claudius^b. Asinius Gallus, the son of Agrippina, Tiberius's first wife, conspired this year against the emperor, with a design to seize the sovereign power; but the plot being discovered, Claudius only condemned him to banishment, as a person from whom he had nothing to apprehend. He was of a very low stature, ill-shaped, deformed, ugly, and so inconsiderate, that he had aspired to the sovereignty, though destitute of friends and money, upon the bare supposition, that he should be immediately acknowledged by the people on account of his noble descent. This generous behaviour in Claudius was highly commended by persons of all ranks; and no less pleasing to the Romans was the decree which he passed in the senate,

Claudius's clemency.

* Suet. cap. 25.

^b Dio, p. 683. Suet. lib. v. cap. 13.

forbidding freedmen to appear in judgement against their patrons, and empowering their former masters to deprive them of their liberty, and bring them back to the chain, when they proved ungrateful, or gave any just motive of complaint.

Next year Claudius was consul the fourth time with Lucius Vitellius, the third time consul; but after two months the emperor resigned that dignity, and took upon him the office of censor, choosing for his colleague Lucius Vitellius already consul, who, as we have observed, possessed a wonderful talent for flattery (I). In the discharge of this important office, Claudius performed some things highly commendable, but in others gave such instances of weakness, and want of understanding, as exposed him to public derision. He published above twenty edicts in one day, most of them trifling and ridiculous (K).

*Claudius
censor.*

This year was remarkable for the death of several persons of great distinction, whom Claudius, at the instigation of Messalina, caused to be executed. Cn. Pompeius Magnus,

Yr of Fl.
2396.
A. D. 47.
U. C. 796.

(I) He left no method untried, says Suetonius, to insinuate himself into the favour of Claudius: observing him entirely addicted to his wife Messalina, and his freedmen, he begged of the former, as the greatest favour she could bestow upon him, that she would grant him the honour of pulling off her shoes. Messalina highly pleased to see a man of his quality and parts proud of that office, granted him his request; and Vitellius, the first time he discharged his honourable employment, carried away one of her shoes, and wore it constantly in his bosom, not being ashamed to pull it out in public, and often kifs it. The golden images of Pallas and Narcissus, the emperor's favourite freedmen, he worshipped among his household gods. When Claudius entertained the people with the secular games, so called, because they were exhibited but once

in a century, his compliment to him was, "Sæpe facias! may you many times exhibit these sports!" Not only Claudius, who was a weak prince, but his wives and freedmen, were so enchanted with the gross and fulsome flattery of this fawning slave, that they not only raised him to the first employments in the empire, but likewise promoted his two sons, whom he had the satisfaction to see consuls in the same year, the one succeeding the other. His elder son was afterwards raised to the empire (1).

Cn. Pompeius put to death.

(K) By one of them, for instance, he warned the senate and people to take care, that their wine-vessels were well pitched, since there was that year great plenty of grapes; by another he acquainted them, that the juice of the yew-tree was the best remedy against the sting of a viper.

(1) Sueton. in Vitell.

who

who had married Antonia, the emperor's eldest daughter, fell the first. He was of an illustrious family, but not descended from Pompey the Great. His credit with the prince, his high rank, and extraordinary parts, by giving umbrage to Messalina, occasioned his ruin. He was condemned, and had his head cut off by a soldier sent for that purpose, without even knowing that he was accused: so great and absolute was the sway which Messalina had acquired over her weak, timorous, and credulous husband. At the same time Crassus, the father of Pompeius, and his mother Scribonia, were, by order of Claudius, put to death, though the former entirely resembled him, being, to use the expression of Seneca, as great a monster as himself, and therefore no less qualified to be emperor^c.

*Valerius
Asiaticus
accused.*

Many knights and senators of rank were, after the death of Pompeius, accused of conspiring against the prince, some of whom Claudius pardoned; but Valerius Asiaticus was prosecuted without mercy, because he possessed, and had embellished with extraordinary magnificence, the fine gardens of Lucullus, which Messalina wished to possess. He was charged with a design of withdrawing into Gaul, to excite his countrymen to a revolt; for he was a native of Vienne, and had very powerful connections in that province. He was accused by Sosibius, preceptor to Britannicus, who easily prevailed upon the weak and timorous prince to secure his life and empire by the destruction of his pretended enemy and rival. Crispinus, commander of the prætorian guards, was immediately dispatched with a body of soldiers to seize him at Baixæ; from whence he hurried him to Rome in chains.

His trial.

He was tried, not in the senate, but in the emperor's chamber, in presence of Messalina: however, he pleaded his cause with such eloquence and energy, that he forced tears from Claudius, and even from Messalina: but the empress, fearing pity and tenderness should get the better of her other passions, left the room, and whispered L. Vitellius in the ear, not to let the accused escape^d. As Valerius declared, that he had never before seen any of the witnesses who were produced against him, Sosibius at last produced one, who, he said, was well acquainted with him. He had informed his evidence, that Valerius was bald; and therefore, upon his entering the room, he desired him, in the first place, to tell them which was Valerius Asiaticus. "I have been long acquainted with him, and that is he,"

^c Suet. cap. 29. Dio, p. 679. Senec. Lud. in Claud. Ann. lib. xi. cap. 1. Dio, p. 685.

^d Tacit.

said the witness, pointing at another bald person, who happened to be present. This circumstance convinced Claudius, that Asiaticus was free from guilt; but, while he was deliberating about clearing him, the treacherous Vitellius, throwing himself at his feet, and recounting the great services of Asiaticus to the commonwealth, of his attachment to Antonia, the prince's mother, and his gallant behaviour in the late British expedition, intreated him with great emotion, to display his mercy, by granting to so worthy and deserving a citizen the free choice of his own death. Claudius, without farther consideration, complied with his request; which was, in effect, condemning Asiaticus, who thereupon opened his veins, and bled to death * (L).

He is condemned by the treachery of Vitellius.

As the pleaders at this time exacted exorbitant fees from their clients, and often of both parties, a complaint of this grievance being exhibited by Caius Silius, consul elect, the whole senate concurred, and demanded that the Cincian law might be revived, enjoining, that no man should, for pleading a cause, accept of any gift or payment. The demand of the senate was, with great vehemence, promoted by Silius, and with equal ardor opposed by the pleaders.

Claudius supports the pleaders.

* Tacit. Ann. lib. xi. cap. 3.

(L) He behaved with great firmness and intrepidity. After his condemnation, he continued his usual exercises, walking, bathing, and even supping cheerfully; telling his friends, that it would have been more to his credit to have fallen by the craft of Tiberius, or the fury of Claudius, than thus to perish by the dark devices of a woman, and the treachery of such a base and prostitute sycophant as Vitellius. After supper he viewed his funeral pile, and ordered it to be removed to another place, lest the heat and smoke should hurt his trees. Finally, he opened his veins, without betraying the least concern, and bled to death. Messalina, not satisfied with the ruin of Asiaticus, suborned per-

sons, who urged Poppæa, with whom he was supposed to carry on a criminal conversation, to deprive herself of life, to avoid the disgrace of a shameful imprisonment, with which they threatened her. The emperor was so totally forgetful of her unhappy end, that her husband Scipio being a few days after at table with him, he asked him why he came without his wife. Scipio answered, that she was dead; but dared not mention the particulars of her death. Afterwards two illustrious Roman knights, surnamed Petres, were accused and condemned, because one of them had a dream, which was supposed to portend some misfortune, either to Claudius, or the empire (1).

(1) Tacit. Ann. lib. xi. cap. 1.

Claudius

Claudius favoured the latter; and therefore the senate, instead of subjecting them, as they designed, to the penalties of the law against extortion, if they took any fee, or even present, for pleading, contented themselves with settling their fees, which were not to exceed the value of two hundred and fifty crowns, and declaring those who were not satisfied with that sum, guilty of extortion ^f.

*Wars in
Germany.*

In the same year the Cherusci, who inhabited the present city of Brunswick, had recourse to Claudius for a king, who sent them Italicus, son to Tilavius the brother of the famous Arminius. Italicus was born at Rome, and educated after the Roman manner; a circumstance which induced the Cherusci, though they received him at first with great joy, to take arms, and drive him from the throne. He was afterwards restored by the Longobards, and, being supported by them, oppressed, in a most tyrannical manner, the Cheruscan state. At the same time Sanguinius, governor of Lower Germany, being dead, the Chauci made incursions into that province; but Cn. Domitius Corbulo, the greatest commander of his age, who succeeded Sanguinius, obliged them to retire, pursued them into their own country, and would have compelled them to submit to the Roman yoke, had not Claudius, who feared Corbulo more than he dreaded the Germans, put a stop to his conquests, and ordered him to lead back all the Roman forces over the Rhine. As he had taken great pains to restore the ancient discipline amongst the legions, whom he found utter strangers to military toils, that they might not relapse into a habit of idleness, he employed them in digging a canal three-and-twenty miles long between the Meuse and the Rhine, to receive the high tides, and prevent inundations (M). The emperor granted Corbulo triumphal ornaments, though he would not allow him to prosecute the war. He was succeeded by Curtius Rufus, who, though of a mean extraction, arrived at the consular dignity, commanded armies, and died proconsul of Africa ^g (N). Towards the end of the

^f Tacit. Annal. lib. xi. cap. 5—8.
cap. 20.

^g Tacit. Annal. lib. xi.

(M) A modern writer takes this to be the canal known at present by the name of Fliet, which extends from Sluys on the Meuse to Leyden on the Rhine (1).

(N) He was, according to some writers, the son of a gladiator. He was, says Tacitus, a servile flatterer of those above him, but arrogant to his inferiors: he lived to a great age,

(1) Buch. de Belg. lib. iv.

arrived

the year, Aulus Plautius, returning from Britain, was received by Claudius with great marks of distinction, and honoured with an ovation, the emperor assisting in that ceremony, and yielding to him the most honourable place^h. He had subdued the Dobuni, Ancalites, and Trinobantes, who inhabited Gloucestershire, Oxfordshire, Middlesex, and Essex: while Fl. Vespasian his second or assessor, was employed in reducing the maritime places settled by Belgic colonies from the promontory of Kent to the extremity of Cornwall. In this expedition he gained thirty battles, made himself master of the Isle of Wight, and, besides the conquest of Hampshire, Wiltshire, and Somersetshire, subjected the Belgæ and Durotriges, two powerful nations, who, though colonies from the continent, had adopted the manners of the old Britons. P. Ostorius Scapula succeeded Plautius in the government of Britain, of whom we shall have occasion to speak hereafter (O).

The following year Aulus Vitellius, afterwards emperor, and Lucius Vipsianus Poplicola, being consuls, Claudius, in quality of censor, created several new patrician families, most of those which had been raised to that dignity by Romulus, L. Brutus, Julius Cæsar, and Augustus, being extinct. He likewise supplied the vacancies in the senate, introducing into that body some Æduans, that is, natives of Autun in Gaul, and promoting a decree of the senate, qualifying such of the Gaulish nobility as were Roman citizens, to be admitted to the senatorial dignity. Such senators as were of infamous characters he degraded; but proceeded in this transaction with great lenity, advising them to resign their dignity, that their voluntary abdication might veil the infamy of their expulsion. For these regulations, the consul Vipsianus proposed, that Claudius should be styled the father of the senate; but he modestly declined that title.

Gauls admitted into the senate.

^h *Suet. cap. 24. Dio, p. 685.*

arrived at the consulate, obtained triumphal ornaments, and was in the end proconsul of Africa. This, according to some authors, is the Quintus Curtius, whose history of the exploits of Alexander the Great has reached us.

(O) About this time a Roman knight, named Cneius Novius, was discovered armed with

a dagger, among those who were paying their respects to the prince. When put to the rack, he confessed his design of murdering the emperor; but, though cruelly tortured, would never discover his accomplices, nor even the motives, which had urged him to that attempt (1).

(1) *Tacit. Annal. lib. xi. cap. 23.*

He

He then numbered the citizens, who amounted to six millions nine hundred thousand¹.

This year Claudius was acquainted with the disorders of his wife Messalina. She was the daughter of Valerius Messala Barbatus, the emperor's cousin, and of Domitia Lepida, the grand-daughter of M. Antony, and Octavia, Augustus's sister; so that she was Augustus's great-niece as Claudius was his great-nephew^k. We have related several instances of her cruelty, which, however great, fell short of her monstrous lewdness. Her chief favourite was Caius Silius, the most comely young man in Rome, with whose graceful person she was so enchanted, that she obliged him to divorce his wife Silana. Silius was not insensible of his crime, and the fate which threatened him; but to withstand Messalina was present destruction. He therefore complied with her vicious inclination; and the empress, far from pursuing her amours privately, openly frequented his house with a numerous train, accompanied him incessantly abroad, and loaded him with wealth and honours. After some time, Silius, apprehensive of the dangers that hung over him, and judging they were only to be averted by dangerous remedies, told the empress, without disguise, that they were gone too far to wait for the prince's death; that desperate attempts were the only security in glaring guilt; that he had accomplices at hand, and was ready to marry her, and adopt Germanicus. This proposal, bold beyond all example, and almost all belief, Messalina applauded; and a few days after, the emperor being gone to Ostia to assist at a sacrifice, she married Silius, with all the usual solemnities, in the face of the senate, of the equestrian order, of the whole people, and soldiery (P)^l.

*Messalina
openly
marries
Silius.*

¹ Tacit. Annal. lib. xi. cap. 25.

^k Senec. Lud. in Claud. p. 47.

^l Tacit. ibid. cap. 26. Suet. lib. v. cap. 26. Dio, p. 624.

(P) Tacitus, Suetonius, and Dio Cassius, who relate this memorable incident, being apprised how fabulous it would appear, that the emperor's wife should, in his life-time, dare to espouse another husband, and celebrate with him, in the face of the city, the nuptial feasts, declare, that, how incredible it may seem, they only recount

what is unquestionably true, and what they had learnt from the living or written testimony of their fathers. Suetonius tells us, that Messalina induced Claudius himself to sign the marriage-contract, as if it were only dissembled to avert the calamities which certain prodigies portended to hang over his head (1).

(1) Suet. cap. 29.

The emperor is acquainted with her monstrous conduct.

Horror seized the prince's family, especially those who bore the chief sway in it: they dreaded nothing so much as a revolution which would put an end to their power; but when they recollected the stupidity of Claudius, his blind attachment to his wife, and the many eminent persons sacrificed to her fury, their own apprehensions deterred them from acquainting him with his public ignominy. Callistus and Pallas, the reigning favourites, were still for dissembling the empress's enormities, and restraining her, by private menaces, from keeping company with her adulterer. Narcissus thought the emperor should be immediately acquainted with the infamous conduct of his wife. He prevailed, by gifts and promises upon Calpurnia and Cleopatra, two courtesans in high favour with Claudius, to undertake the discovery. Calpurnia, while the emperor was still at Ostia, upon the first occasion of her being with him in private, falling at his feet, cried out, "Messalina has married Silius;" and at the same time appealed for the truth of this information to Cleopatra, who was present, and confirmed what she had said. Claudius, struck with amazement, ordered Narcissus into his presence, who, intreating pardon for having concealed the disorders of his wife, told him, that he was in a state of divorce; that it was what all men knew; that the nuptials had been celebrated in the face of the city; and that Messalina's new husband, if effectual means were not immediately taken, would be sovereign of Rome. He then sent for his most trusty friends, particularly Turranius, who was charged with the care of providing the city with corn, and Lufius Geta, commander of the prætorian guards, who assured him of the marriage, and insisted upon his proceeding without delay to the camp, that he might, by securing the prætorian cohorts, consult his preservation before his revenge. Claudius was so confounded and dismayed, that he often asked whether he was still emperor; whether Silius was yet a private man.

In the mean time Messalina indulged herself, without the least apprehension, in all manner of diversions, not imagining that any person would dare to disclose her disorders to the emperor, over whom she had so powerful a sway. As it was then the middle of autumn, she exhibited in her house a representation of the vintage, in which her new husband, Silius, personated Bacchus, attended by a choir of mock-priests and priestesses, among whom was Messalina herself, with a thyrsus in her hand, and her hair loose and flowing: but, in the midst of their jollity and revels, messengers unexpectedly arrived with tidings, that Claudius was apprised of

She endeavours to appease Claudius.

Is abandoned by all.

Narcissus, the freed-man, made commander of the guards for one day.

Messalina meets the emperor.

of all their proceedings, and approached with full purpose to sacrifice them to his vengeance. The company immediately dispersed in the utmost consternation; Messalina retired to the gardens of Lucullus, and Silius, who was then prætor, and consul elect, in order to dissimble his fear, resumed the offices of the forum. Messalina, finding no other resource, resolved to quit her retirement, and boldly meet her husband, not doubting that she should be able to avert the storm, if she could only obtain a hearing. She ordered her son Britannicus, and her daughter Octavia, to go and embrace their father, to implore his mercy for his injured wife: she besought Vibidia, the oldest Vestal, of whom Claudius entertained a high opinion, to act the same part. She herself passed through the city on foot, attended only by three persons, not one shewing the least feeling for her disgrace. When she was without the walls, not being able to pursue her journey on foot, and finding no other convenience she was glad to be taken up by a gardener in his dung-cart, in which, being entirely forsaken, she took the road to Ostia.

The emperor was not yet recovered from his fright; but still incessantly asking, whether Silius was yet acknowledged emperor: he likewise betrayed no small apprehension of Getz, commander of his guards: Narcissus, who entertained the same distrust, suggested to the emperor, that there was no other expedient to preserve him, than the transferring the command of his guards upon one of his freedmen for that day only; and he offered to take that charge upon himself. Claudius readily agreed to his proposal; and Narcissus, now commander of the prætorian cohorts, seated himself in the emperor's carriage to prevent L. Vitellius and P. Lærgus Cæcina, who were also with the emperor, from interceding in favour of Messalina. Upon the road, Claudius sometimes broke out into bitter invectives against Messalina, at other times expressed compassion for her, and their common children. Vitellius uttered nothing, but "O heinous! Oh the iniquity!" which words might be interpreted equally against Messalina and her accusers. Narcissus urged him to speak plain; but Vitellius still answered indirectly, and in terms that might be differently construed: his example was followed by Lærgus Cæcina.

As they approached the city, Messalina unexpectedly appeared in the road, crying aloud, and beseeching Claudius, with many tears, to have some regard to the mother of Octavia and Britannicus. Narcissus no sooner saw her, than, to drown her cries, he began to exclaim with great vehemence against the impudent and bold conduct of Si-

lius

lius, and the abominations of Messalina; and, to divert the prince from seeing her, delivered to him a writing, containing a detail of her prostitutions. As the emperor was entering Rome, some attempted to present to him his children by her; but Narcissus ordered them to be taken away; he could not, however, remove Vibidia, who strenuously insisted, that the emperor's wife should not be condemned without being heard; so that Narcissus was obliged to assure her, that Messalina would have every opportunity of clearing herself. He then advised the Vestal to withdraw, and attend the sacred functions of her office. Claudius spoke not a word, and Vitellius pretended to be amazed; so that Narcissus directed all things. By his command, the house of the adulterer was opened, and the emperor carried thither.

As he entered the porch, Narcissus pointed out the statue of Silius the father, though the senate had, by a decree, ordered it to be broken. In the house he shewed him the rich furniture of the imperial palace, the monuments of his wife's prostitution and his own disgrace. Having thus wrought him up to fury and revenge, he led him without delay to the camp, where he made a short speech to the soldiery, who, with one voice, demanded that the criminals might be immediately put to death. Silius, and several others, whom Narcissus had arrested, were brought before the imperial tribunal; and being convicted as accomplices of Messalina's prostitutions, were all dragged to execution. Silius, without offering any thing in his defence, only begged they would dispatch him soon. Mnestor, the player, who had been likewise one of Messalina's gallants, created some hesitation. He tore off his garments, and desired the emperor to behold the marks of the stripes he had endured, before he could be brought to comply with Messalina's impure solicitations: he reminded him at the same time of his own commands, obliging him to gratify Messalina without reserve (Q); adding, that others had been tempted to of-

He is incensed against her by Narcissus.

Silius and her other adulterers executed.

(Q) Messalina, finding she could neither by threats nor promises induce Mnestor to comply with her repeated solicitations, had at length recourse to stripes, and caused him to be inhumanly scourged; but to no effect, Mnestor dreading to incur the displeasure of the emperor, which, he apprehended,

Yea. XII.

would sooner or later prove fatal to him, if he granted Messalina's request; for her abominations were now so public, that he imagined Claudius could not be much longer unapprised of them. The lewd prostitute, determined upon satisfying at all events the passion she had conceived for the player;

F f

“What

send by great presents, or mighty promises; but his offence was entirely owing to compulsion. These considerations inclined Claudius to mercy; but his freedmen dissuading him from saving a player, after having sacrificed so many illustrious citizens, Mneſter was condemned and executed with Tralus Montanus, a young knight of extraordinary modesty and a graceful person, whom Meſſalina had forced to pass only one night with her, and afterwards cast off, her passion being, as Tacitus observes, with equal wantonness inflamed and surfeited^m.

*Claudius
seems to re-
lent.*

*Narcissus
hastens her
execution.*

When these executions were over, Claudius returned to the palace, where he passed the greatest part of the night in feasting and revelling with his freedmen. Being warm with wine (for he usually drank very plentifully), he ordered one of his attendants to go and acquaint the unhappy woman to attend the next day, and plead her cause. She was then in the gardens of Lucullus, whither she had retired, finding she could have no access to Claudius; and was employed in composing a memorial, which she designed to present to the prince, not without hopes of exciting his compassion. But Narcissus, alarmed at the message, and observing that the emperor's resentment visibly abated, and his usual affection began to return, ran hastily out, and directed the tribune and centurions, then upon duty, to dispatch Meſſalina, for such was the emperor's express command. With them he sent one Evodus, a freedman, in whom he could confide, to see his orders strictly fulfilled; for he apprehended, and indeed not without reason, since Claudius began to relent, that the punishment, which he had procured for Meſſalina, would, if she lived to the next day, fall upon his own head. Evodus flew in a moment to the gardens, where he found her stretched upon the ground, and her mother Lepida sitting by her. He immediately acquainted her with the sentence, and, at the same time,

^m Tacit. Ann. lib. xi. cap. 26—36. Dio, p. 684. Suet. cap. 19. Senec. Lud. in Claud.

“What if the emperor himself (said she), should command you to gratify me in what I require?” “I should, without hesitation (replied Mneſter), obey the emperor's commands.” Meſſalina flew to the emperor; and complained of the player, who, she said, had unmannerly refused her a small favour. Claudius immediately sent for Mneſter, reprimanded him with great severity, and commanded him to gratify his wife without reserve (1).

(1) Dio, lib. lx.

reviled

reviled her with all the brutal invectives of a slave. Her mother encouraged her not to wait the blow of the executioner; but, since she could not prolong her life, to die with renown. Thus exhorted, she seized a poignard which she aimed, with a trembling hand, first at her throat, and then at her breast; but had not courage enough to strike. The tribune, therefore, who stood before her, without once opening his mouth, observing her timidity and irresolution, delivered her from all anxiety and fears, by running her through with his sword. She was, of all women recorded in history, if not the most lewd, the most amazingly bold in the pursuit of her lewdness^a.

Her death.

Claudius was still at table when intelligence was brought him that Messalina was dead; but without any particulars, whether she had suffered by her own, or by the executioner's hand. Neither did he make any enquiries; but, calling for a bowl of wine, continued the banquet with his usual gaiety, without betraying, either then or in the following days, any symptoms of hatred, joy, anger, sorrow, or any other human passion or affection, though he beheld the enemies of his wife triumphing over her death, and his children bewailing with many tears the unhappy fate of their mother^o.

The stupidity of Claudius

Upon the death of Messalina, Claudius publicly declared, that, since he had been so unfortunate in his marriages, he would live a single life for the future; and he gave every Roman leave to put him to death, if he continued not in that resolution. Notwithstanding these protestations, soon forgetting what he had said, he declared his intention of marrying. At this declaration, great strife and emulation arose among the imperial freedmen, which of them should procure a wife for one who had been ever governed by his wives. Callistus proposed to him Lollia Paulina, daughter to M. Lollius, a consular. Pallas recommended Julia Agrippina, the daughter of Germanicus; and Narcissus employed all his interest in behalf of Ælia Petina, whom he had divorced before upon a trivial occasion. Claudius himself inclined sometimes to one, sometimes to another, always swayed by his last adviser. Being thus undetermined and perplexed, he at length assembled his counsellors, ordering them to declare, and defend in his presence, their different opinions. Claudius heard them all with great attention; but was most affected with the arguments of Pallas, enforced by the caresses and allurements of Agrippina,

Claudius resolves to marry again;

and prefers his niece Agrippina.

^a Tacit. Ann. lib. xi. cap. 37. Dio Valef. p. 677. *ibid.*

^o Dio,

who, under colour of consanguinity, was assiduous in his visits to her uncle (R).

Lucius Silanus disgraced, and why.

Claudius no sooner expressed his inclination to espouse her, than she began to exercise the power and authority of a wife. Her first purpose was to concert a match between her son Domitius and Octavia, the emperor's daughter; but Octavia had been by her father betrothed to Lucius Silanus, a youth of great quality, and no less beloved than esteemed by Claudius. However, as the weak prince had no judgment nor choice, no aversion nor affection, but such as were inspired by others, Vitellius, foreseeing into whose hands the sovereignty was hastening, in order to purchase the favour of Agrippina, began to devise crimes against Silanus. That young nobleman had a sister, by name Junia Silana, a lady of extraordinary beauty and no less gaiety; and hence Vitellus, then censor, formed an accusation, wresting to a charge of incest the mutual affection of brother and sister; an affection no way criminal, but somewhat too free and unguarded; for while Junia was by others styled Venus, on account of her beauty, Silanus chose to call her Juno, who was both sister and wife to Jupiter. Of this circumstance the infamous sycophant Vitellius availed himself; and, having first prejudiced the undiscerning emperor against the innocent youth, quite unapprised of any plots against him, he soon after, in quality of censor, degraded him from the rank of a senator, though the senate had been already reviewed, and the number of senators fixed a long time before; and obliged him, by an edict, to renounce his prætorship, though it was of course to expire the next day; conferring it for that day upon Eprius Mar-

(R) This princess, so famous in history for her ambition and misfortunes, was the daughter of Germanicus and Agrippina the elder, whose courage and chastity we have often had occasion to celebrate. Tiberius married her, in the fourteenth year of his reign, to Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, by whom she had a son named L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, who succeeded Claudius, and is known by the name of Nero. Upon the death of her husband, she abandoned herself to all manner of lewd-

ness, and was on that account banished by her brother Caligula. Claudius recalled her, when she married to her second husband Crispus Passienus, one of an illustrious family, and soon after murdered him, to enjoy the rich inheritance to which he had named her in his will. She was in high favour with Claudius, even in Messalina's time; and therefore would have been sacrificed, as well as her sister Julia, to her jealousy, had not the empress been diverted from it by other pursuits (2).

(2) Suet. in Ner. cap. 1, 6, 7. Tacit. Ann. lib. iv. cap. 12, 34.

cellus.

cellus. Silanus being thus marked with infamy, Claudius broke off the match between him and Octavia.

The next consuls were C. Pompeius Longinus Gallus and Q. Veranius Nepos. Though Claudius and Agrippina lived publicly together, yet they durst not celebrate their nuptials, there being no instance among the Romans of a marriage between an uncle and a niece; but that scruple was removed by Vitellius, who having first prevailed, without much trouble, upon Claudius, to promise that he would submit to the authority of the senate, and the unanimous voice of the people, easily persuaded both orders to approve of the marriage; some of the senators declaring, that, if the emperor delayed much longer, they would compel him. Claudius then yielded; but nevertheless did not celebrate the nuptials, till the senate passed a decree, declaring marriages between uncles and their brothers daughters for ever lawful.

The senate and people approve of Claudius's marriage with Agrippina.

The day after the decree was published, Claudius celebrated his nuptials with the usual solemnity; and, on the same day, Silanus flew himself, whether by choice or constraint, is uncertain. His sister Jania was banished Italy; and to her sentence Claudius added an order to the pontiffs, enjoining them to offer expiatory sacrifices in the grove of Diana; a source of mockery to all men, says Tacitus, that penalties and lustrations should be appointed for pretended incest, while real incest was established by law (3).

The nuptials celebrated.

Not

* Tacit. Annal. lib. xii. cap. 4. Dio, p. 677. Sueton. cap. 29.
† Tacit. lib. xii. cap. 8. Senec. Lud. in Claud.

(3) From this time the city assumed a different face, all men tamely obeying a woman, who did not, like Messalina, render the Roman state subservient only to her wanton and fewd amours, but to her insatiable avarice, unbounded ambition, and unparalleled cruelty. She governed the people, and the emperor himself, without control; appeared with him in the senate; placed herself by him on the same tribunal in all public ceremonies; gave, together with him, audience to foreign princes and ambassadors; and even accompanied him in the courts of justice, which, to the Romans, was altogether astonishing (3). To signalize the beginning, we may say, of her reign, with some plausible action, she prevailed upon Claudius, not only to recall from exile, but to honour with the pratorship, L. Annæus Seneca, a man greatly esteemed on account of his eloquence and accomplishments. But in this measure she had also her private views, which were, the

(3) Tacit. Annal. lib. xii. cap. 8. Dio, p. 687.

*Octavia
betrothed to
Domitius.*

*Lollia Paulina put to
death.*

Not long after, Agrippina, pursuing her ambitious designs, gained, by large promises, Memmius Pollio, consul elect, to move the senate, that they would unanimously beseech Claudius to betroth Octavia to Domitius. To this motion, which was a great step to the sovereignty, the fathers readily agreed; and Claudius, not apprised of his wife's aspiring views, with the same readiness consented. Thus was Domitius, by the efforts and devices of his mother, raised almost to an equality with Britannicus. Agrippina, no less implacable in her hatred than ambitious in her views, being enraged at Lollia Paulina, for having aspired to the emperor's bed, framed crimes against her, and suborned an accuser, who charged her with consulting the magicians and Chaldeans about the match. Claudius, without examination, represented her supposed guilt to the senate, and required that her estate might be confiscated, and herself banished Italy: but Agrippina, not satisfied with this punishment, sent privately a tribune, with orders to cut off her head, and bring it to her. The tribune obeyed; and Agrippina is said to have, with her own hands, opened the mouth of the deceased, that from her teeth, which had something very singular in their construction, she might be assured it was her head * (T). Calpurnia, an-

* Tacit. Ann. lib. xii. cap. 22. * Dio, p. 686.

education of her son Domitius under such a master, and the use of his counsels in the pursuit of her ambitious designs; for she did not doubt that Seneca would, from gratitude, continue faithfully attached to her, and maintain an irreconcilable hatred to Claudius, by whom he had been banished; and, indeed, his hatred appears plainly in his writings.

(T) Lollia Paulina was first married to Memmius Regulus, governor of Greece and Macedonia, from whom she was forced by Caligula, who took her to himself. She was granddaughter to M. Lollius, appointed by Augustus governor to Caius Cæsar, when he was sent into the East. Claudius, in representing

her pretended guilt to the senate, touched upon her noble descent, telling the senators, that, by her mother, she was niece to Lucius Volusius; that Cotta Messalinus was her great uncle; that she herself was once the wife of Memmius Regulus, &c. but of her marriage with Caligula he said nothing. He added, that she pursued pernicious designs, and must be divested of the means and opportunities of putting them in execution. Upon this, her immense wealth was confiscated, and only about thirty thousand pounds of our money left her. Tacitus tells us, that the tribune dispatched by Agrippina had orders to compel her to lay violent hands on herself (1).

(1) Tacit. Annal. lib. xii. cap. 22.

other

other woman of great distinction, was likewise devoted to ruin, because the prince had praised her beauty; but as this was from no passion to her person, but only in occasional discourse, her life was spared. This year, to the senators of Narbonne Gaul was granted the same privilege with those of Sicily, of visiting their estates without asking leave of the prince. The same year the countries of Iturea and Judæa were, upon the death of their kings, Sohemus and Agrippa, annexed to the government of Syria. About the end of the year, Claudius extended the circumference of Rome, inclosing, according to Onuphrius^t, Mount Aventine.

Rome enlarged.

The following year, C. Antistius Vetus and M. Suilius Nervilianus being consuls, the freedman Pallas, who had conducted the late marriage of Agrippina, and was now engaged in a criminal correspondence with her, and thence wholly addicted to her interest, persuaded Claudius to adopt, in preference to his own son, Domitius, because he was three years older than Britannicus. From this time Domitius was named Nero Claudius Cæsar Drusus Germanicus. This adoption was applauded by the senate, and a decree passed confirming it, and conferring upon Agrippina the sublime title of Augusta. However, there was no Roman so void of compassion, as not to be affected with the severe lot of the unfortunate Britannicus, whom Agrippina, under colour of tenderness, kept locked up in a nursery, though now nine years old. By degrees she removed from his person his former attendants, and even caused some of them to be put to death; among the rest, his preceptor Sosibius; placing in their room persons who were entirely at her devotion. She never would allow him to appear abroad, nor even to see his father, pretending that he was disordered in his senses, and troubled with the falling sickness. Not long after the adoption of Nero, Britannicus having saluted him, as he used to do, by the name of Ahenobarbus, Nero resented it so warmly, that he endeavoured to persuade the emperor that he was a supposititious child.

Domitius adopted in preference to Britannicus.

The hard treatment of Britannicus.

This year Agrippina, to display her power in foreign countries, procured a colony of veterans to be sent to the capital of the Ubii, a town where she had been born, and which she called by her own name Colonia Agrippinensis. This city is now known by the name of Cologne^u. About the same time the Catti made incursions into the Roman territories; but were repulsed with great slaughter, by Pomponius Secundus, commander of the legions in Upper Ger-

Colonia Agrippinensis.

^t Onuph. in Fast. p. 101.

^u Tacit. Ann. lib. xii. cap. 26. Suet. in Ner. cap. 7. Dio, p. 667.

many, who, on that occasion, released from bondage some Romans, who had continued slaves ever since the defeat of Varus, and his legions (U).

Yr. of Fl.

2400.

A. D. 52.

U. C. 800.

*Nero takes
the manly
robe.*

The following year, Claudius being the fifth time consul, with Servius Cornelius Orfitus (W), Nero, though not yet fourteen, was presented with the manly robe, which qualified him for honours and employments. At the same time the senate, with the concurrence of Claudius, decreed, that in his twentieth year he should discharge the consulship, and in the mean time be invested with proconsular authority out of Rome, and styled prince of the Roman youth. Claudius also bestowed, in Nero's name, a largess upon the soldiery, and another upon the people; and, to draw the eyes and affections of the people upon him, caused him to appear at the Circensian games, which were then solemnized, in a triumphal robe, the mark and ornament of the imperial state, while Britannicus was carried about in his prætexta, the usual habit of children. Some of the tribunes and centurions could not help pitying the unhappy youth: but they were all, under various pretences, removed from the palace: even such of the young prince's freedmen as were found inviolably attached to his person and interest, were partly discharged, and partly put to death,

*The friends
of Britan-
nicus re-
moved
from the
palace.*

(U) His vigilance and gallant conduct seemed to the senate worthy of triumphal ornaments, which were decreed him accordingly; but he did not derive so much glory from them, as from his elegant poems, which are greatly extolled by the best judges of antiquity (1). It was at this time too that Vannius, whom Drusus the son of Tiberius had thirty years before created king of the Suevians, was driven out by the Hermundurians and Ligians. Claudius, though he had declined engaging in a quarrel among the Barbarians, yet granted a safe refuge to the deposed king, and lands in Pannonia both to him and his followers, Vangio and

Sido, his own sister's sons, parted his kingdom between them, and ever continued faithful to the Romans (2).

(W) Claudius held this his last consulship six months (3). Onuphrius adds to his colleague's other names that of Scipio (4); and the other Orfiti seem to have been of the family of the Scipios (5). C. Minucius, or Minicius Fundanus, and C. Verbenius Severus, were substituted in the consulship to Claudius and Orfitus (6). Vespasian, who was afterwards emperor, was consul for the two last months of this year, as we read in Suetonius (7).

(1) Tacit. Anral. lib. xii. cap. 28.

(2) Ibid. cap. 29.

(3) Suet. cap. 4.

(4) Onuph. in Fall.

(5) Grut. p. 12.

(6) Onuph. ibid.

(7) Suet. in Vesp. cap. 4.

as if they had inspired their patron with hatred and emulation against Nero, which might in the end be productive of civil war. Upon their removal, Britannicus was committed to the government of others, chosen by his mother-in-law. The next step which Agrippina took towards the accomplishment of her great design, was the removing of Lulius Geta and Rufus Crispinus from the command of the prætorian cohorts. She imagined them attached to the memory of Mæsalina, and thence zealously devoted to her children. She therefore represented to the emperor, that, by the cabals and emulation of two commanders, the guards were rent into factions; whereas, by the authority of one, they would be more easily kept to their duty.

In consequence of this insinuation, Claudius, without farther enquiry, transferred the command of the prætorian bands on Burrhus Afranius, whom she recommended, an officer highly esteemed by the soldiery, but well apprised to whom he owed his preferment. Agrippina now began to assume a more haughty deportment than ever; she entered the Capitol in a chariot, a distinction granted to none but priests. This arrogance, however, heightened the reverence of the people towards one who was the daughter and mother of a Cæsar, sister to the late emperor, and wife to the present. But in the mean time her chief champion, L. Vitellius, was, by a senator, named Junius Lupus, accused of high treason; and Claudius, ever timorous, would have attended to the charge, had not Agrippina, by menaces rather than intreaties, turned his resentment against the accuser, who was banished. This year a great famine raged in Rome. The populace, not confining their complaints to houses and corners, gathered in tumultuous crowds round the prince, while he was publicly administering justice, and drove him to the extremity of the forum; inso-much that, with the utmost difficulty, he escaped their violence, his guards opening him a way through the outrageous multitude (X). However, instead of resenting this treatment, he took such effectual care to have the city supplied with corn, that in less than fifteen days no one had occasion to complain, that winter happening to prove exceeding mild and favourable. That the city might not

Burrhus Afranius appointed commander of the prætorian guards.

A famine at Rome.

▼ Tacit. Ann. lib. xii. cap. 48, 49.

(X) Suetonius tells us, that he was not only reviled with opprobrious language by the enraged populace, but so peck-

(1) Sueton. cap. 23.

again

again be reduced to such distress, he gave all possible encouragement to merchants, granted ample privileges to such as built trading vessels, and took upon himself to reimburse all the losses they should suffer.

In the course of this year, the tenth of Claudius's reign, the prætor, P. Ostorius Scapula, landing in Britain, gained great advantages there over the natives of that island.

*Progress of
Ostorius
Scapula in
Britain.*

After the departure of Plautius, the war had, in all probability, been managed by the legates of the legions, for two years, at the expiration of which P. Ostorius Scapula arrived. This active general immediately took the field, and defeated the Britons in several encounters. He established a Roman colony at Camulodunum; and London being settled about this period, the country between the Thames and the sea was reduced into a province, under the name of Britannia Prima. In order to defend this province, he raised a chain of forts along the river Nen, in Northamptonshire, and the banks of the Severn. This design being disagreeable to the Iceni, they formed a confederacy, and took arms against the Romans, but were defeated by the prætor. He allowed Coyrdunus, sovereign of the Dabuni, to keep his principality in the counties of Gloucester and Oxford, with a view to foment dissensions among the Britons. He ravaged the country of the Canges in Shropshire, and penetrated almost to the sea-coast in Denbighshire, when he was recalled to quell a revolt of the Brigantes, in Yorkshire. He had scarce appeased this disturbance, when he was obliged to march against the indefatigable Caractacus, who, at the head of a numerous army, continued to harass his detachments. He now passed the river Teme, which divides Herefordshire from Shropshire, and took possession of an advantageous post, upon a steep mountain, washed by a deep and rapid stream. When Ostorius advanced, and viewed the nature of their situation, he began to think it would be impracticable to attack them with any prospect of success: but the troops called aloud for the signal of battle; and he was unwilling to check their ardour. Caractacus had drawn up his army, consisting of different tribes, commanded by their respective chiefs, and he passed from rank to rank in person, exhorting them to exert their utmost courage, in as much as their liberty depended on the fortune of the day. To these remonstrances they replied with loud shouts and acclamations, which served only to inflame the eagerness of the assailants. The Romans passed the river without much opposition; but, in ascending the hill, were received with a
terrible

terrible discharge of javelins and stones, which did great execution. Nevertheless, they forced the entrenchments of the Britons, and, after a desperate resistance, routed them with great slaughter, notwithstanding all the efforts of Caractacus, who exerted himself with great valour and perseverance. His wife, daughters, and brothers, fell into the hands of the enemy. He himself fled for refuge to Cartesmandua, queen of the Brigantes, who treacherously delivered him up to the Roman general, whose resentment she was afraid to incur. Thus was the gallant Caractacus betrayed, after he had commanded the confederate Britons for nine years, during which he had performed a series of such exploits, in maintaining the liberty and independency of his country, as rendered him equally formidable and revered at Rome. He was forthwith conveyed to that city, where Claudius resolved to exhibit him in public, as a spectacle to the people. Accordingly, on the day appointed for this ceremony, the emperor appeared on his tribunal, and Agrippina sat near him, enthroned under a canopy, while the prætorian cohorts were ranged under arms along the plain. The procession began with the vassals and domestics of the British king: then followed his wife, brothers, and daughters, imploring mercy with the most piteous lamentations: last of all came Caractacus, with a noble mien, that betrayed neither fear nor perplexity. Addressing himself to Claudius, he is said to have spoke to this effect. "Had my moderation been equal to my birth and fortune, I should have appeared this day, not a captive, but an ally; nor wouldst thou have disdained the alliance of a prince like me, descended from illustrious progenitors, and vested with the supreme authority over many warlike nations. My present fate redounds as much to thy honour as to my disgrace: I was in possession of vassals, horses, arms, and wealth; what wonder, then, I was unwilling to lose them? Though you are ambitious of universal sway, it does not follow that all men ought to submit tamely to your dominion. Had I surrendered myself in the beginning of the contest, neither my misfortune, nor thy glory, would have attracted the attention of the world; and my fate would have been buried in oblivion: but, if thou wilt spare my life, I shall be an eternal monument of thy clemency." Claudius was, or affected to be, moved with compassion, and pardoned the prisoners on the spot. When they were unchained, the first use they made of their freedom, was to go and prostrate themselves before the empress, who was supposed to have interceded with Claudius in their behalf. The senate extolled this victory

*Caractacus
taken and
sent to
Rome.*

*His speech
to Claudius.*

over

over Caractacus with the most fulsome adulation, and decreed the honour of a triumph to Ostorius, whose good fortune seemed to forsake him in the sequel. The Silures inhabiting Herefordshire and South Wales, the most warlike of all the Britons, being exasperated at the captivity of their prince Caractacus, became more daring, and even desperate in their hostilities. They gained several advantages over the Romans, and dividing the spoils with the neighbouring nations, engaged them to join in a powerful confederacy, for the defence of their common liberty. Ostorius was so chagrined to see the war which he thought he had terminated, break out again with fresh fury, that he was taken ill, and died of vexation. After his death, the Silures defeated a legion, commanded by Manlius Valsus: but Didius, being sent as successor to Ostorius, checked their progress, and secured the Roman province from their incursions. Mean while a civil war broke out among the Brigantes. Their queen Cartismundua quarrelling with her husband Venusius, endeavoured to depose him in favour of Vellocatus, who was her general. Hence the nation was divided into two factions, and that of Venusius being the most powerful, Cartismundua had recourse to the protection of the Romans, which she had earned by betraying Caractacus into their hands. Didius accordingly marched to her relief, and saved her from ruin; but in so doing, he entailed a troublesome war upon the empire; the particulars of which we shall mention in the reign of Nero *.

*Ostorius
succeeded
by A. Di-
dus.*

*A decree
against
women
who mar-
ried slaves.*

The following year, Faustus Sylla, and Salvius Othotianus being consuls, the senate passed a rigorous decree for expelling the astrologers out of Italy; which, however, was never put in execution. Another decree was issued against women of rank who married slaves, ordaining, that she who thus debased herself without the consent of the master of the slave, should herself be reduced to a state of slavery; but where he consented, she should be held for a slave manumitted (Y). This year Claudius finished,

at

* Tacit. Ann. lib. xii. cap. 40. Id. Hist. lib. iii. cap. 45.

(Y) Claudius declared in the senate, that Pallas was the deviser of this scheme; whereupon Boreas Soranus, consul elect, moved, that he might be rewarded with the ornaments of prætor, and a present of about a hundred thousand pounds of our money. Cornelius Scipio

added, that public thanks should be returned him, for deigning, though descended from the ancient kings of Arcadia, to be reckoned among the emperor's ministers, and dedicating this his ancient nobility to the service of the state. The haughty slave accepted the or-
nament

at an immense charge, the aqueduct which Caligula had begun fourteen years before ; and consecrated it, to use the expression of the ancient writers, on the first of August, his birth-day. It was a work of extraordinary magnificence, as appears from its immense ruins, which are still to be seen, with an inscription, in which Claudius is styled emperor the twenty-seventh time. Four hundred and sixty persons were appointed to keep it in repair, and large salaries assigned them out of the public treasury.

Claudius's aqueduct.

The same year the great canal, which had been designed for draining the lake Fucinus, and had kept thirty thousand men constantly employed for eleven years, being, at length, completed, before the waters were let out Claudius exhibited a naval fight, in which nineteen thousand condemned criminals engaged on board a hundred large galleys, representing the Sicilian and Rhodian fleets. The lake was surrounded with an inclosure of huge rafts, to obstruct all means of flight, or escape. Upon the rafts stood the emperor's guards; the lake was covered with galleys; the shore, the adjacent hills, and the tops of the mountains, were crowded with a prodigious multitude, assembled from the neighbouring towns as well as from Rome. The whole represented a vast theatre; and, that great numbers of spectators might be the better accommodated, a mountain between the lake and the river Liris was levelled. The emperor presided, in a coat of mail, and with him Agrippina, in a mantle of cloth of gold. When the two fleets were drawn up, and ready to engage, a Triton of silver springing, by an ingenious contrivance, out of the midst of the lake, sounded the charge, and the combat began; which, though between malefactors, was fought with all the courage and obstinacy of brave soldiers: so that, after a most obstinate contest, after many wounds, and much bloodshed, Claudius granted such of them as remained their lives, and redeemed them from slaughter. When the conflict was over, the earth between the lake and the canal was removed; but the canal was found not to be sunk suffi-

A combat exhibited on the lake Fucinus.

naments of the prætorship, and also the privilege of wearing a gold ring, but despised the present; and prevailed with Claudius to acquaint the senate, in his name, that he was satisfied with the honours, and chose to live still in his ancient poverty. Hereupon a decree passed, was

engraved in brass, and publicly hung up, in which a manumitted slave, lately redeemed from the infamy of whips and fetters, but now worth near seven millions, was extolled for observing the venerable parsimony of the primitive ages,

ciently

*A combat
of gladiators
on the
canal.*

ciently low to receive the water in the centre of the lake: its bed therefore was sunk deeper; and when this work was ended, which happened this year, to draw the multitude once more together, a show of gladiators was exhibited, upon bridges laid over it. After the spectacle, the emperor made a great banquet, just at the fall from the lake; but the water breaking out unexpectedly, with incredible violence, bore down whatever was near it, shook the ground to a great distance, and, by its impetuosity and roaring, terrified and dismayed Claudius, his guests, and the spectators, who all fled, and narrowly escaped being carried away with the stream (Z).

Towards the end of the year the Bithynians sent deputies to Rome, to accuse Junius Cilo, their governor, of extortion. He had, indeed, oppressed them in a most cruel and barbarous manner: but the emperor, when they were admitted to his presence, not understanding what they said, desired Narcissus, when they withdrew, to acquaint him with the purport of their embassy. "They are come (answered Narcissus), to return you thanks for your kindness, in appointing over them a man of such integrity, moderation, and disinterestedness, as Cilo." Claudius, relying entirely upon the faith of his freedman, commanded, that Cilo, since he had given such satisfaction, should be continued in his government two years longer, during which time he completed the ruin of that unhappy people.

7 Dio, p. 687.

(Z) We learn from Tacitus (1), that, when the water was discharged, the negligence of the workmen, and the insufficiency of the work, manifestly appeared. Suetonius seems to innuuate, that Claudius accomplished this vast undertaking, and drained the lake. Pliny likewise reckons the draining of the lake Fucinus among the most remarkable works of Claudius; but it was neglected, says he, through envy, by his successor Nero. On the other hand, Dio Cassius calls the immense sums

laid out on this stupendous work, useless expence; and Seneca writes, that the lake Fucinus was, in his time, still full, though the workmen had, in Claudius's time, with immense labour, finished the canal; which, if Suetonius is to be credited, they hewed through a rocky mountain, of three miles extent (2). Spartianus says, that Adrian drained this lake (3). However, it is still to be seen in the Farther Abruzzo, and is known by the name of the lake of Celano.

(1) Tacit. Annal. lib. xii. cap. 57.

(2) Suet. cap. 20. Plin.

lib. xxxvi. cap. 25.

(3) Spart. in Adr. p. 11.

The following consuls were Decimus Junius Silanus Torquatus and Q. Haterius Antoninus; during whose administration, Nero, who had entered the sixteenth year of his age, married Octavia the daughter of Claudius, to whom he had been contracted three years before. Soon after his nuptials, he, in order to display his eloquence, undertook the cause of the Ilians; and obtained for them, as the ancestors of the Romans, an entire immunity from all taxes and tributes whatsoever. He likewise made an oration in favour of the Rhodians, and prevailed on Claudius to restore them to their ancient liberty, which had been often taken from them, and often re-established. A third oration he pronounced in favour of the inhabitants of Bononia, a Roman colony, which had been almost ruined by fire; and they were, at his intercession, relieved with a large bounty^a. The two first orations he uttered in Greek, and the third in Latin. At the same time, the inhabitants of Apamea, Byzantium, and Coos, having recourse to the young prince, obtained, by his mediation, signal favours; the Coans were indulged with a general immunity from impositions, and the inhabitants of Apamea and Byzantium obtained a discharge from all tribute for the space of five years, the latter having suffered much by the late wars of Thrace and Bosphorus^a. These generous actions were performed through the policy of Agrippina, to gain her son the reputation of a compassionate and humane prince. On the contrary, she engaged Claudius in the most detested measures of cruelty.

As she was desirous of possessing the fine gardens of Statilius Taurus, a senator of great distinction, who had been proconsul of Africa, she suborned Tarquinius Priscus, formerly his lieutenant, to charge him with having consulted the magicians concerning the term of the emperor's life. Taurus, finding Agrippina bent upon his destruction, destroyed himself. The senate were so affected with the loss of such a worthy citizen, and so incensed against the accuser, that, exerting themselves on this occasion, they expelled him the senate, notwithstanding the protection and intrigues of Agrippina^b. Claudius had often declared, that the same authority should be allowed to the decisions of his procurators, or receivers, as to his own; and now, to shew that this was no vague declaration, he caused it to be confirmed and established by a decree of the senate. These receivers of the emperors were their stewards, per-

Yr. of Fl.

2402.

A. D 54.
U. C. 802.

Nero mar-
ries Ota-
via.

Statilius
Taurus
kills him-
self.

^a Tacit. Annal. lib. xii. cap. 48. Suet. in Ner. cap. 7.
^b Tacit. Annal. lib. xii. cap. 58. Idem ibid. cap. 59.

^c Tacit.

An unlimited jurisdiction granted to the knights.

Claudius is apprised of the wickedness of Agrippina.

sons entrusted with their domestic concerns, for the most part franchised slaves; and nevertheless, to such vile instruments the weak prince, entirely directed by them, was not ashamed to delegate, by a solemn decree of the senate, a power equal to his own and to that of the laws. At the same time, he conferred universal jurisdiction upon the equestrian order; the same jurisdiction for which so many seditions had been formerly raised, and so much blood shed.

In the following year, M. A. Minius Marcellus and M. Acilius Aviola being consuls, a great change of affairs was portended, if the ancients are to be credited, by many prodigies. But Agrippina was much more alarmed by a saying of Claudius, uttered thoughtlessly in his wine: that it was his fate to bear the iniquities of his wives for some time, and at last to punish them. About the same time, having condemned a woman for adultery, he answered one of his freedmen, who applauded the justice of his sentence, "It is my lot to be unfortunate in my marriages, and to punish adulteries;" an expression which plainly shewed that he was not unacquainted with the intrigues and amours of his wife. He likewise betrayed evident tokens of his repenting his marriage with Agrippina, and the adoption of Nero; for his son Britannicus presenting himself, he embraced him with more than ordinary kindness, bidding him grow up; for he would give him an account of his whole conduct; adding, in Greek, "It is love that prompts me." He declared, at the same time, his intention of giving him the manly robe soon, "That the people of Rome (said he), may have at last a true Cæsar." As the emperor uttered no word, which was not immediately carried to Agrippina, she resolved to anticipate him, but first to destroy, by his means, Domitia Lepida, who gave her no small uneasiness (A).

To

• Tacit. cap. 64. Suet. cap. 43.

(A) She was daughter to Antonia the younger, great niece to Augustus, cousin-german to Agrippina the elder, and sister to Cneius Domitius, the present Agrippina's former husband: so that she esteemed herself not inferior to Agrippina in nobility, to whom she was equal in beauty, age, and wealth. They were, according to Tacitus, both prostitutes in their

persons, infamous in their manners, violent in their temper, and no less rivals in vices than in the lustre of their families, and the advantages of their fortunes. But their chief contention was, which of them, the aunt or the mother, should acquire the sway over Nero. Lepida endeavoured to gain him with caresses and presents, while the imperious Agrippina treat-
ed

To get rid of her rival, she accused Lepida of having sought, by charms and imprecations, to destroy the emperor's wife; and of disturbing the public peace of Italy, by neglecting to restrain her tumultuous slaves in Calabria. For these imputations she was, by the servile senate, sentenced to die; and executed, notwithstanding the opposition and interest of Narcissus, who grew daily more distrustful of Agrippina; and therefore endeavoured to save Lepida^d. Claudius being taken ill, had recourse to the soft air and wholesome waters of Sinuesa: this occasion was greedily seized by Agrippina, long since determined upon his destruction; and, for that purpose, well furnished with wicked agents. She thought it would be safest to procure his death by poison: but she was at a loss what sort to use; if it were powerful, and sudden in its operation, her crime might thence be betrayed; if slow, and consuming by degrees, there was danger that Claudius, when his end approached, might suspect her, and annul the adoption of Nero. At length she chose a subtle poison, such as would disorder his senses, and not hastily put an end to his life. An experienced artist in such preparations was applied to, named Locusta, a woman who had been lately condemned for poisoning. By her the potion was prepared; and Halotus, an eunuch, and the emperor's taster (B), being charged to administer it, he gave it accordingly, in a dish of mushrooms, of which Claudius was fond. But whether it was from his natural stupidity, or because he was drunk, he did not seem to feel the virulence of the dose; at the same time a diarrhoea seemed to relieve him, and to defeat the operation and force of the poison.

*Domitia
Lepida ac-
cused and
condemned.*

*Claudius
is taken
ill.*

*Is poisoned
by the con-
trivance
of Agrip-
pina.*

^d Tacit. Ann. lib. xii. cap. 65.

ed him with severity and threats, like one who was desirous, indeed, to raise him to the sovereignty, but seemed determined not to allow him to exercise his sovereign authority over her.

(B) The office of taster, utterly unknown in the times of the republic, was probably established by Augustus, as we conjecture from the following epigraph, still to be seen at Rome: "Cenio. Cæli. Herodian. Prægustator. Divi. Augusti. Idem. Postea. Villicus. In. Hortis.

Sallustianis. Decessit. Nonis. Augustis. M. Cocceio. Nerva. C. Vibio. Rufino. Coss." Tiberius too had his taster, as appears from the following inscription: "Ti. Claudius. Flamma. Clausus. Ti. Aug. Prægustator." Their example was, no doubt, followed by all the other emperors. This custom obtained among the Persians, as we read in Xenophon (1); and of them, in all likelihood, the Roman emperors borrowed it.

(1) Xenoph. Cyropæd. lib. i.

Yr. of Fl.
2403.
A. D. 55.
U. C. 803.

Agrippina, therefore, convinced that her own life lay at stake, had recourse to Xenophon, the emperor's physician, who, being already engaged in her wicked designs, under pretence of assisting Claudius in his efforts to vomit, thrust down his throat a feather dipped in potent poison, which soon put an end to his life^e. Thus died the emperor Caius Tiberius Claudius Nero, on the thirteenth of October, in the sixty-fourth year of his age, after having reigned thirteen years, eight months, and twenty days, reckoning from the day of Caius's death. He was a weak prince, of a fickle disposition; had no discernment or passions of his own, but was entirely governed by his wives and freedmen. However, Tacitus seems to allow him a share of sense at intervals. Suetonius reproaches him with cruelty; and tells us, that thirty-five senators, and above three hundred Roman knights, were by his orders put to death: but it is certain that the prince himself was altogether a stranger to most of these executions; for a centurion informing him one day, that, pursuant to his orders, such a consular had been executed, the emperor, with the greatest surprize, answered, that he had given no such command; but one of his freedmen replying, that the officer had done well, in revenging injuries offered to the person of the emperor, he acquiesced; and, without farther enquiry, approved of the execution^f. Seneca, in the bitter satire he penned against him, says, among other things, that he no more scrupled to take away a man's life, than to kill a fly^g. But his hatred to Claudius, by whom he had been banished to the island of Corsica, and kept there for the space of eight years, induced him to charge the prince with those crimes which other writers, free from passion and prejudice, attribute to his wives and freedmen. He had, according to Tacitus, Dio Cassius, and Suetonius, many good qualities; was an utter enemy to all pride and ostentation; a stranger to revenge; free from the imputation of avarice; a great lover of justice; and, when he was not, through fear, deprived of his senses, inclined to mercy and compassion.

*Agrippina
afflicts
great sorrow.*

While Claudius lay dead, the senate, the consuls, and pontiffs, were offering vows for his health; restoratives were still applied, and every thing performed, as if they were not without hopes of his recovery, till matters were disposed for securing the empire to Nero. With this view Agrippina, as soon as the prince expired, affecting inconsolable grief, and pretending to seek some relief to her sor-

^e Tacit. Ann. lib. xii. cap. 69. Dio, p. 688. Senec. Lud. p. 476.
Suet. lib. vi. p. 44, 45. ^f Suet. cap. 23. ^g Senec. Lud.
in Claud. p. 478.

row, clasped Britannicus fast in her arms; styled him the true image of his father, and, by various devices, detained him in the chamber, and likewise his two sisters, Octavia and Antonia. She posted guards in all the avenues, blocked up all the passages, and from time to time proclaimed that the prince was recovering. When she had taken all possible precautions to prevent any disturbance, at noon the gates of the palace were unexpectedly thrown open; and Nero, accompanied by Burrhus, captain of the prætorian guards, repaired to the cohort which was then upon duty. There, by the command of Burrhus, he was received with joyful acclamations, and instantly put into a litter. Some indeed hesitated, frequently looking and asking where was Britannicus? As he was detained in the chamber of the deceased emperor, and no one appeared to propose him, they joined the others, and embraced the offer which was made them. Thus Nero was carried to the camp, where, after a speech suitable to the exigency of the occasion, and the promise of a largess equal to that of the late prince, he was saluted emperor. The declaration of the soldiers was followed and confirmed by the decrees of the senate, which were, without reluctance, accepted by the people, both at Rome and in the provinces. To Claudius was decreed a solemn and pompous funeral, the same as had been ordained for Augustus, Agrippina emulating the magnificence of her great-grandmother Livia Augusta. His last will, however, though attested by the hands and seals of all the magistrates, was not read in public, left his preferring the son of his wife to his own son, might be resented by the people^b.

*Procurer
Nero to be
declared
emperor.*

Nero had scarce been proclaimed emperor, when the imperious and revengeful Agrippina hastened to dispatch Narcissus, who had spoken reproachfully of her, and betrayed no small affection for Britannicus. She caused him to be immediately arrested, and dragged to prison, where he was, through fear of a more ignominious and cruel death, constrained to lay violent hands on himself, much against the will of Nero. He is said to have been at once profuse and rapacious; to have surpassed in wealth Cræsus, the kings of Persia, and Claudius himself; and, at the same time, to have excelled all the prodigals of his age. As he bore an absolute sway under Claudius, his friendship was courted by foreign kings, cities, and provinces; all striving who should make him the most magnificent presents. We have seen, in the course of Claudius's reign, by how many crimes he deserved the fate that overtook him at last: but

*Narcissus
sacrificed to
the re-
venge and
jealousy of
Agrippina*

^b Tacit. Ann. lib. xii. cap. 69. Suet. cap. 44.

after all, he was faithful to his master, preserved his life with great care, and was ready, as Tacitus informs us, to lay down his own for his service. Agrippina would never have attempted to poison Claudius, if Dio Cassius is to be credited, had she not first removed Narcissus, by persuading him to try the baths of Campania for the recovery of his health. Before he destroyed himself, he consigned to the flames several letters and secret papers against Agrippina, which, as the prince's secretary, he had in his custody, that her accusers might not be exposed to the fury of a woman, whose impetuous spirit and violent lust of dominion, if not restrained, would soon drench Rome in blood¹.

*and Junius
Silanus.*

About the same time another victim, far more illustrious, was sacrificed, and, indeed, unknown to Nero, by the deadly hate of Agrippina. This was Julius Silanus, proconsul of Asia, a man of great wealth, and equal quality, but of a quiet disposition; and so little inclined to raise any commotions in the state, that he had, during the late reigns, spent his life in slothful indolence, being treated with such contempt, that Caligula used to call him the golden sheep. However, upon the death of Claudius, it was whispered among the populace, that as Nero was scarce out of his childhood, and had by iniquity acquired the empire, such a man as Silanus ought to be preferred to him; one of ripe years, of unblemished character, and, what was then highly esteemed, descended from the Cæsars; for he too was the great-grandson of Augustus. These murmurs alarmed Agrippina, who sent orders, without her son's consent or knowledge, to P. Celer, a Roman knight, and to Helius, a freedman, both the emperor's receivers in Asia, to murder Silanus. Her commands were obeyed, and poison was given him at a banquet by the two assassins, so openly, as evinced they were neither ashamed nor afraid to own the murder.

*Burrhus
and Seneca
the young
prince's
governors.*

A torrent of blood would have followed, had not Africanus Burrhus and Annæus Seneca interposed. These were the governors of the young prince, who was now only in the seventeenth year of his age. Though partners in power yet they lived free from all jealousy and emulation, and were of equal weight and authority, though different in their accomplishments. Burrhus was his instructor in the military art, and Seneca in the precepts of eloquence. In these different offices they assisted and supported each other, the easier to manage the dangerous age of the prince, neither having any thing in view but the service of their illustrious pupil, and the welfare of the public. They had both one

¹ Dio, p. 688.

constant struggle to maintain against the turbulent spirit of Agrippina, who, transported with the lust of ruling without control, and supported by Pallas, even before the obsequies of her husband were performed, would have sacrificed to her rage and jealousy all those who gave her the least umbrage: but Burrhus and Seneca, unanimously exerting their authority, restrained her blind rage, and kept her within bounds. Nero, indeed, conferred all kinds of honours upon her; and to the tribune who came to attend him the first day of his government, for the word, he gave that of *optima mater*, *excellent mother*. The senate too, the first time they assembled, decreed her two lictors, and several other marks of distinction: but the emperor's governors, bearing a great sway over his youthful mind, prevented her from committing such excesses as she had been guilty of during the late reign^k.

They restrain the fury of Agrippina.

Nero's first care, after his accession to the empire, was to perform, with all possible pomp and magnificence, the obsequies of the deceased emperor. He pronounced his funeral oration; in which he displayed the antiquity of his lineage, the many consulships, the many triumphs, of his ancestors. He likewise touched upon his personal accomplishments, especially his eloquence, and thorough knowledge of the Greek tongue; all which was heard with attention and pleasure: but when he began to extol the wisdom, foresight, and providence of Claudius, the whole audience broke into laughter, though the speech was of Seneca's composing, and discovered much accuracy and elegance; for he had, says Tacitus, a fine genius, and a style well adapted to the taste of that time (C).

Claudius's funeral praises.

^k Tacit. Annal. lib. xiii. cap. 1, 2. Suet. lib. vi. cap. 8. Dio, lib. lxi. p. 690.

(C) On this occasion it was observed, that Nero was the first Roman emperor who wanted the assistance of another man's eloquence; Cæsar, the dictator, was of a rank with the most distinguished orators; and none of his successors wanted eloquence, address, and energy, in speaking: but Nero having from his early childhood, applied himself to graving, painting,

singing, and managing of chariots, was obliged to employ the pen of Seneca, wherever he had occasion to speak in public, or even to write letters concerning affairs of any importance. Seneca had one under him, named Beryllus, who is styled by Josephus (1), Nero's preceptor, but was only his Greek secretary.

(1) Joseph. Antiq. lib. xx. cap. 7.

*Nero's
speech to
the senate.*

When the funeral rites were over, the young prince repaired to the senate, where, after a preamble, in which he acknowledged himself indebted for the empire to the authority of the senate, and the concurrence of the soldiery, he declared in what manner he designed to govern; that he claimed not the judgement and decision of affairs; that the whole power and authority should not be confined to a few persons, but every magistrate should have his peculiar jurisdiction; that nothing should be saleable within his walls, nor any access there to informers; that, between his family and the republic, a just distinction should ever be maintained; that the senate should preserve their ancient jurisdiction; that Italy, and the provinces belonging to the people, should apply only to the consuls, and by them procure access to the fathers; that to himself he reserved what was especially committed to his care, the direction of the armies. He concluded with assuring them, that he designed to govern his people according to the model of the deified Augustus. The senate ordered this speech, which was likewise composed by Seneca, to be engraved on a plate of silver, and to be annually read in the senate by the new consuls¹. At the same time, they heaped all kinds of honours upon him; which he accepted, without refusing any, except that of Father of his Country, in consideration of his youth: even this, however, he assumed before the second year of his reign expired, as appears from some ancient medals.

*Honours
decreed
him by the
senate.*

*Instances of
his clemency
and
good-nature.*

He seemed, at first, inclined to perform the mighty promises he had made to the senate; for this year he gave numerous instances of clemency, moderation, and affability: to the people he distributed four hundred sesterces a man; to such of the senators as were descended from illustrious families, but reduced to poverty, he allowed annual salaries; to some five hundred thousand sesterces, besides a certain quantity of corn, which he likewise distributed monthly to his guards. Many impositions he utterly suppressed, and retrenched others to a fourth: he redressed several disorders; restrained the profuse luxury of feasts and banquets, which had obtained during the late reign, Claudius being greatly addicted to feasting: with the approbation of the senate he published an edict, prohibiting the selling of any thing boiled in public houses, except pulse and greens: he suppressed a kind of sports, in which certain persons, running about the city, pretended to have, by custom, acquired a right of robbing, as it were, in jest, all they met,

¹ Tacit. Ann. lib. xiii. cap. 3. Suet. cap. 10. Dio, p. 650.

and carrying off whatever they could seize. The senate likewise, depending upon the prince's declaration, began to exercise their ancient jurisdiction; and made various regulations: among the rest the two following; that no orator, or pleader, should receive any fee, payment, or present, for defending a cause; and that those who were appointed quæstors, should be no longer obliged to exhibit public shews of gladiators. All this was opposed by Agrippina, as annulling the acts of Claudius: but Nero preferred the counsels of Burrhus and Seneca to those of his mother; and the fathers prevailed (D).

Towards the end of this year Nero bestowed the Lesser Armenia on Aristobulus the son of Herod king of Chalcis; to Sohemus he gave, with the ensigns of royalty, and title of king, the country of Sophene, lying between Armenia, Mesopotamia, and Comagene; and added some towns of Galilee to the territories which Claudius had given to Agrippa, the son of Agrippa, king of Judæa^m. Before the year expired, ambassadors arrived from Armenia, to plead before Nero a cause of their nation; and, while the emperor was hearing them, seated on the imperial throne, Agrippina suddenly appeared, and was advancing to sit in joint judgement with the prince. The whole assembly was struck with amazement; but no one daring to restrain her, Seneca advised him to descend, and meet his mother: thus, under the disguise of filial reverence, that public disgrace was prevented; for the Romans thought it highly ignominious, that foreign nations should believe them to be governed by a woman. The audience was deferred to another day, when Seneca and Burrhus took effectual care to prevent her disturbing it. As her son was a youth, and, wholly indebted to her intrigues for the sovereignty, she claimed an equal share with him; and therefore pretended to answer foreign ambassadors conjointly; to write letters to princes and kings; to dispatch orders to the governors of provinces, and commanders of armies; to preside among

Nero bestows territories on several princes.

The unbounded ambition of Agrippina.

^m Tacit. Annal. lib. xiii. cap. 5. Joseph. Ant. lib. xx. cap. 5.

(D) However, from respect to her, he caused her late husband Claudius to be ranked among the gods, with all the solemnity and pomps of priests, altars, and sacrifices: which gave occasion to the pleasantry of Gallio, the brother of Seneca, who, hearing of the deification of Claudius, could not help exclaiming, that he had been drawn up to heaven with a hook, as the criminals were dragged to the Tiber (1).

(1) Dio, p. 688.

G g 4

the

the Roman eagles; and, in short, to be called and acknowledged a partner in the empire which her ancestors had acquired, and she had conferred on her son. She always accompanied him in the same litter, was attended by the same guards, and, at first, prevailed upon the young prince to assemble the senate in the palace, that, posted by a door behind a curtain, she might overhear the debates, without being seen. Seneca and Burrhus, apprised what dreadful disorders she would raise, if she once obtained the ascendant over the prince, left no method untried to lessen her power; and their attempts were not without success. The same year Nero applied to the senate for a statue to his father, and for the consular ornaments to Asconius Laeoe, who had been his tutor. The senate not only complied with his request, but, at the same time, decreed statues to himself of solid silver and gold; which he absolutely refused. The senate likewise decreed, that the year should, for the future, begin on December, the month in which Nero was born: but, notwithstanding the ordinance of the senate, he preserved the ancient custom of beginning the year with the first of January. Neither would he admit a criminal prosecution against Carinas Celer, a senator, upon the accusation of a slave; nor against Julius Denfus, a Roman knight, who was charged with his devotion to Britannicus, as a great crime ^a.

Nero's modesty.

Yr. of Fl.

^{2404.}

A. D. 56.

U. C. 804.

Nero's first consulship.

In the following year, Nero, who was, by a decree of the senate, to exercise the consulship in the twentieth year of his age, though he was now but in his eighteenth, took possession of that dignity, agreeable to the custom of other emperors, who never failed to assume the fasces the year after their accession to the empire. He chose for his colleague L. Antistius Vetus, but would not suffer him to swear, as usual, that he would observe the institutions of the emperor; an instance of modesty highly extolled by the fathers, with a design to animate his youthful mind to the pursuit of glory resulting from things of greater moment. At the same time, he extended his mercy towards Plautius Lateranus, who having been formerly degraded from the order of senator, for adultery with Messalina, was now restored to his ancient rank. After two months he resigned the fasces; but to whom, we are now where told.

Begins to slight the authority of his mother.

This year Nero first began to disregard the authority of his mother; a mark of contempt which was no way displeasing to Seneca and Burrhus, who dreaded her violent spirit, and expected to see the calamities of the late reign

^a Tacit. Annal. lib. xiii. cap. 11.

renewed,

renewed, if ever she should bear the chief sway in the administration. The young prince conceived a violent passion for a franchised slave, named Acte; and, at the same time, consulted, as confidents in his amour, Otho and Claudius Senecio; the first of a consular family, the same who afterwards arrived at the empire; and the other, the son of one of the emperor's freedmen. They were both youths of graceful persons, but entirely abandoned to all manner of lewdness and debauchery; and, on that account, admitted by Nero to an entire intimacy. Seneca and Burrhus were soon informed of their pupil's intrigue; but upon mature deliberation, thought it adviseable not to thwart him in his amour, since, with a woman of low condition, to the injury of no man, the prince satisfied his youthful inclinations; whereas, if he were restrained from that gallantry, there was room to dread that he would outrageously insult women of the greatest distinction; for he had already conceived an utter aversion to his wife Octavia, however illustrious in her birth, however celebrated for her virtue,

Agrippina could not endure the irregular conduct of her son, not from any motive of virtue, as will soon appear, but because she dreaded the extravagant power of a concubine. She left no arts unpractised to check his growing passion; she filled the city with the angry invectives of an incensed woman, and complained that a manumitted slave was become her rival, an handmaid her daughter-in-law. But the keener her reproaches were, the more they fired her son's passion; so that, being at length overcome by its force, he shook off all respect to his mother; and threw himself, without reserve, into the arms of Seneca, with whom he knew Annæus Serenus (E) lived in close confidence, one who had hitherto covered the prince's passion for Acte, by pretending to be in love with her himself; and had openly presented to her, in his own name, whatever Nero in secret bestowed upon her. Agrippina was no sooner apprised of these particulars, than she changed her arts and address, attempting to regain the confidence of

Nero checked by his mother;

who endeavours afterwards to humour him.

(E) He was commander of the city-guards, and generally esteemed, notwithstanding his thus concealing Nero's passion for Acte. To him Seneca inscribed his books *De Tranquillitate*; and was to such a degree grieved for the loss of so dear and worthy a friend, as he himself owns in one of his letters (2), that he deserved to be ranked among those who had suffered themselves to be overcome by an untimely grief.

(2) Senec. Epist. 63.

her

her son by gentle and alluring speeches : she even offered him her own chamber, that there, and, if he pleased, within her own arms, he might more privately indulge his passion : she even acknowledged her unseasonable severity, and made him a tender of all her wealth, which was not much short of the imperial treasures. Thus, from being too strict in checking her son, she became, all at once, beyond measure, submissive and fawning. This sudden alteration did not deceive Nero ; and his intimate friends, dreading it, entreated him to be upon his guard against the snares of an implacable and deceitful woman *.

*Disensions
between
Nero and
Agrippina.*

It happened about this time, that, as Nero was surveying the rich ornaments in which the emperor's wives and mothers used to appear on solemn days, he selected the most pompous and stately, and sent them as presents to his mother. This step the young prince took, to convince her, that though he would not be governed by her, yet he bore her no rancour, or ill-will : but Agrippina, transported with rage, uttered bitter complaints against her son, who, she said, by sending her such trifles, did not so much intend to make her a present, as to exclude her from all the rest, and to divide with her what he had wholly received from her. These words were immediately carried to Nero, with aggravations ; who thereupon, provoked with Pallas, by whom chiefly Agrippina was supported in her ambitious designs, dismissed him from the management of the finances, which he had received from Claudius, and in which he had acted more like the sovereign director of the empire than a minister (F).

*The disgrace of
Pallas re-
sented by
Agrippina.*

The disgrace of Pallas provoked Agrippina to such a degree, that, not able to restrain her rage, she abandoned herself to it without restraint, uttering dreadful threats and curses, even in the emperor's hearing. " Britannicus, (said she, is now grown up, the true and worthy son of Claudius : he is now fit to assume the empire of his father ; an empire which one, who is a son only by adoption, holds,

* Tacit. *Annal.* lib. xiii. cap. 13.

(F) We are told, that, as he left the palace, attended by many followers, Nero said, not unpleasantly, " Pallas is going to abdicate the sovereignty." The emperor, however, assured him, upon his word, that he should not be questioned for his past behaviour ; and that, as to

his accounts, the public should have no more demands upon him than he upon the public. Thus Pallas forfeited his power, but preserved immense wealth, amounting to seven millions of our money, to the hour of his death, which happened in the eighth year of Nero's reign.

to

to the prejudice of the lawful heir; and exerts his ill-acquired power chiefly to abuse and insult his mother." She threatened to publish to the world all her infamous practices, all the steps she had taken to secure the empire to the ungrateful monster her son, the surreptitious adoption, her own guilt in poisoning her husband, and the crying calamities she had brought upon her own family, the unhappy house of Germanicus. She added, that only one comfort, by the providence of the gods, remained to her, that her step-son was still alive; with him she would repair to the camp, and there leave it to the decision of the soldiery, whether the prating pedagogue Seneca, and the maimed Burrhus, or the son of the deified Claudius, and the daughter of the renowned Germanicus, should have the sovereign rule of mankind. At the same time, she took her fist at the emperor, clenched her hands, uttered all manner of reproaches, curses, imprecations; devoted the monster, so she called her son, and his governors, to the infernal furies; invoked the names of her husband Claudius, of the Silani, and many others, whom she had murdered, to no purpose. This conduct alarmed Nero. As Britannicus next day ended the fourteenth year of his age, when he was to take the manly robe, the emperor began seriously to reflect with himself on the violent temper of his mother, as well as upon the promising genius of the youth, of which he had given, in the late feasts of Saturn, a remarkable proof, and gained by it the favour and esteem of all ranks (G).

Her impatient rage.

Threatens Nero.

From

(G) Besides many other innocent diversions practised on that occasion by the Roman youth of the like age and condition, it was an ancient custom among them to choose a king, whose commands, whatever they were, the whole company was bound to obey. The king was chosen by lot; and, in the palace, where the emperor, who was himself a youth, Britannicus, and other noble youths, diverted themselves with this pastime, the lot fell upon Nero, who thereupon gave to all the rest different commands, yet such as exposed them to no ridicule; but that to Britannicus was, to stand up in the middle

of the company, and there sing a song. He hoped the boy, unaccustomed as he was to company, and quite ignorant how to behave himself in public, would become an object of laughter; but Britannicus, to the great surprize of all, with a becoming modesty, and an undisturbed address, though the eyes of the whole court were upon him, raised his voice, and sung a few verses, importing, that he was bereft of his natural inheritance, and unjustly deprived of the authority to which he was born. The modest and comely aspect of the youth, the deep concern he betrayed in every note, and the reflections which

Nero resolves upon the destruction of Britannicus.

From that time Nero conceived an irreconcilable hatred to the innocent youth; and, being alarmed at the threats of his mother, he resolved to rid himself of one, whom he no longer beheld as a brother but as a competitor: however, not daring openly to command the execution of a person of his rank, whom he could reproach with no crime, he ordered poison to be privately prepared, employing, as his agent, Julius Pollio, tribune of a prætorian cohort, in whose custody was kept, under condemnation, the famous Locusta, who had administered poison to Claudius. As for those who were about the person of Britannicus, Agrippina had long since taken care, that they should be such as had no sense of honour or honesty. The dose was therefore hastily prepared by Locusta, and administered to the young prince by the hands of his governors; but, whether it was not powerful enough in itself, or had been weakened on purpose that its too sudden operation might not create suspicion, it produced little or no effect. Nero was so incensed at this miscarriage, that he threatened the tribune with immediate death; and would have ordered Locusta to be executed, pursuant to her former sentence, for preferring her own safety to the security of the prince, had she not undertaken to prepare a dose, which should dispatch him as suddenly as a dagger. Accordingly, the deadly potion, compounded of several violent poisons, was prepared, in a chamber next to the emperor's, and in his presence. It was administered to Britannicus, while he sat at a separate table in the emperor's apartment, according to the custom observed by the children of the reigning family, who were never admitted to the emperor's table, but took their meals apart with other young noblemen, not in a lying, but sitting posture. Whatever the princes of the imperial family eat or drank, was first tasted by an officer called prægustator. To the end therefore, that neither this custom might be omitted, nor the iniquity be discovered by the death of both, the matter was thus concerted. To Britannicus drink was presented without poison, and tried by the taster, but scalding hot, and, for that reason, returned: it was then tempered with cold water, into which poison had been poured beforehand, of such force, that Britannicus had scarce swallowed it, when he fell to the

Britannicus poisoned.

which all who were present made, drew sighs and tears from the whole company. Nero, struck with the address of the youth, but more with the verses he sung, immediately withdrew, as did all the rest, in silence, to indulge their grief in private, and let their tears flow unrestrained.

ground,

ground, bereft at once of speech and life. Fear and trembling seized his companions; some instantly made off, but others, who comprehended the mystery, remained with their eyes fixed stedfastly upon Nero, who, without betraying the least emotion, declared, it was only an usual fit of the falling-sickness, to which Britannicus had been subject from his early childhood; and that, by degrees, his sight and understanding would return. Agrippina, and the young prince's sister Octavia, were both present, but strove to conceal their grief and surprize. Octavia had learned from her infancy to dissemble every symptom of grief and tenderness, and every other affection of her soul; but Agrippina, sensible that her last refuge was snatched from her, could not help betraying manifest tokens of dread and consternation. However, she endeavoured to hide her concern; so that, after a short silence, the gaiety of the entertainment was resumed.

Upon the same day were seen the untimely fate of Britannicus, and his funeral pile, to which his body was conveyed in the evening, all things belonging to his funeral having been previously prepared. His remains were deposited in the field of Mars, without any pomp, solemnity, or even a funeral oration, though he was the last branch of the Claudian family, which had subsisted in great splendor, and upon its own stock, without adoptions, ever since the time of Romulus. During the funeral ceremony, a violent and tempestuous shower of rain fell, which the populace considered as a declaration of the wrath of the gods for such an enormous iniquity; while others, reflecting on the eternal dissensions of rival brothers, and the unforgivable genius of sovereignty, called it a venial crime.

Nero, by an edict, justified the hasty dispatch of the obsequies; complained, that in Britannicus he had lost the support of a brother; and exhorted the fathers to cherish, with the greater tenderness, a prince, who alone survived, of a family born to sustain the sovereign power. He then distributed the possessions of Britannicus, his palaces in Rome, his manors and villas throughout Italy, like spoils taken in war, among the chief persons of his court, to purchase, by such donations, their approbation, or, at least, their silence (H). In this distribution Nero did not forget his

p Tacit. Ann. lib. xiii. cap. 16, 17.

q Idem, cap. 17.

(H) Tacitus tells us, that notwithstanding the severity and some were severely censured for uprightness they professed. He sharing in these distributions, means, no doubt, Burrhus and Seneca;

*Agrippina
courts the
favour of
the soldiers
and nobi-
lity.*

*Is driven
from the
palace ;*

*and aban-
doned by
all.*

*She is ac-
cused un-
justly.*

his mother ; but could by no liberalities calm her tempestuous spirit. She caressed Octavia, the deceased prince's sister, and the emperor's wife ; held frequently secret cabals with her confidants, and was amassing treasure, as if she had some great design to execute. She paid great attention to the tribunes and centurions, and received, in the most obliging manner, such of the nobility as came to wait upon her. These measures being reported to Nero, he withdrew the prætorian guards which attended her, as comfort to the late emperor and mother to the present, and also the band of Germans, which, as a farther honour, had been added to the former : at the same time he commanded her to quit the palace, and retire to the house which had belonged to her grandmother Antonia. He repaired thither sometimes to visit her, but always surrounded with a crowd of officers ; and, withdrew, after a short compliment. Agrippina was immediately deserted in her new habitation ; the throng of courtiers who daily frequented her levee, while she lived in the palace, instantly vanished ; no one appeared to console her in her disgrace ; no one to visit her, except a small number of ladies, and these not from any friendship or affection, but to watch all the words and actions of the disgraced princess, and carry them, with the usual aggravations of tale-bearers, to the emperor.

Among these was Julia Silana, whom Caius Silius had divorced, to marry Messalina. She was no less infamous for her lewdness than renowned on account of her high birth and extraordinary beauty ; had been long dear to Agrippina ; and, for a considerable while, lived with her in great intimacy ; but being afterwards disgusted with her, for diverting Sextius Africanus, a noble youth, from marrying her, she resolved to make Agrippina pay dear for that injury. With this view she instructed two of her own creatures, Iturius and Calvisius, to accuse her of a design to marry Rubellius Plautus, great grandson of Augustus, with a view to raise disturbances in the state. This surmise was by Iturius and Calvisius imparted to Atimetus, the freedman of Domitia, Nero's aunt, and by him to Paris, the celebrated player, who was also Domitia's freedman. Paris hastened to the emperor, laid before him a minute detail

Seneca ; but endeavours to excuse them, by adding, that they were perhaps forced to accept the presents by the authority of the emperor, who being

own conscience, hoped that his crimes would be overlooked, if by largesses he could involve, as it were, in the same guilt, persons of such credit and reputation.

of the pretended conspiracy, and so alarmed him, that, without any farther inquiries, he resolved not only to put his mother and Plautus to death, but to remove Burrhus, the captain of his guards, as one who owed his promotion to Agrippina. Nero could not be diverted from the impious purpose of killing his mother, till Burrhus undertook to see her executed, in case she were convicted of the crimes laid to her charge; but every one, he said, ought to be heard before condemnation, more especially a mother. Early next morning Burrhus and Seneca, attended by some of the emperor's freedmen, to listen to their discourse, went to wait on Agrippina, to notify the charge brought against her, and give in the names of her accusers. She received them with great haughtiness; and, when her crimes were explained to her, defended herself with her wonted fierceness, but at the same time, with such energy, that Seneca and Burrhus, convinced of her innocence, not only declared her free from all guilt, but, at her request, prevailed with the emperor to grant her an interview. Upon this occasion, she took not the least notice of the crimes laid to her charge, as if her innocence were sufficiently known, nor of the obligations he owed her, lest she should seem to reproach him with ingratitude; but confidently demanded, that vengeance should be taken of her accusers, and suitable rewards conferred on her friends; in both which demands she was gratified.

Burrhus intercedes for her.

She is found innocent, and returns into favour.

Among her friends, Fenius Rufus was honoured with the charge of supplying the city with corn; to Aruntius Stella was given the direction of certain public shows; to Caius Balbillus was assigned the government of Egypt; and that of Syria to Publius Anteius, who was nevertheless, under various pretences, detained at Rome. Of her accusers, Silana, Calvisius, and Iturius, were sent into exile; against Atimetus sentence of death was pronounced, and executed; but Paris, the emperor's inseparable companion in his debauches, was dismissed without any punishment. This year Pallas and Burrhus were charged with a design of raising to the empire Cornelius Sylla, who had married Antonia, the late emperor's daughter: but the charge appearing evidently forged, they were both declared innocent. The arrogance of Pallas, however innocent, gave, on this occasion, no small offence; for the accuser naming some of his freedmen, whom he pretended to have been his accomplices, the franchised slave had the impudence to answer, that he never condescended to speak to any of his domestics,

The arrogance of Pallas.

¹ Tacit. lib. xiii. cap. 20—22.

but

but constantly signified his pleasure to them by a nod, a motion of his hand, or, if his commands consisted of many particulars, in writing, that they might thus learn respect for their master. Burrhus, though accused, sat and voted with the other judges, by whom the accuser Petus was condemned to banishment. Towards the close of the year the emperor caused the cohort to be removed, which used to attend as a guard at the public sports, to exhibit a plausible appearance of popular liberty, and also to prevent the soldiery from tainting their discipline with the licentiousness of the theatre * (I).

Nero abandons himself to revelling and debauchery.

During the following year, Quintus Volusius Saturninus and P. Cornelius Scipio being consuls, Nero began to indulge with more liberty his youthful inclinations, his debauched companions, especially Otho and Senecio, incessantly repeating in his ears, that he was no longer a child, to be awed by a Burrhus, or a Seneca; that they ought to tremble before him, as their sovereign, and not be before them, as his tutors and masters. As youth are more susceptible of bad than good counsels, the young prince, notwithstanding the wholesome advice of his governors, abandoned himself to unseasonable revellings, and filled Rome with innumerable disorders; for, unmindful of his rank, and disguised in the habit of a slave, he in the night scoured the streets, the public inns, and the stews, followed by his debauched companions, who seized, as lawful prey, whatever they found exposed to sale, and assaulted all they met. In these frolics, he often ran great dangers, and once was so wounded in the face, that he ever afterwards bore the scar, no one imagining it was the emperor who thus roamed and rioted about the city; but when that adventure came to be known, his name was falsely assumed as a cloak by others, who, in separate gangs, practised the same excesses; so that dangerous tumults happened almost every night in Rome (K).

He

* Tacit. Ann. lib. xiii. cap. 22—24.

(I) Such was Nero, during the first year of his reign, when he gloried in not having shed one drop of blood, as we learn from the books of clemency, which Seneca inscribed to him some time after he had entered the nineteenth year of his age, that is, about the fifty-fifth of the Christian æra.

(K) The prince having one night offered some affront to a woman of distinction, as she was returning home in the dark, her husband, Julius Montanus, a senator, who attended her, not only repulsed the aggressor, but handled him so roughly, that he was, for several days, obliged to keep his room: Suetonius says,

He likewise took great delight in inflaming the different factions in the theatre, that favoured particular players; and when they were engaged, as it were, in combat, it was a great diversion to him to throw stones and pieces of broken benches among them, with which he once dangerously wounded a prætor in the head. These tumults rent the whole city into parties and factions, some favouring one player, and some another; insomuch that greater and more dangerous commotions being apprehended, no other remedy was found, but that of driving the players out of Italy, and recalling the soldiers to guard the theatre at the celebration of the public shews¹.

Players driven out of Italy.

The next consuls were Nero, the second time, and L. Calpurnius Piso, who, after six months, resigned the fasces to Ducennius Geminus and Pompeius Paulinus. This year the emperor remitted the duty upon the sale of slaves; distributed to the populace a largess of four hundred small sesterces a man; and issued an edict, forbidding all governors of provinces to exhibit any public shews, knowing that such acts of munificence were only designed to suspend the clamours of the people, who, in the end, bore the whole charge; so that the liberality of their governors, and their avarice, concurred equally to undo them. He likewise readily consented to a decree of the senate, enacting, that, if any one was killed by his slaves, those who had been manumitted, if they still continued under the same roof, should be executed with his other slaves. Lucius Varius, who had been consul, but formerly degraded for extortion, he restored to his rank; and referred Pomponia Græcina, a lady of great distinction, accused of having embraced a foreign superstition, probably the Christian religion, pursuant to the ancient custom, to the inquisition of her husband. She was

Several instances of Nero's generosity, good-nature, &c.

¹ Tacit. Annal. lib. xiii. cap. 25. Suet. cap. 26. Dio, in Excerpt. Vall. p. 685.

says, he was almost killed. However, he disssembled this treatment so long as it remained unknown to whom it had been offered; but Montanus having at last discovered it was the emperor, and thereupon implored, by a letter, his forgiveness, Nero, thinking he reproached him, by owning he knew him, obliged him, by threats and me-

naces, to kill himself. Thenceforth the emperor became more cautious, and was constantly attended, in his nocturnal ramble, by a party of his guards, and a numerous train of gladiators following him at some distance, who, however, were ordered not to interpose, till the prince's party was quite overcome (1).

(1) Tacit. Annal. lib. xiii. cap. 25.

ried to Aulus Plautius, the same who, by his conquests in Britain in the reign of Claudius, had deserved an ovation. Plautius assembled his relations, took, together with them, cognizance of the behaviour and reputation of his wife, and declared her innocent.

*Relieves
poor senators.*

*P. Suilius
accused.*

The following year Nero entered upon his third consulship, but held it only four months. His colleague was Valerius Messala, to whom, as he was of an illustrious family, but, by misfortunes, reduced to poverty, the emperor generously presented a yearly pension of five hundred great sesterces. At the same time he assigned annual appointments to other senators, who did not deserve them, as they had wasted their paternal wealth in voluptuousness and riotous living. Publius Suilius, an abandoned accuser, who had made a great figure during the reign of Claudius, and, with his venal eloquence, procured the ruin of many illustrious citizens, was arraigned of various crimes: he was charged with the death of Poppæa Sabina, of Julia the daughter of Drusus, of Valerius Asiaticus, of Lucius Saturninus, of Cornelius Lupus, and of whole bands of Roman knights, condemned at his instigation: in short, all the cruelties committed in the late reign were imputed to Suilius. In his defence he urged, that he had engaged in none of these accusations voluntarily, but acted purely in obedience to the prince. Nero checked this plea, by declaring, that from the memoirs of Claudius, it evidently appeared, that no accusation had been undertaken by his order. The accused then pleaded the commands of Messalina: but this too was reckoned a weak defence; for why, it was said, had no other advocate than Suilius been singled out to accomplish the bloody purposes of that prostitute?

*His invectives against
Seneca.*

Seneca seems to have been the chief and most sanguine promoter of this prosecution; for against him chiefly Suilius inveighed, reproaching him with having contaminated the beds of princesses, meaning Julia, Germanicus's daughter; with hunting after inheritances, and catching the rich and childless, as it were, in his net; with his exhausting all Italy, and the provinces, by his excessive usury; with amassing, by what precepts of wisdom, by what principles of philosophy, he said he knew not, a treasure of more than seven millions, in the short space of four years. These reproaches, says Tacitus, did not a little taint the reputation and character of his antagonist Seneca. Suilius, however, was condemned, and banished to the Balearic islands on the coast of Spain. In hatred to him, his son Nerullinus was also arraigned; but Nero interposed, alleging, that public

lic vengeance was sufficiently satiated by the punishment of the father ^u.

It was at this period that Nero conceived a passion for the celebrated Poppæa Sabina; a passion which proved the source of heavy calamities to the Roman state. She was the daughter of another Poppæa Sabina, put to death by Messalina's orders, as we have already related, and of Titus Ollius, a senator. As Poppæus Sabinus, her mother's father, had borne the consular dignity, and been honoured with triumphal ornaments, she borrowed his name, and called herself Poppæa Sabina; for, to her own father, the friendship of Sejanus had proved fatal before he had attained to that dignity. She possessed every ornament becoming her sex, except that of virtue: in beauty she excelled all the women of her time; her wit, engaging address, and sprightly conversation, charmed all who conversed with her: but her lewdness knew no bounds; nor was she controlled in the pursuit of it by any respect to reputation. Between husband and adulterer she made no distinction, says Tacitus, but was ever ready to gratify her own inclinations, without regarding any ties, however binding. Hence, though she was married to Rufus Crispinus, a Roman knight, and by him had a son, she was not ashamed to leave him, and live publicly with Otho, a gay youth, the emperor's reigning favourite. This commerce of adultery was soon followed by their marriage, Crispinus readily consenting to a divorce. Otho, now her husband, was continually extolling to Nero the beauty and charms of his wife, prompted either by the indiscreet warmth of a lover, or by a desire of kindling in the young prince's breast the like passion, and procuring, from their common enjoyment of the same woman, an additional support to his present authority.

Poppæa Sabina's character.

Nero's passion was easily inflamed: he desired to see Poppæa; an interview was appointed; and the emperor, in his first conversation with her, was so captivated with her soft arts, with her address and caresses, that he carried her to the palace, where she was detained. But the artful Poppæa, when she had wrought up the prince's affection to the highest pitch, changed her former behaviour into haughtiness, importuning the emperor to let her return to her husband, whom, of all men, she thought the most deserving, the most worthy of her affection. Otho was immediately forbidden the palace, debarred all intercourse, and even access to the emperor; and soon after, to prevent any communication with Poppæa, preferred to the government

She captivates Nero.

^u Tacit. Annal. lib. xiii. cap. 42, 43.

*Otho sent
into Lusitania.*

*Nero designs to
abolish all
taxes.*

*Issues several
equitable
regulations.*

*State of
affairs on
the Rhine.*

*Lucius
Vetus's
grand project.*

of Lusitania; a government which he administered for the space of ten years with eminent uprightness and honour, having acquired no less reputation in authority by his gravity and regular conduct, than he had deserved infamy in a private station, by a most voluptuous and dissolute life^w. Thus Nero enjoyed Poppæa without a rival, and was, for some time, entirely governed by her pernicious and destructive counsels. This year Cornelius Sylla, who had married Antonia, the daughter of Claudius, being falsely accused of conspiring against the emperor, was banished, and confined within the walls of Marseilles^x. As the people complained loudly of the arbitrary exactions of the publicans, Nero designed to suppress all taxes and duties, thinking that indulgence the greatest bounty he could bestow upon mankind; but the senate, after many encomiums on his magnanimity, restrained him, by remonstrating, that the suppression of all taxes must necessarily be attended with the dissolution of the empire. The prince, therefore, contented himself with ordaining, that all the regulations relating to the revenues, which till then had been kept secret, should be hung up in public, to the end that every one might know the precise sum he was to contribute; that the publicans should exact no claims more than a year back; that all causes against them should be immediately heard and determined by the prætor at Rome, and, in the provinces, by the prætors and proconsuls. He laid other equitable injunctions, which however soon grew obsolete; though the suppression of the quadragesima, or fortieth penny, and of the quinquagesima, or fiftieth, as also of some other impositions, continued in force, at least till the reign of Adrian. At the same time, to encourage the bringing of grain from the transmarine provinces, it was ordained, that it should be imported duty free^y.

In Germany, the commanders of the Roman armies having no enemy to contend with, kept their troops employed in various public works. Paulinus Pompeius, who commanded in Lower Germany, completed a dam, which Drusus had begun sixty-three years before, to restrain the overflowing of the Rhine. Lucius Vetus, who commanded in Upper Germany, undertook a work great, stupendous, and worthy of the Roman grandeur; which was, to dig a canal of communication between the Saone and the Moselle, that the armies from Italy, transported by sea into the Rhone, and thence into the Saone, might fall, through this

^w Tacit. cap. 45, 46. Suet. in Oth. cap. 3. Joseph. Antiq. lib. xx. cap. 7.

^x Tacit. Annal. lib. xiii. cap. 47.

^y Idem ibid.

cap. 51, 52. Suet. cap. 10.

canal into the Moselle, thence through the Rhine into the ocean. But Ælius Gracilis, governor of Belgic Gaul, through which the Moselle flowed, jealous of the glory which Vetus would have acquired by so great and useful an undertaking, cautioned him not to bring his troops into another's province, and at the same time threatened him with the displeasure of the emperor, who would be alarmed at such an enterprize, imagining it undertaken with a private view to court the affections of the Gauls. Thus was that glorious project defeated ^z.

Paulinus being succeeded by Dubius Avitus, and Vetus by T. Curulius Mancias, the Frisians, under the conduct of Verritus and Malarigis, possessed themselves of certain unoccupied lands, which had been applied to the use of the Roman soldiers, who used to send their horses and cattle to graze there. They had already founded their dwellings, and sown the fields, when Avitus threatened to drive them from thence, unless they first obtained from the emperor a grant of those territories. In consequence of this declaration, the two chiefs proceeded to Rome, where, till they could have an audience of Nero, among the several sights which were usually exhibited to strangers, they were conducted to Pompey's theatre, to assist at a public show. There, while they were surveying with astonishment the multitudes of people, and informing themselves which were the Roman knights, and where sat the senators, they discovered certain persons in a foreign dress, sitting among the latter, and asked who they were. "This is a distinction (answered the interpreter), conferred by the Roman people on the ambassadors of such nations as have signalized their bravery in war, and fidelity towards us." If so (replied the two chiefs), we claim a right to sit there too; for, amongst men, there is not a nation which, in fidelity and feats of arms, surpasses the Germans: so saying, they placed themselves among the senators; and, for this honest freedom, were highly applauded by the numerous assembly. Nero honoured them both with the rights of Roman citizens: but commanded them to abandon their new possessions; an order which their countrymen refusing to obey, Avitus, by a sudden irruption, put many to the sword, and forced the rest to withdraw ^a.

The Frisians possess themselves of lands belonging to the Romans.

Are driven from thence by Avitus.

Some time after this event, the Ansibarii, being driven from their own country by the Chauci, took possession of the same lands, supported by the neighbouring nations, who pitied their forlorn condition, and led by Boiocalus, a man of great renown, and of known fidelity towards the Ro-

The Ansibarii possess themselves of the same lands.

^z Tacit. Ann. lib. xiii. cap. 53.

^a Idem ibid. cap. 54—56.

mans. He represented to Avitus, in behalf of himself and his people, that on the revolt of the Cherufci, when Varus and his legions were slaughtered, he had been thrown into bonds by Arminius; that he had afterwards served under Tiberius, then under Germanicus, and to the merit of fifty years service was ready to add that of submitting his people to the empire of Rome. He remonstrated, that the territory in dispute was large, and lay waste; that he might allow to an unhappy people, driven from their own habitations, settlements in it, and, at the same time, retain wide tracts for the horses and cattle of the Roman soldiers to graze and range in; that it was inconsistent with humanity to famish men, in order to feed beasts; and incompatible with religion, to devote to dismal deserts and solitude any part of the earth, which was, by the gods, appropriated to the children of men; that such parts of it as none possessed were free and common to all. Then raising his eyes to the sun, and the other celestial luminaries, he asked them, how they could bear to behold a desolate soil? and asked, if they would not more justly let loose the sea to swallow up usurpers, who thus ingrossed the earth? Avitus, provoked at this language, made no other reply, than that the weakest man must submit to the more powerful; and that since the gods, to whom they appealed, had left the foreign judgment to the Romans, they would suffer no other judges than themselves. This answer he gave in public; but to Boiocalus he privately offered lands, as an acknowledgement of his long attachment to the Romans. This offer the brave German considered as a price proposed for betraying his people, and rejected it with indignation; adding, "A place to live in we may want; but a place to die in we cannot." Thus they parted, with mutual animosity.

The Ansibarii prepare for war;

but are utterly exterminated.

The Ansibarii invited into a confederacy the bordering nations; but Curtilius Mancias, who commanded in Upper Germany, passing the Rhine at the head of his legions, threatened them with desolation and slaughter, if they afforded any assistance to the enemies of Rome. On the other hand, they were awed by Avitus, who likewise appeared with his legions on the banks of the Rhine; so that the unhappy Ansibarii, deserted by all, had recourse to the Usipites, the Tubantes, the Catti, and Cherufci, begging leave to settle in their territories; but being every where driven out as enemies and intruders, in the course of these long and various peregrinations, the people perished^b.

^b Tacit. Annal. lib. xiii. cap. 57.

This year the Juhones, a people in alliance with Rome, who are supposed to have inhabited the counties of Nassau and Isenburg, were afflicted with a sudden irruption of subterraneous fire; which consumed their farms, towns, and dwellings, and was advancing with great fury to the walls of Cologne, when certain boors, after having in vain attempted to extinguish it with water, and other usual expedients, transported with rage, attacked it at a distance with volleys of stones. This assault, to their great surprize, allayed its fury; which no sooner began to abate, than they proceeded to a closer attack with clubs and blows, as in an encounter with an enemy; and at length, which was still more surprizing, they quite vanquished the conflagration, by throwing their garments upon the flames ^c.

A subterraneous fire.

How extinguished.

This year Domitius Corbulo, the greatest general of his age, completed the reduction of Armenia, by expelling Tiridates, brother to Vologeses, king of the Parthians, and making himself master of Artaxata, the most important place of the whole kingdom. Of the glorious exploits of this brave officer, we have given an account in our history of Armenia: therefore we shall only add, that, for the success which had attended Corbulo's arms, Nero was proclaimed emperor; and, by a decree of the senate, days of public thanksgiving were appointed, with statues of Victory to the prince, triumphal arches, and perpetuity of the consulship. It was also decreed, that the day when the city of Artaxata was taken, the day when the news arrived at Rome, and the day which produced that decree, should all be for ever kept as festivals. This motion was opposed by Caius Cassius; who observed, that were every instance of public prosperity to be attended with public thanksgiving, the whole year would not afford days sufficient for such solemnities; a just distribution (he said) ought therefore to be made between days of devotion and days of business, that the worship of the gods might not interfere with the occupations of men ^d.

Armenia reduced by Corbulo.

Hitherto Nero's administration was much applauded, and is generally extolled by historians; Trajan, an excellent prince, is said to have proposed to himself the first five years of Nero's reign, as the most accomplished model of an equitable government ^e. It is certain, however, that this year, the sixth of his reign, when Caius Vipsanius Apronianus, and Caius Fonteius Capito were consuls, produced an in-

Great change in Nero's conduct.

^c Idem. ibid. Birag. Num. p. 92. cap. 34. ^e Aur. Vict. in epit.

^d Tacit. Annal. lib. xiii.

stance of the blackest and most unnatural iniquity recorded in history, that of a mother murdered by a son, who was indebted to her not only for his life but for the empire, and that very power which, by an apostacy from nature, he impiously employed against her. This horrid attempt, which will render the name of Nero execrable to the latest posterity, we shall relate, as it has been transmitted to us by the most unexceptionable historians of antiquity.

*Poppæa
inflames
Nero
against his
mother.*

Agrippina had, after the late groundless charge brought against her, in some degree, regained the emperor's favour, and continued to bear no small sway at court, till Poppæa was introduced. That ambitious prostitute aimed at nothing less than solemnly marrying the emperor; but as she could never hope to see Octavia divorced, nor herself honoured with imperial wedlock, during the life of Agrippina, she made it her whole study to inflame Nero against her, sometimes jeering him by the sarcastical name of pupil, blindly subject to the capricious humour of a woman, and so far from being suffered to rule the empire, that he was not allowed that liberty which every private Roman enjoyed as his birth-right. She added atrocious calumnies against Agrippina, as if she harboured designs against his life; and threatened to abandon him, that she might not be exposed to the dangers by which he was surrounded. Her complaints and expostulations, enforced with sighs, tears, and all the soft artifices which the deceitful adulterers possessed in an eminent degree, pierced the soul of Nero: in behalf of Agrippina no one interposed, all at court being overjoyed to see her authority crushed, but no one imagining the son would ever be hardened to such a pitch of iniquity, as inhumanly to spill the blood of his mother^f.

*By what
means A-
grippina
sought to
retain her
power.*

Agrippina, apprised of the views and artifices of Poppæa, left nothing unattempted, which thirst of power could suggest, to retain her wonted dominion. Authors who lived in those times, and to whose authority Tacitus pays great deference, tell us, that the lust of ruling transported her to such extravagant, and almost incredible lengths, that while Nero was much heated with wine, and banqueting, she accosted him, gaily attired; and, without any regard to fame or modesty, prompted him to a crime no less repugnant to nature than that which he soon after committed. Seneca, who was present, observing the prince, while he was thus intoxicated, inclined to yield to the solicitations of his mother, for an antidote against the enticements of

^f Tacit. Ann. lib. xiv. cap. 1. Dio, lib. lxxviii.

one woman, had recourse to another, and introduced Acte. By means of this diversion, the unnatural commerce was prevented; but the reputation of Seneca was somewhat tarnished, who might, by some other expedient more worthy of a philosopher, have diverted the prince from such a monstrous impurity (L).

Nero, dreading the infamy which the bare suspicion of such a detestable crime would reflect on his character, and being told, that the soldiery would never bear the dominion of a prince thus contaminated, began thenceforth to avoid all private conferences with his mother; a reserve which gave Poppæa a favourable opportunity of inflaming him still more against her, till at length she wrought him to a resolution of delivering himself, by a parricide, from one who, she said, was his dread and torment. He was now, therefore, only in suspense about the means of dispatching her, whether by poison, the sword, or some other contrivance.

Nero resolves to destroy her.

While he revolved various methods of taking her off, Anicetus offered his service and his dexterity. He was a franchised slave, and had been tutor to Nero in his infancy; but was now commander of the fleet which rode at Misenum. As he was an implacable enemy to Agrippina, he undertook to contrive a vessel in such a manner that he could sink it at pleasure; and he observed, that if Agrippina were thus dispatched by shipwreck, no person could ascribe her death to the malice and contrivance of men. Nero was much pleased with this device, because he had a favourable opportunity to put it in execution, as he was then celebrating at Baïæ the solemn festival of Minerva called Quinquatrus, which began on the nineteenth of March, and lasted five days. In order to entice his mother thither, he pretended a desire to be reconciled to her, declaring, that children ought to bear with the humours of their parents; and that for himself, it was his duty to forget all past provocations, and be sincerely reconciled to a tender mother, to whom he owed the sceptre which he swayed. A general rumour of this pretended disposition was immediately spread abroad, reached Agrippina, and found credit

Anicetus, a franchised slave, contrives the means of destroying her.

Nero pretends kindness for her;

(L) Fabius Rusticus, a writer of those times, ascribes this unheard-of passion not to Agrippina, but to Nero; and adds, that he was rescued from so great an infamy by Acte; but,

in the detail we have given, all other authors agree; and it was besides confirmed, in Tacitus's time, by the testimony of popular fame,

with

with her, because it flattered her wishes. At the same time he wrote a letter to her, filled with the most tender expressions of filial affection and duty, inviting her to pass the festival with him at Baïæ.

which Agrippina believes.

His prodigious falsehood, and show of filial tenderness.

Agrippina, not suspecting any treachery, though well practised in the dark devices of the court, deferred no longer her departure; but embarking at Antium, where she then was, sailed to Bauli (M), an imperial villa between the cape of Misenum and the gulf of Baïæ. Thither Nero went to receive his mother, met her upon the shore, presented his hand, embraced, and conducted her to the castle. Not far from the shore, amongst several other vessels belonging to the emperor, and the noblemen of his court, rode that which had been contrived by Anicetus, more pompous and gaudy than the rest, as if Nero, by that distinction, intended additional honour to his mother; but she, having had some intimation of the plot, when invited on board, declared she chose to go to Baïæ by land; and accordingly was carried thither in a sedan. Upon her arrival, the behaviour of Nero, obliging beyond expression, and free from all manner of affectation, allayed her fears. He treated her with the utmost magnificence, yielded to her at table the most honourable place, entertained her with great variety of diversions, granted all the favours she asked in behalf of herself or her friends, and, in conversation, broke sometimes out into sallies of youthful gaiety, discoursing at other times, with an air of gravity, of state affairs, as if he really had restored his confidence to her, and was sincerely disposed to follow her advice. Having, by means of these flattering caresses, removed all her suspicions, he protracted the banquet till the night was far advanced; and, in the mean time, gave private orders to the commander of one of his galleys to run foul of that which had conveyed Agrippina to Bauli, and disable it, that she might be obliged to embark in the vessel contrived for her destruction. When the feast was over, Nero acquainted her with the misfortune which had happened to her own vessel, begged her to accept of the other, and ordered the admiral himself, Anicetus, to attend her to Antium. The emperor accompanied her in person to the shore, and, at parting, hung upon her

(M) This villa belonged first to Hortensius, the celebrated orator, and afterwards to Antonia, the wife of Drusus (1). At this time it was possessed by the emperor, and long after by Symmachus.

(1) Plin. lib. ix. cap. 55.

neck,

neck, kissing her with such tenderness, that he left it uncertain, as our historian observes, whether he meant, by that passionate behaviour, to cloak his horrid design, or whether his spirit, however fierce and savage, could not withstand the more powerful efforts of nature, at the last sight of a mother just going to perish.

The sea proved smooth and calm, the night clear, and the stars shone in full lustre. Agrippina, when she embarked, was attended only by two persons, Crepercius Gallus, who stood in the steerage, and a lady named Aceronia Polla, who lay at her feet, and was entertaining her with the pleasing discourse of the remorse of her son, and his sincere reconciliation; when suddenly, upon a signal given, the deck over that quarter was loosened, and, being purposely loaded with a great quantity of lead, sunk violently down, and crushed Crepercius to death. Agrippina and Aceronia were defended by the posts of the bed where they lay, which happened to be too strong to yield to the weight; neither did the vessel open, as had been concerted, such of the mariners, as had not been entrusted with the plot, obstructing the measures of those who were. The latter, finding this expedient defeated, strove to overset the vessel by running all to one side: but the other mariners, not privy to the design, at the same time struggling to preserve her, by balancing the contrary way, she was not at once swallowed up, but sunk by degrees; so that Agrippina and Aceronia fell softly into the sea. The latter, screaming out, for the more speedy relief, that she was Agrippina, and passionately calling upon the crew to succour the prince's mother, was by them pursued with their poles and oars, and so slain.

Agrippina never spoke, and being therefore less known, escaped, with one wound only on her shoulder: with swimming, and the timely assistance of some fisher-boats, which rowed out to succour her, she reached the lake Lucrinus, from whence she was conveyed to her own villa. There, reflecting upon the danger which she had escaped; the fate of Aceronia, mistaken for herself, and designedly slain; the manner in which the vessel, under shelter of the shore, not tossed by the winds, nor striking upon the rocks, had yielded in its upper part, and been purposely overset, she concluded, that, for this very end, she had been ensnared by the fraudulent letters of her son, and for this treated by him with such extraordinary marks of honour. However, she thought it advisable to dissemble the whole, and, although

*Agrippina
designedly
ship-
wrecked.*

*She es-
capes,*

*and dis-
sembles her
resentment.*

† Tacit. Ann. lib. xiv. cap. 4. Suet. cap. 34. Dio, lib. lxi. p. 695.

well apprised of these black devices, to act as if she was entirely ignorant of them. With this view, she dispatched Agerinus her freedman, to acquaint the emperor with the danger she had escaped by the providence of the gods and his imperial fortune; and to entreat him, that, however alarmed at the misfortune which had threatened his mother, he would postpone the trouble of visiting her, for what she wanted at present was rest. In the mean time, disguising her fear, and counterfeiting perfect security, she caused her wound to be dressed; and calling for the last will of Accronia, ordered all her effects to be registered, and sealed up^b.

*Nero's
fears upon
the escape
of his mo-
ther.*

Nero had passed the night in great uneasiness and anxiety, attending to the success of his design; and, while he was hourly expecting expresses to inform him that the parricide was executed, tidings arrived that his mother had escaped only with a slight wound. At this information, he was struck with horror and dismay, not doubting but that fierce spirit, bent upon hasty revenge, would either arm the slaves, inflame the rage of the soldiery against him, or have recourse, with a tragical representation of the whole plot, to the senate and people. Thus terrified and confounded, he immediately sent for Burrhus and Seneca, who perhaps had not before been acquainted with the conspiracy. To them he notified his disappointment, protesting, that, in the present emergency, he had no resource, no protection, no one to advise with, but them. They both kept silence, either because they thought it was in vain to dissuade him from a design on which they saw him determined, or because they believed matters already pushed so far, that, unless Agrippina soon perished, Nero certainly must. At length Seneca, who used always to speak first, looked at Burrhus, as if he asked him, whether orders for the dispatching of Agrippina might not be trusted to the soldiery under his command. Burrhus understood him, and answered, that the prætorian guards were so zealously attached to the name of the Cæsars, so fond of the family and memory of Germanicus, that they would never engage in any cruel or bloody attempt against their descendants. He added, that Anicetus ought to accomplish what he had begun. Anicetus undertook, without hesitation, to acquit himself of his engagement; and Nero, exclaiming, that Anicetus presented him that day with the empire, urged him to use dis-

*Anicetus
undertakes
to finish the
murder.*

^b Tacit. Ann. lib. xiv. cap. 1-5. Dio, p. 695. Suet. lib. vi. cap. 34.

patch. In the mean time Agerinus, arriving from Agrippina, with the news of her disaster and escape, was immediately admitted to the emperor; by whose orders, as he was delivering his message, a dagger was dropped between his legs; and then, on pretence that he had been sent to murder the prince, he was immediately loaded with irons, and dragged to prison. This fable was forged to support another; for Nero pretended, that his destruction had been concerted by his mother; and that she, upon the discovery of her treason, had put an end to her own life, to avoid the punishment she deserved¹.

In the mean time, the report of the danger which threatened Agrippina at sea, and was looked upon as the effect of chance, flying abroad, the people from all quarters flocked to the shore to assist her: some crowded into barks and skiffs; others entered the sea, and waded to the neck: nay, some stretched out their arms to catch and receive her; so that the whole coast resounded with lamentations for her misfortune, vows for her deliverance, and the indistinct clamour of a multitude, solicitous about her safety. When they understood that she was out of danger, they hastened to congratulate her; but Anicetus arriving with an armed band of marines, they all dispersed. Then the franchised slave, having beset the villa with a guard, burst open the gates, secured such of her slaves as offered to stop him, and advanced to the door of her chamber, which he found guarded by a small number of her friends, who, at the sight of so many armed men, immediately fled, and left her with one maid only. She was already very uneasy, that no person had yet arrived from her son, when she heard a sudden noise and tumult at the door of her chamber; which so terrified her maid, that, starting up, she too was about to depart. Agrippina perceiving her design, "Thou likewise (said she), art going to abandon me:" that moment Anicetus, having forced open the door, entered her chamber, accompanied by Hercules, captain of a galley, and Oloaritus, a centurion of the navy. The princess, though apprised of their design, yet addressing them with great intrepidity, "If you are come (said she), from the emperor, to be informed of my health, I can acquaint him, that I am well refreshed and recovered; if upon any bloody design, I will never believe you commissioned by my son: my son cannot command a parricide." But the assassins, without returning her any answer, sur-

*Zeal of the
populace,
upon dis-
covering
her danger.*

*Her house
beset with
armed men*

¹ Tacit. Ann. lib. xiv. cap. 6. Dio, p. 695. Suet. lib. vi. cap. 34.

Yr. of Fl.

2408.

A. D. 60.

U. C. 808.

Her murder.

rounded her bed; and Hercules discharged a blow upon her head with a great club. Oloaritus the centurion instantly drew his sword to dispatch her; but Agrippina, notwithstanding the blow she had received, starting up, presented her belly, crying with a loud voice, "Strike me here: this carried and brought forth such a monster as Nero." In uttering these words, she was pierced with a number of wounds, and expired ^k (M). Thus died the celebrated Agrippina, daughter to Germanicus, grand-daughter to Agrippa, and great-grand-daughter to Augustus, sister to one emperor, wife to another, and mother to a third. This end she had deserved by a train of horrid iniquities, long before it overtook her. We are told, that she was warned of it many years before by the Chaldeans, who being consulted by her concerning the fortune of Nero, and answering, that he would certainly reign, and kill his mother; "Let him kill me (said she), so he do but reign!"

Nero's agonies upon her death.

The scene of this horrible iniquity being closed, the emperor began to reflect on the enormity of his crime; a mother inhumanly murdered, to whom he owed his life and his empire! He passed the night in dreadful agonies, impatiently waiting the return of day, which, he apprehended, would bring upon him some dreadful disaster. Burrhus was the first who afforded him any comfort in the midst of these horrors, by persuading the tribunes and centurions under his command to congratulate the prince upon his thus happily escaping the enormous treason de-

^k Tacit. Ann. lib. xiv. cap. 7, 8. Dio, p. 696. Sueton, cap. 24.
^l Tacit. ibid. cap. 9. Dio, Suet. ibid.

(M) In these particulars all authors agree. Some add, that Nero afterwards surveyed the naked body of his mangled mother, viewed her limbs, and extolled their symmetry and beauty; but this is denied by others, and seems inconsistent with the concern which he afterwards shewed. That very night her corpse was burnt, without any pomp or solemnity, being carried to the pile upon no other bed than that which she lay upon at her meals. Her

bones were interred by her domestics, who, after the death of Nero, raised her a mean tomb, upon the road to cape Misenum, adjoining to a villa which formerly belonged to Cæsar the dictator. Mæster, one of her freedmen, as soon as her funeral pile was lighted, ran himself through with a sword, whether from grief and affection for her, or from dread of some terrible punishment, which he apprehended, was never known.

vised

vised by his mother. Their example was followed by the emperor's friends, and by the neighbouring communities of Campania, who testified their joy by sacrifices to the gods, and embassies to the prince. Nero now pretended to be inconsolably grieved for the death of his mother, answering those who strove to console him, that he hated a life which, upon such terms, had been saved. However, as the face and aspect of places cannot change like the countenances of men, the sight of that coast, and those shores where the parricide had been perpetrated, filled him with continual horrors; besides, there were some who imagined they heard horrid shrieks and cries from Agrippina's tomb, and a mournful sound of trumpets from the neighbouring cliffs and hills. Nero, therefore, flying from such tragical places, which incessantly reproached him with the enormity of his crime, withdrew to Naples; whence he sent letters to the senate, acquainting them, that Agerinus, a freedman of Agrippina, had been sent by her to assassinate him, but had been timely apprehended; and that she had thereupon laid violent hands on herself, with the same guilty conscience which had prompted her to attempt the life of her son. To this falsehood he added a detail of her crimes, traced a long way back: he even imputed to her all the vile measures and black iniquities of the reign of Claudius; and concluded, that her death ought to be looked upon as a public blessing, and ascribed to the auspicious fortune of the Roman state (N).

*He affects
sorrow.*

*He charges
her with
many
crimes.*

(N) This letter was composed by Seneca, who was severely censured, and not undeservedly, by all men of honour and virtue. No one believed the pretended conspiracy; but nevertheless the senators, with astonishing ardour, strove to surpass one another in decreeing new honours to Nero on this occasion. The following solemnities were therefore ordained, that, at all the altars, public devotions should be observed; that the feast of Minerva, during which the conspiracy was detected, should be celebrated with anniversary plays for ever;

that the statue of that goddess in gold should be placed in the senate-house, and, near it, that of the emperor; and, lastly, that the anniversary of Agrippina should be inserted in the number of unlucky days. Thrasea Pætus, walked out of the senate, as soon as the emperor's letter was read, choosing rather to provoke the vengeance of Nero, than give his assent to such servile, flattering, and iniquitous decrees; but there was not a man in the senate who had so much honour and integrity, as to follow his example.

*Endea-
vours to
blacken her
memory.*

*He is re-
ceived at
Rome with
extraordi-
nary flat-
tery.*

To heighten still more the public hatred, and blacken her memory, as if she had checked his natural inclination to mercy, he restored to their native country and estates several persons of distinction, who had been formerly exiled by her orders. He likewise pardoned Iturius and Calvisius, and suffered the body of Lollia Paulina, who had ended her course at Tarentum, to be brought home, and deposited in the tomb of her illustrious ancestors. Notwithstanding these acts of clemency, the emperor could not prevail upon himself to return to Rome, dreading to appear, after his parricide, before the senate and people: but the abandoned profligates of his court, (and no court upon earth, says Tacitus, ever abounded with more) assured him, that the very name of Agrippina was generally abhorred; in so much that, by her death, he had secured for ever the affections both of the people and senate. On this assurance, he proceeded to Rome, where he was received with a more officious zeal than even his flattering courtiers had promised. The several tribes, in distinct bodies, went forth to meet him, and likewise, the senate, in their robes, with prodigious crouds of women and children, ranged into distinct classes, according to their sex and age. Wherever, he passed, plays and shews were exhibited with all the pomp and parade of a solemn triumph. Elated with pride at such a reception, he repaired, like a triumphant victor, to the Capitol, and there paid his vows and oblations^m. All these tokens of joy and approbation could not alleviate the reproaches of his own conscience: the horrors of his guilt never forsook him; he owned, that the Furies pursued him with stripes, and rage, and burning torches; his dread was sometimes so great, that all his joints trembled; he applied to the magicians, and endeavoured, by one of their sacrifices, to call up the ghost of his mother, and intreat her to forgive him: some time after, when he travelled into Greece, though he was extremely desirous of assisting at the Eleusinian ceremonies, yet his heart failed him, and he withdrew as soon as he heard the crier commanding, with a loud voice, all impious and profane persons to departⁿ.

As no one would take upon him to give the emperor wholesome advice, but, on the contrary, all conspired to deceive him with servile flattery, and to commend even his most enormous excesses, he abandoned himself, without restraint, to all his extravagant passions. He was chiefly fond

^m Tacit. lib. xiv. cap. 11—13. Dio, lib. lxi. p. 796.

ⁿ Suet.

cap. 34.

of two diversions, both highly unbecoming his rank and station, namely, of driving a chariot, and singing to the harp in a theatrical habit. Seneca and Burrhus indulged him from the beginning in the former, in order to divert him from the latter, which they thought a more shameful and unmanly employment. Thus, a piece of ground in the Vatican was inclosed with a wall, that he might exert his dexterity in driving, without being exposed to the view of a promiscuous crowd of spectators; but now he was desirous of being publicly seen by the populace, who failed not to gratify him with encomiums and loud acclamations. As the emperor imagined that, by bringing many others under the same infamy, he should lessen his own, he introduced, as actors, into the theatre, several noble Romans, descended from illustrious families, but, through indigence, become venal. He likewise engaged, with great rewards, many Roman knights to undertake the acting of parts in public representations. However, that he might not yet debase himself in the common theatre, he instituted a sort of plays called juvenales, which were exhibited in private houses or gardens, persons of the first quality, and many who had borne the chief offices in the state, acting in them; and degrading themselves, to imitate the port and buffoonry of the Greek and Roman mimics, even in their most obscene gesticulations (O).

He diverts himself with chariot-driving.

He engages several noble Romans to appear upon the stage.

(O) The contagion even reached ladies of the greatest distinction, who, in imitation of the prince and his court, had their assemblies and representations in a grove planted by Augustus; where booths were built, and in them sold whatever incited to sensuality and wantonness. At length Nero took the harp, and mounted the public stage, trying the strings with much attention and care, and studying his part. About him stood his companions, and a cohort of the guards, with many tribunes and centurions, and Burrhus their commander, who

on this infamous occasion, warmly applauded Nero, while he inwardly grieved for him. At this time, Nero enrolled a body of Roman knights, intitled the knights of Augustus; young men distinguished by the bloom of their years, and strength of body, but all professed profligates. As the emperor spent whole days and nights in singing, and playing upon the harp, the sole business of these knights was to commend his person and voice, to extol the beauty of both by names and epithets peculiar to the gods, and to sing his airs about the streets (1).

(1) Tacit. Ann. lib. xiv. cap. 15.

The quinquennial games.

A comet appears.

Nero alarmed. He advises Rubellius Plautus to retire to Asia.

Next year, Nero entered upon his fourth consulship, having Cossus Cornelius Lentulus for his colleague, and held that dignity for six months. He now instituted, for the improvement of wit and genius, contests of eloquence and poetry, with other games, to be exhibited every fifth year; whence they were styled quinquennial games. On this occasion, the players and pantomimes, who had often caused great dissensions among the people, were recalled, and restored to the stage. During these sports, a comet appeared, which, according to the persuasion of the vulgar, always portended a change of princes: hence, as if Nero had been already deposed, it became the topic of general enquiry, who should be chosen to succeed him; and the name of Rubellius Plautus was, on this occasion, in every one's mouth. He was, by his mother Julia, the daughter of Drusus, descended from the family of the Cæsars; and had acquired great reputation by the integrity of his life, and a strict adherence, notwithstanding the general corruption, to the venerable institutions, and severe manners, of the primitive Romans. As Nero was sitting at an entertainment at a place called Sublaqueum, on the banks of the Simbruine lake, a flash of lightning darted upon the repast, dispersed the dishes, overturned the table, and, while the emperor was drinking, struck the cup out of his hand. This accident happened in the neighbourhood of Tibur, whence Plautus was originally sprung by his father's side; therefore, the people believed, that he was appointed by the gods to succeed Nero. These particulars alarmed Nero, who wrote to Plautus, that he would act prudently in consulting the peace and tranquility of Rome, by withdrawing to his possessions in Asia, where he might enjoy the bloom of his life free from intrigues of faction, fraught with ambiguity and danger. Upon this warning, Plautus, who had long since buried himself in retirement, shunning and dreading power, left Rome, and, with Antistia his wife, and a few friends, hastened to Asia. At this period, Nero appointed Tigranes (P) king of Armenia, which the brave Corbulo had

(P) Tigranes was grandson, or rather great-grandson, to Archelaus, formerly king of Cappadocia; for he was the grandson of Alexander, who was put to death by his own father Herod king of Judæa, and of Gla-

phyra the daughter of Archelaus. His father was likewise named Alexander. He was nephew to another Tigranes, likewise king of Armenia, who was put to death under Tiberius, in the twenty-second year of that prince's

had reduced, and bestowed upon him a body of guards, consisting of a thousand legionaries, three cohorts of confederates, and two wings of horse, to support him in maintaining his new realm. Corbulo, having thus completed the reduction of Armenia, left that country, and retired into Syria, a province assigned him upon the death of Numidius Quadratus the late governor *. In the close of the year, Vibius Secundus, a Roman knight, was, upon the accusation of the Moors, condemned for extortion, and expelled Italy.

* Tacit. Annal. lib. xiv. cap. 26.

prince's reign, and thirty-sixth at Rome, in the quality of a
of the Christian æra (2). Tacitus tells us, that, as this debased, even to a degree of ab-
prince had passed many years jectness and servitude (3).

(2) Joseph. Antiq. lib. xviii. cap. 7.
lib. xiv. cap. 26.

(3) Tacit. Annal.

END OF THE TWELFTH VOLUME.





